JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN: BATTLING AGAINST ODDS

1 October–31 December 1947

FIRST SERIES
Volume VI

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.

M. A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS

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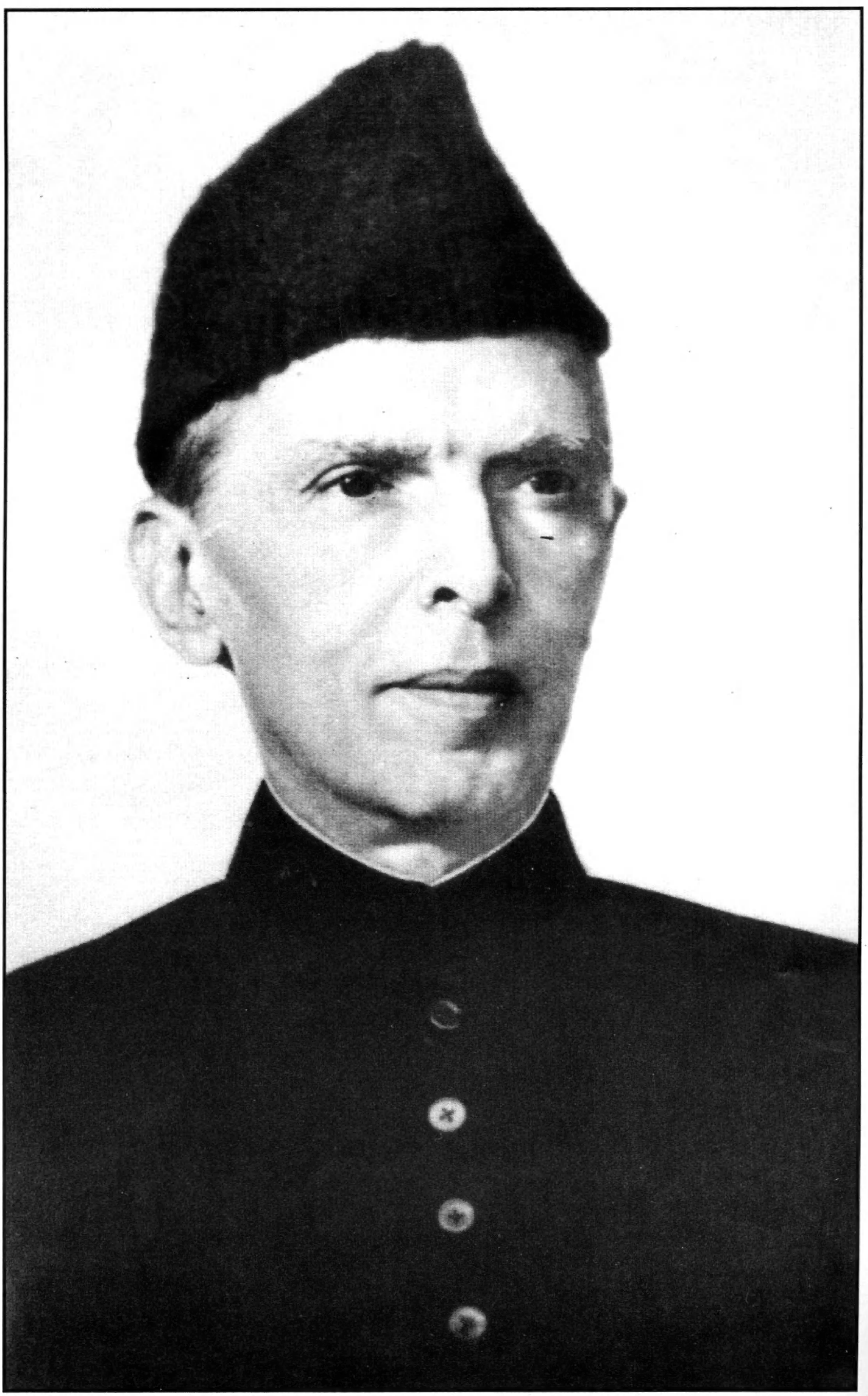

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Facsimile of observation made by Dina Jinnah on 9 September 2001 while talking with Dr. Zaidi
Jinnah with members of the Cabinet
Jinnah reading out his message after being sworn in as Chief Scout of Pakistan at Karachi
Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah in a Lahore garden
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Jinnah with Air Force officers at Risalpur
Jinnah addressing a tribal Jirga in Peshawar

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Foreword

The present volume, subtitled *Pakistan: Battling Against Odds,* is the sixth in the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*. It spans the last quarter of the momentous year 1947—a period of flux during which Mohammad Ali Jinnah concurrently held the offices of Governor-General of Pakistan and President of the Constituent Assembly, besides continuing as President of the All India Muslim League until mid-December.

The first four volumes, subtitled *Prelude to Pakistan, Pakistan in the Making, On the Threshold of Pakistan,* and *Pakistan At Last,* respectively, which together covered the period from 20 February to 14 August 1947, told of Jinnah's critical role during the final phase of the Pakistan Movement. The fifth volume, sub-titled *Pakistan: Pangs of Birth,* marked his transition from a great political leader to a statesman and the founding father of the new sovereign Muslim State in South Asia.

The present volume portrays the formidable challenges, internal as well as external, which Pakistan had to face during its formative phase. It shows Jinnah, the supreme national leader, imperturbably exhorting his people to face up resolutely to the crises confronting the nation, as well as exposing the infirmities and temptations to which some of the lesser leaders and others could have succumbed fecklessly.

The volume comprises 340 documents in chronological sequence, supplemented by four appendices. Two of these, relating to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and the communal holocaust and refugee influx, pick up their themes from the last volume while the other two relate to fresh issues like H. S. Suhrawardy's peace initiative and Archibald Rowlands' Report on the Economic Potential and Prospects of Pakistan.

In order to facilitate integrated projection of the subject, and given its especial importance in the context of the partition, documents relating to the princely states have been grouped to form a separate volume due to appear later. Statements, messages and interviews by Jinnah have, in view of their relevance to the various national issues, been incorporated in the main text in the present volume. Primary documents are referred to in the text by the relevant series notation, followed by the number of the particular file, collection or volume in which the original one is held and the page number(s). These documents, drawn mainly from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (e.g. *F. 651/10*) and the *Governor-General Papers* (e.g. *F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/139-42*) available in the National Archives of Pakistan, as well as those from the Foreign Office Archives (*e.g. FOA, IU 3/8*) and *the Mountbatten Papers,* have been arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially. The supplementary material has been drawn mainly from sources such as the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library (e.g. *IOR, R/3/1/174*); the Public Record Office in London (e.g. *PRO, DO 142/24*); the

United States National Archives, Washington, D.C. (e.g. *U.S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/10-847*); the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad (NDC); contemporary newspapers and publications. Documents from the *Transfer of Power* volumes and the preceding volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been identified by document number, volume and page number(s), (e.g. No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49 or No. 255, Vol. V, 252-4). Appendices to the present volume have been referred to as Appendix notation followed by document number.

Documents of repetitive character such as requests for interviews and messages, congratulatory letters, and applications for jobs have not been included; neither have those relating to problems of individual nature. A number of documents written by or sent to Jinnah as Governor-General, held by the Government, still await declassification and are not accessible yet.

The volumes hitherto published, albeit not within easy reach of the common reader because of their relatively high cost, have none the less aroused interest among academics, scholars, and the intelligentsia. We are indeed most grateful for the interest shown in the work of the Project by Madam Dina Wadia, Quaid's daughter who lives in New York, the President of Pakistan Justice (Retired) Mohammad Rafique Tarar, and the Chief Executive of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf. The volumes presented by me to Madam Dina last year had been autographed by both the President and the Chief Executive.

Given the high cost of production of the volumes in English of the *Jinnah Papers*, the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project has advisedly brought out potted versions in Urdu of the first three volumes at a considerably lower price. All University and Degree College libraries throughout the country have been provided these volumes free of cost. The Urdu version of the fourth volume will go to the press shortly. The Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project has, since its inception, had problems in the way of implementation of its objectives. It has been victim to the proverbial inertia and procrastination of the bureaucracy which, barring honourable exceptions, remains rather oblivious of the fact that but for Jinnah, those now occupying high offices would have ended up in anonymity or obscurity.

The transfer of administrative control over the Project from the Culture Division to the Cabinet Division has made precious little difference to the fortunes of the Project. Indeed, the Cabinet Division has, more often than not, failed to respond positively to the various references made by the Editor-in-Chief. The Cabinet decision of 1996 regarding conversion of the Project into an autonomous body also still awaits implementation.

We remain optimistic none the less; the determination and dedication of the Project staff cannot be dented by the apathy of certain uncaring and indifferent elements in the bureaucracy, and in any case we are really buoyed up by the gracious encouragement and support received from both the President and the Chief Executive of Pakistan.

The Editor-in-Chief wishes to thank David Blake of the Oriental and India Office Section of the British Library and M.D. McWilliam, erstwhile Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for their continuing and keen interest in, and generous appreciation of, the work of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project. I remain grateful also to my cardiologist, Ulrich Sigwart, who has continued to keep an anxious watch over my afflicted heart.

As in the past, we have received encouragement and appreciation of our efforts from well-wishers such as ex-Senator Syed Faseih Iqbal, Lt. General (Rtd.) Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, Syed Hashim Raza, and several other friends and scholars. Mention must also be gratefully made of the unstinting assistance received from Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Additional Secretary, and Fauzia Abbas, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who readily helped to provide copies of a large number of documents required by the Project. I should be failing in my duty if I did not also express my grateful appreciation for the generous and unwavering assistance extended by Saeeda Tahirkheli, Director-General, Films and Publications, Ministry of Information and Media Development.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project

Culture Division

Islamabad

1 July 2001

Introduction

The birth of Pakistan was attended by a trauma. Widespread and savage anti-Muslim violence erupted in parts of India, particularly East Punjab and Delhi, which inevitably led to reprisals in western Pakistan. The disturbances in India were no doubt due, at least in part, to the steadfast support the Muslims there had given the Pakistan Movement. Sikhs in East Punjab had planned, before the partition, to organise anti-Muslim killing and mayhem on a large scale. Some Akali[1] and Congress[2] leaders, particularly in Sind and West Punjab, had drawn up a plan to coordinate and orchestrate a pull-out of non-Muslims from western Pakistan, especially of professionals and affluent classes, with a view to dealing the coup de grace to Pakistan's fledgling economy. Jinnah was familiar with the mindset of the top-flight Hindu leaders who bragged arrogantly that Pakistan would have "to submit to the Union of India."[3] His riposte to their hubris and braggadocio, which he dismissed as "foolish and impossible of achievement," was that "Pakistan will never surrender." The defiant response was indeed vintage Jinnah.

Jinnah's earnest appeal to Hindustan urging a fresh start "as two independent sovereign States"[4] was not reciprocated; indeed, his sincere offer was disdained.[5] Deeply exercised and distressed by the exponentially growing communal violence, he appealed for "ending the bloodshed and lawlessness as speedily as possible."[6] The West Punjab Government tried to stem the tide of violence but without a matching response from the East Punjab Government, their efforts were doomed to failure.

The East Punjab riots spilt over into Delhi and adjacent areas, where the "life and property of Muslims" was "not safe, and their condition most miserable."[7] Thousands of them were forced to live "as worse than prisoners in various camps in Delhi... and in fear of their life."[8] The crisis deepened and the Pakistan High Commissioner's house virtually became a refugee camp.[9] Even the Muslim League Central Office in Delhi, which contained the historical records of the party, was searched by a special magistrate, though no incriminating material was found.[10] A week later, the premises were unlawfully occupied by Sikh hooligans.[11] Jinnah took the opportunity of Ismay's visit to Karachi to talk to him and strongly urge "that immediate measures... be taken by Delhi authorities to ensure the safety and welfare of Muslims".[12]

The efforts of Indian authorities at checking the escalating violence and restoring order appeared feckless. The scale and intensity of violence reached a crescendo, and Gandhi rushed to Delhi and Suhrawardy to both East and West Punjab on a peace mission.[13] To his horror, Suhrawardy learnt that children had arrived with Muslim convoys from East Punjab

We remain optimistic none the less; the determination and dedication of the Project staff cannot be dented by the apathy of certain uncaring and indifferent elements in the bureaucracy, and in any case we are really buoyed up by the gracious encouragement and support received from both the President and the Chief Executive of Pakistan.

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"with their hands chopped off by the Sikhs and women not merely practically but absolutely naked."[14]

The communal disturbances spilt over further into areas in the U.P. adjacent to Delhi, where "a subdued reign of terror" prevailed.[15] There were reports of large-scale searches of Muslims followed by arrests. Zahid Husain, Pakistan's High Commissioner, reported that "Delhi officialdom carries the palm in respect of hatred for Pakistan and Muslims generally."[16]

Jinnah was as much appalled by the reprisals against non-Muslims in western Pakistan as he was by the anti-Muslim riots in East Punjab and Delhi. He had been urging the concerned authorities to check the spiral of communal violence and restore law and order at all costs.[17] Though the scale of violence in western Pakistan scarcely matched that in East Punjab and Delhi, the intensity on either side of the divide appeared, by and large, no different. An eyewitness said he had to "hang his head in shame and shed tears of remorse over" what he saw at some places in West Punjab.[18] Jinnah believed the loss of "innocent lives..., enormous amount of destruction of property and brutal and inhuman killings" was part of a larger design to destabilize and "cripple our State and bring about its collapse."[19] He feared that the Indian Government and Gandhi were "determined on the destruction of Pakistan,"[20] and that war between the two countries loomed ever larger. Liaquat Ali Khan remonstrated with Nehru about General Cariappa's statement lamenting the division of India and threatening to reunify the two parts by force.[21]

Jinnah believed Nehru was just a figure-head and that it was Sardar Patel who called the shots and who wanted the Muslims driven out of East Punjab. Jinnah was of the view that the communal trouble "could have been nipped in the bud if Mountbatten had not given way to Patel's persuasions and reversed the decision taken by all parties before the transfer of power to round up all the ring leaders." Jinnah thought that the British had failed to fathom the Hindu mind and that he understood it himself only too well.[22]

* * * *

The communal carnage, as well as taking a colossal toll of human life, "displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people, rendered them homeless and delivered them to starvation and misery."[23] The problem of rehabilitation of the refugees taxed the energies and resources of the nation to the utmost. Jinnah regarded it as "a challenge to our very existence," and thought "if we are to survive as a nation and are

to translate our dream about Pakistan into reality, we shall have to grapple with the problem... with redoubled zeal and energy."[24] The stupendous task was prioritised by the Pakistan Government, which created a Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, besides setting up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet. Liaquat Ali Khan set up temporary headquarters at Lahore in order to oversee the rehabilitation work personally. Jinnah himself visited several refugee camps in Karachi and Lahore and spent a number of days at Lahore in connection with the rehabilitation work.

The task of feeding, clothing and resettling the refugees was a herculean one, beyond the scarce resources of the nascent State. A nation-wide drive was launched for garnering additional resources, and Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund was set up to provide relief to the refugees. Liberal donations were received, in cash and kind, from Muslims the world over, particularly Burma,[25] United States of America,[26] United Kingdom,[27] Hong Kong,[28] South Africa,[29] Iran,[30] and Australia.[31] Some of the major donors were the Aga Khan,[32] the Nizam of Hyderabad,[33] the Amir of Bahawalpur,[34] and the Ruler of Swat.[35] To help raise funds urgently, the Aga Khan offered to mortgage his properties in Karachi or auction his race horses.[36]

As well as providing food and shelter to the refugees, the Relief Committees administering the Fund had to acquire blankets,[37] quilts and warm clothing in large quantities in view of the ensuing winter. The Committees worked indefatigably and were able to provide 100,000 quilts in only a month's time at Lahore.[38] By the end of October, almost six million refugees, who "had left practically all they had behind them," had to be resettled in West Punjab. The awesome magnitude of the problem prompted the Governor, Francis Mudie, to call for emergent measures such as allotment of land, putting up tents for protection against vagaries of the weather, beefing up the banking sector, etc.[39]

* * * *

Jinnah, essentially a man of peace and goodwill, in consonance with his earlier pronouncements, assured non-Muslims that there would be "no distinction between one community and the other, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another." He further assured them that they would be treated as "equal citizens" of the State.[40] These assurances had a mixed reception. At individual level, a sense of relief and satisfaction was expressed[41] and pledges of loyalty were given as well.[42] However, some Congress leaders from western Pakistan, at a conference held in Delhi, questioned Jinnah's assurances of full

protection to minorities and urged the Government of India to arrange immediate evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs.[43] Jinnah, nevertheless, counselled non-Muslims to stay on in Pakistan. He reassured them that "we shall continue to protect the life and property of minorities in Pakistan and shall give them a fair deal" and declared emphatically that "they shall be entitled to the same treatment as any other citizen" provided that "they remain faithful and loyal to the State."[44] He emphasized that "minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be the citizens of the respective States", reiterating that Pakistan shall "...do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities."[45]

There were other voices raised in support of Jinnah's assurances. Raghib Ahsan, an AIML Councillor from Calcutta, wrote to Jinnah to urge just and equitable treatment of the Buddhist minority in East Bengal.[46] C. E. Gibbon, President of the Anglo-Indian Association, expressed his appreciation for just treatment of his community in Pakistan.[47]

Besides giving assurances to the minorities, Jinnah reminded the Muslims that "the tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to... the minorities regardless of caste and creed." He exhorted them to "make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority community" regardless of the treatment meted out to Muslims in India.[48] Bhagat Ram, formerly a Sessions Judge in Kashmir, responded to Jinnah's gesture of goodwill by offering to work for communal harmony, while calling for a similar change in the "attitude and conduct of Hindus and Sikhs of East Punjab."[49]

While Jinnah made earnest efforts to ensure protection to non-Muslims in Pakistan, he was sceptical of the future of minorities in India. He feared that the Government of India had "neither the wish nor the power to protect the minorities."[50] Jinnah's concern was by no means unfounded. The condition of Muslims in India was worsening. Professor M. B. Mirza of the Muslim University, Aligarh, agonized over the state of insecurity and turbulence in India and was deeply exercised about the future of the University.[51] His fears were echoed by Mohammad Noman from Hyderabad, Deccan, who too spoke of the hardships that the Indian Muslims faced.[52]

The Indian Muslims found themselves "most uncomfortable" due to a nagging "feeling of uncertainty about the future..." as a result of unchecked lawlessness.[53] Jinnah, empathising with the plight of Indian Muslims, counselled them to bear their trials and tribulations with courage and fortitude and to not get panicky and play into the

hands of their enemies by any precipitate action.[54] Muslims in Delhi could not move about in the city freely with the result that their means of income dwindled and they were forced to dispose of "their valuables, properties for a song." They had been driven to a state of desperation and "no amount of propaganda or persuasion" could keep them from moving to Pakistan.[55]

The rising tide of anti-Muslim violence in India led the AIML Council, at its terminal session held in Karachi in December 1947, to lament that, despite Congress declarations that the minorities would be treated justly and fairly, the life and property of Muslims in India remained "insecure, their trade, business and other means of earning their livelihood are in a state of suspense..."[56]

* * * *

As stated in the Introduction to Volume V, Jinnah knew full well that the areas which were to form Pakistan had no industrial base and were economically backward. Therefore, as early as December 1943, he had had a comprehensive five-year programme drawn up for the economic and social uplift of the proposed Muslim State.[57] He rightly regarded industrial and economic development as a sine qua non for preserving the national freedom and dignity. Mir Laik Ali, a leading industrialist of Hyderabad, Deccan, who had been assigned by Jinnah to carry out a survey of some industrialized countries of the West after his visit to Great Britain, went on to the United States.[58] At Jinnah's behest, Mahomedali Habib, a leading banker, analysed the economic potential and prospects for rapid industrialization of Pakistan.[59] He made a number of suggestions for the printing as well as fiduciary issue of Pakistan currency,[60] division of the Reserve Bank of India's assets and liabilities,[61] gainful employment of refugees, etc.[62] He further recommended that the Government borrow only for financing public enterprises which were productive, such as canals, dams, railways, steel and cement plants, etc., and in no case for meeting current account deficits.[63] Mohammad Noman stressed that finished goods rather than raw materials be exported.[64] Ziauddin Sheikh[65] urged the establishment of ordnance factories and aviation industry, both important from the standpoint of defence and security. Nazir Ahmad Khan, a member of the Constituent Assembly, advocated that a National Home Front be set up to induce people to grow more food, encourage savings, and foster respect for law and order.[66]

Jinnah had obtained the services of Archibald Rowlands, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Supply, UK, who had considerable hands-on

experience in economic management and public finance in India, to study and propose measures for putting Pakistan's economy on a sound footing.[67] In his report, Rowlands reasoned, inter alia, that "in the modern world power is largely synonymous with industrial power, and if Pakistan is to take her proper place in the world and if she is to raise substantially the standard of living of her people, she must achieve an appreciable measure of industrialisation."[68] He stated that "the attraction of foreign capital depends on the fulfilment of certain conditions. The first and most obvious of these is the maintenance of peace and order within the Dominion and removal of threat of war with Hindustan."[69] Fazlul Qadir, a Member of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly as well as of the Industrial Survey Committee for that province, made recommendations for the development of Chittagong Port for facilitating jute exports, and launching a hydroelectric power project for utilizing resources of the adjoining Hill Tracts.[70] Professor M.L. Qureshi, an economist, who had been Joint Secretary to the ML Planning Committee, advised that cooperative farming be encouraged for improving the agricultural economy and gainfully employing the refugees.[71]

* * * *

Despite the meagre resources available, and the unsettled conditions obtaining, at the inception, the Government of Pakistan took measures to build a proper infrastructure for socio-economic development. Among others, given the vital importance of education for nation-building, the Government considered revamping the educational system. In November 1947, an All-Pakistan Educational Conference was held at Karachi under the aegis of the Ministry of Education.[72] In his message to the Conference, Jinnah emphatically urged that greater attention be paid to promoting technical, vocational and scientific education, which was a prerequisite to industrial and economic progress and development. He observed that the educational policies and programmes had to be tailored to suit the genius of the people and having regard to the modern conditions and scientific and technological developments in the world.[73] He identified the primary aim of education as character-building and inculcating the spirit of altruism and selfless service in the youth.

* * * *

Having earlier envisaged "an alliance, pact or treaty between Pakistan and Hindustan...against any aggressive outsider," Jinnah had agreed

to the constitution of a Joint Defence Council with Mountbatten as "independent" Chairman and including the Defence Ministers of both Dominions as well as Field Marshal Auchinleck, Supreme Commander of the British Forces in the subcontinent.[74] The Council was charged with overseeing the reconstitution of the armed forces and the division and transfer of defence equipment and stores. However, the Indian authorities adopted an obdurately uncooperative attitude towards the Supreme Commander, which made it increasingly difficult for him to perform the tasks he had been assigned and obliged him to recommend the liquidation of his Heaquarters, which in the event[75] was disbanded prematurely despite Pakistan's objections. An assurance was, however, given that Pakistan's share of defence stores and equipment would be duly delivered.[76] Pakistan's allegation about the inequitable division of stores was admitted as "true in principle" by the Secretariat of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.[77] However, the allocated stores were never delivered to Pakistan. Frustrated by the Indian intransigence, Jinnah was to firmly believe that a peaceful and amicable settlement of their differences was possible only if India shed its superiority complex and overweeningness and dealt with Pakistan "on an equal footing."[78]

A review of the country's defence and security policy had been necessitated by the emergence of new borders as well as the additional responsibilities of evacuating Muslim refugees from East Punjab. The shortage of troops available in the first few months following the partition had been visualized by the Army Chief, General Messervy, on the eve of independence.[79] Liaquat Ali Khan convened a meeting to take stock of the situation. It was decided to move out troops from Waziristan and deploy them on urgent duties elsewhere.[80] The shortage of officers in the Pakistan Army was temporarily met by employing British officers who had volunteered to serve in the Pakistan Armed Forces following the closure of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters.[81]

* * * *

Following the independence, a large number of Muslims from India—refugees, migrants and optees—had been streaming into Pakistan. They were, generally, received warmly by the local people. As in the case of other mass migrations in history, the new comers had their own ethnic identity and their integration with the "locals" was inevitably a slow, difficult and, at times, painful process. In some cases, simmering tensions between ethnic groups were to fester for years to come. Sind, which housed the federal capital, and East Bengal, where the new provincial headquarters was set up at Dacca, were both to experience ethnic

stress and strife leading not infrequently to ugly situations.

In East Bengal, the province furthest from the federal capital, the provincial Government had to start from scratch, with all-too-limited resources and a motley team of administrators drawn mostly from other provinces. Those unfamiliar with the land and the people had difficulty settling down in their jobs.[82] Khwaja Nazimuddin, Premier of East Bengal, was worried about the questionable activities of the Hindu Mahasabha group planning the exodus of Hindus from the province.[83] Suhrawardy thought the planned exodus of Hindus might be offset by taking Hindu Ministers in the East Bengal Cabinet.[84] Jinnah decided to wait until he had visited the province and assessed the situation himself.[85]

Nazimuddin was also exercised about the shortage of rice, the staple food in East Bengal. With the memories of Bengal famine probably haunting him, he requested Jinnah for urgent supplies of rice, who promptly arranged for shipments from western Pakistan and Siam.[86]

The Sind ML Assembly Party resented a reported move to foist an authoritarian administration on the province and scrap provincial autonomy. They demanded due representation for Sind in the central government and an equal voice for all units in the federation.[87] Pir Ali Mohummed Rashdi was alarmed about "our own people becoming... more and more despaired of the present order of things."[88]

Jinnah, who had identified graft and corruption as a curse to be "put down with an iron hand,"[89] received complaints from some aggrieved persons about public servants having demanded bribes.[90] He was also to warn public servants "not to be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician".[91] He was further to caution the politicians against exerting "political pressure... which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism."[92]

For Baluchistan, Jinnah had much earlier demanded the status of a Governor's province. The province could not attain that status until much later. Intending to pay a visit to the province, Jinnah had invited suggestions for constitutional reforms. While Dundas, Agent to the Governor-General, proposed a three-member Advisory Council,[93] the Shahi Jirga pleaded for continuation of the existing system under which the tribal leaders were responsible for maintaining law and order in their respective areas.[94] Mir Qadir Bakhsh, Vice President of the Baluchistan ML, suggested the introduction of adult franchise or, alternatively, an electoral college of tribal elders, besides treating tribal areas on a par with settled districts.[95] He also made some other demands relating mainly to provincial representation in various central bodies.[96] Jinnah's decision to constitute an Advisory Council of the

Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of the province and to focus on the problems of its people could not be made until February 1948.

In the North-West Frontier Province, the Muslim League Ministry of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was confronted with difficulties arising from a shortage of foodgrains as well as with problems relating to the evacuation of non-Muslims to India.[97] Another vexatious problem was the presence of recalcitrant elements like the Red Shirts and Congressites who had agitated for Pathanistan. Despite the thumping[98] verdict in favour of Pakistan of the people of NWFP in the referendum held in July 1947, the Red Shirts failed to come to terms with the reality of the situation, and even after dismissal of the Congress Ministry kept the Pathanistan issue alive through propaganda. They continued to foment trouble.[99] Abdul Qaiyum Khan suspected the supporters of Pathanistan of being in league with the enemies of Pakistan and of "secretly carrying out activities which we cannot tolerate at all." He accused some of the leaders of Pathanistan Movement of "receiving large monetary assitance from our enemies and... doing their best to create trouble." He warned that the Provincial Government would take the strongest action against them, when the need arose.[100]

Taking stock of the relative party position and pending by-elections for four seats, Qaiyum Khan, apprehending turmoil and intrigues, recommended the dissolution of the Assembly while retaining the Ministry.[101] Jinnah was to advise Qaiyum to discuss the matter, along with the Governor, with Liaquat Ali Khan during the Prime Minister's visit to Peshawar.[102]

* * * *

With the advent of Pakistan, Afghanistan had started reiterating its earlier claim to the territory east of the Durand Line which it had ceded to Britain in 1893.[103] The Frontier Congress had earlier pinned their faith on the eventual establishment of Pathanistan, which had had the support of Afghanistan as well.[104]

The Government of Pakistan, keen on establishing friendly relations with Afghanistan, sent out Saidullah Khan as Jinnah's Personal Envoy. About the same time, Afghanistan cast the solitary vote against Pakistan's admission to the United Nations.[105] A correspondent was to perceive the unfriendly act as stemming from Indian influence.[106] The negotiations between Saidullah and the Afghan authorities turned out to be difficult, tortuous and protracted, the envoy expostulating with them about their lone negative vote.[107]

Saidullah Khan identified his main objective as the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. He told the Afghan leaders that he had assumed the functions hitherto performed by Giles Squire, Minister in charge of the British Legation in Kabul, on behalf of the Government of Pakistan.[108] He assured them that once diplomatic relations had been established, the Afghan Government would be free to discuss any "important political matters" with Pakistan's Foreign Office direct, through their diplomatic representative in Karachi, or with Pakistan's envoy in Kabul.[109] The Afghan Government proposed Najibullah Khan as their Envoy Extroaordinary to conduct negotiations regarding pending problems with the Pakistan Government in Karachi.[110] They agreed also that matters pertaining to the grant of visas and passports as well as trade and commercial matters be dealt with by the Pakistan Representative in Kabul.[111]

Sardar Ali Muhammad Khan, the Afghan Foreign Minister, had questioned the validity of Anglo-Afghan treaties after the British withdrawal and claimed that fresh treaties would have to be negotiated between Pakistan and Afghanistan.[112] Saidullah refuted the claim affirming that the Anglo-Afghan treaties, in so far as they related to the territories forming Pakistan, continued to hold good until amended or repealed by mutual consent.[113] The Afghan Foreign Minister informed that Najibullah Khan was to leave for Karachi to continue the negotiations regarding the future of Afghans living between the Durand Line and the River Indus.[114]

Keeping the progress of the negotiations in view, Afghanistan withdrew its vote against Pakistan's membership of the United Nations.[115] The change in Afghan attitude was reflected in their assurance to Pakistan that no Azad Pathanistan government existed in Kabul.[116]

King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan expressed gratification at Saidullah having successfully negotiated the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries, though the formal exchange of ambassadors was to take place some time later.[117] Introducing Najibullah to Jinnah, the King expressed fraternal feelings for Pakistan and hoped that Najibullah would "fulfil his mission in such a way as to command Your Excellency's confidence and satisfaction."[118]

Najibullah arrived in Karachi in the middle of November,[119] but had to defer the presentation of his credentials until Jinnah, then recuperating in Lahore, had returned to Karachi. Presenting the credentials on 4 December, he conveyed the felicitations of the King and people of Afghanistan to the Government and people of Pakistan and expressed the hope that the problems between the two countries would be resolved.[120] Reciprocrating his sentiments, Jinnah said that the Government

and people of Pakistan had friendly and fraternal feelings for Afghans and hoped that both countries would resolve their problems amicably.[121]

As it turned out, the negotiations between Najibulalh and the Pakistan Foreign Office over the Pathanistan issue were to make little headway. Afghanistan refused to renounce its irredentist claim to areas west of the Indus and the dispute was to persist for decades to come.

* * * *

The AIML and the Congress had divergent policies regarding the future of the states,[122] on which they had predicated their respective positions on the issue. Jinnah held the view that on the lapse of paramountcy, the states would be "constitutionally and legally...free...to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent."[123] Nehru, however, ruled out the option of independence altogether.[124] The threat and challenge to Pakistan's stability, indeed to its very future, were enhanced by V.P. Menon's machinations and Mountbatten's unabashed partiality towards India in so far as the determination of the future of the states was concerned.

The State of Junagadh along with Mangrol had acceded to Pakistan, but India regarded the accession "as an encroachment" of its sovereignty.[125] Within a week, India deployed its troops in the states adjacent to Junagadh, and a "Provisional Government" of Junagadh was set up in Bombay.[126] Manavadar, another state in Kathiawar which too had acceded to Pakistan, was invaded by India which imposed its own administration on that state.[127]

Jinnah was, in effect, precluded by his own legalistic position regarding the future of the states from refusing Kalat's claim to sovereign independence following the British withdrawal. According to the agreement reached between the governments of Pakistan and Kalat,[128] legal opinion was to be obtained whether or not Pakistan would inherit the lease agreements between Britain and Kalat. The future of the state was to be determined by negotiation between representatives of the Pakistan Government and Kalat after the legal opinion had become available. Meanwhile, a Standstill Agreement had been made between Pakistan and Kalat.

By the end of the year, Bahawalpur,[129] Khairpur,[130] and Amb[131] had acceded to Pakistan. Hunza and Nagar followed suit.

As stated in the Introduction to Volume V, Muslims in some areas of Kashmir, particularly Poonch, had appealed to Jinnah to save them from tyrannical suppression[132] by the State troops, which had caused a large number of them to flee and seek refuge in Pakistan. The intensified

repression sparked a revolt by the Poonch Muslims against the Maharaja of Kashmir. Sardar Ibrahim Khan, a Poonch leader, proclaimed a provisional government of Azad Kashmir in the areas liberated by the freedom-fighters.[133] Feeling threatened by the spreading rebellion, the Maharaja panicked and fled Srinagar to the relative safety of Jammu. India then forced the issue by airlifting troops to Srinagar and rushing V.P. Menon to Jammu to get the Maharaja to sign the Instrument of Accession. Jinnah refused to recognise the accession which was fraudulent, illegal, and contrary to the wishes of the people of the State.[134] A correspondent cited the international law to question India's exclusive possession of the state and control over the common bounties of nature, viz. rivers etc.[135] There were spontaneous offers from volunteers[136] in Pakistan to fight the Indian troops in Kashmir as well as calls for recognition of the provisional government of Azad Kashmir.[137]

Muslim soldiers in the Kashmir State Forces at Gilgit also revolted against the Maharaja and took the local Governor captive. In response to a message from the freedom-fighters, Pakistan took over the administration of the liberated Northern Areas.[138]

* * * *

In consonance with Pakistan's policy of maintaining friendly relations with all countries, diplomatic ties were established on 15 August with the United Kingdom. However, initial efforts[139] to develop trade and commercial relations with that country were not reciprocated. Later, when Liaquat sought support of Prime Minister Attlee to meet "a serious threat... to the peace of this great sub-continent,"[140] the response was far from positive or sympathetic. Diplomatic relations were also established with the United States, and Jinnah sent Abol Hassan Ispahani there as Ambassador. Ispahani was nominated also as a delegate to the session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. He informed Jinnah that the Pakistan delegation and the Embassy in Washington were both short of staff, which hampered their work. While presenting his credentials to President Truman, Ispahani emphasized the need to "balance our economy, to industrialize our country, to improve our health and education and to raise the standard of living.[141]

Ispahani followed up with the US authorities on the request made through Mir Laik Ali for a 45-million dollar credit for refugee relief in Pakistan and another loan of 2 billion dollars for economic development. He was further required to pursue the purchase of an aircraft for

the use of the Governor-General, which in the event was not purchased because Jinnah decided that Pakistan's Governor-General "cannot afford to go in for an aircraft" costing more than 15 lakh rupees.[142] The US War Assets Administration was able to offer a credit of 10 million dollars only for refugee relief.[143] As for the development loan, the State Department advised that the Government of Pakistan first invite a US Trade Mission to satisfy itself that the loan would not, at least in part, be lost through Pakistan's inability to repay it for lack of resources.[144]

Pakistan was particularly keen to develop close ties with the Islamic countries as well as others in Europe and elsewhere.[145] There were cordial exchanges with Egypt,[146] Indonesia,[147] Morocco,[148] Saudi Arabia,[149] Transjordan[150] and Turkey.[151] Jinnah hosted Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma,[152] and Stephen Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon,[153] during their stop-over at Karachi. He entertained the visiting Siamese Foreign Minister, Arthakitti Banomyong,[154] to lunch as well.

* * * *

Jinnah and the Muslim League had consistently supported the Muslim and Arab causes, especially Palestine, voicing their resentment against the British attempts to betray the Arabs, callously ignoring the pledges they had made previously. As far back as March 1934, the AIML had decided on a strong deputation meeting the Viceroy to denounce the Balfour Declaration that supported the immigration and settlement of Jews in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs who were the original inhabitants.[155] In a resolution passed in 1936, the Muslim League Council had expressed "its sympathy with the Palestinian Arabs," commended their sacrifices, and decided to observe 19 June as Palestine Day. A committee was formed to organise agitation on the issue, slamming the Balfour Declaration and protesting against the British policy.[156] Palestine Day was again observed on 26 August 1938[157] and yet again in February 1939 at Calcutta, Bombay and Lucknow.[158]

Censuring the Royal Commission's report in July 1937 recommending the partition of Palestine and its acceptance by the British Government, Jinnah observed that it did the "most grievous wrong to the Arabs"[159] and that by failing to honour its pledge of complete independence to the Arabs, Great Britain was "digging its own grave."[160] He lamented that the "Musalmans' heart is wounded and lacerated" over the "ruthless oppression... of those brave Arabs."[161] As a token of solidarity with Arabs, AIML sent its representatives in October 1938 to the Parliamentary Congress of Arab and Muslim countries for the defence of

Palestine at Cairo.[162] Addressing the Sind Muslim League Conference, Jinnah criticized the British for "throwing her friends to the wolves", and made the prophetic pronouncement that "I am sure that there will be no peace in the Near East unless they [the British] give an honest and square deal to the Arabs in Palestine."[163] He demanded that Britain give due representation to the Muslim League, whose delegates had reached London from Cairo, at the Palestine Conference scheduled for February 1939.[164] Following the denial of this demand,[165] Jinnah sent a message of sympathy and support to the Arab delegation.[166]

Jinnah raised the Palestine issue in the Indian Legislative Assembly in August 1938[167] and again in February 1939.[168] In an interview with the Viceroy, he pleaded the Palestine case saying, too, that it was with great difficulty that he had dissuaded the Muslims "from openly revolting."[169] Writing to Linlithgow in November 1939, he urged that "all reasonable Arab national demands on Palestine" be met and that Indian troops not be used against any Muslim country. While the Viceroy conceded the first demand in principle, he could give no assurance that Indian troops would not be used as demanded.[170] In March 1940, AIML expressed its concern over "the inordinate delay on the part of British Government in coming to a settlement with Arabs in Palestine".[171]

In July 1939, the Muslim League had resolved to launch a Palestine Fund for helping the dependents of those Arabs who had sacrificed their lives in the struggle for independence of Palestine and for "protection of the first *Qibla* of Muslims".[172] A sum of £ 500 was actually remitted through the Consul-General for Iraq in Bombay.[173] The gesture was reciprocated, in January 1947, by the Grand Mufti who sent a similar amount for the afflicted Muslims in India.[174]

In April 1943, the Muslim League Council condemned the Zionist campaign to bring American pressure to bear on the British Government to allow unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine. They regarded it as a sinister move "to make Jewish majority in Palestine a *fait accompli*" which was bound to be "bitterly resented by the whole Arab and Islamic world".[175] The following year, Jinnah warned the British Government that "if Jewish immigration is allowed to continue not only the Muslim League will revolt but the whole Muslim world will revolt" and that the cruel injustice to Arabs "will set the whole Muslim world ablaze from one end to another".[176] He termed the move to bring a million Jews into Palestine as "monstrous" and warned that "Muslims in India would not remain as mere spectators. They would help the Arabs in Palestine by all possible means."[177] In October 1944, he telegraphed Nahas Pasha, who was sponsoring the Arab Conference against Jewish immigration, affirming, "we have done in the past

and will do in the future all that lies in our power to support the just cause and national aspirations of Arabs".[178]

The Arab cause continued to be championed by Pakistan after the emergence of the new state. In an interview with Duncan Hooper, Reuter's correspondent, Jinnah warned that if Palestine was partitioned, there was "bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the Partition Plan but the entire Muslim world will revolt.... Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs".[179] Again, talking to Robert Stimson of the BBC, he stated that "the Muslims of the Sub-continent had been compelled to condemn, in the strongest possible manner, the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine."[180] Jinnah pledged continued support to the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that was possible.

The feisty defence by Pakistan of the rights of Palestinian Arabs at the General Assembly session drew forth accolades from Imam Yahiya, King of Yemen,[181] and Director Nashashibi of the Arab Office in New York.[182] Jinnah's relentless opposition to the partition plan was ratified by the AIML Council, which assured the Arabs of every possible help.[183] But, for all the support extended to Palestinian Arabs by Muslims the world over,[184] the United Nations was eventually to decide on the partition of Palestine. Jinnah was also to appeal[185] to President Truman to use his enormous leverage against the division of Palestine but to no avail.[186] The creation of the Jewish State of Israel was tantamount to opening the Pandora's box and was ever since to bedevil peace in the Middle East.

The Muslim League was responsive to the problems confronting the Muslims in other parts of the world as well. In September 1940, rumour had it that foreign powers were likely to commit aggression against Muslim countries such as Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. AIML voiced grave concern, through a resolution, over the rumour and decided on observing 1 November 1940 as a day of sympathy and support for the threatened Muslim countries.[187] Three years later, the Muslim League took up the cause of Muslim areas in North Africa, which had been liberated from Italian fascist rule by the Allied Powers during World War II, and demanded that the territories of Cyrenaica, Libya and Tripoli not revert to Italy but be made an independent sovereign state.[188]

* * * *

The advent of two independent Dominions in the subcontinent was

a sequel to, and the fruition of, AIML's epic struggle for attainment of independent and sovereign statehood. This called for a reorientation of the party's platform and future course of action. Jinnah had already given a lead to the Indian Muslims by telling them that" you cannot be but loyal to your country. Just as I want every Hindu in Pakistan to be loyal to Pakistan, so do I want every Muslim in India to be loyal to India".[189]

When the AIML Council met in Karachi in December, they decided to split into two political parties for Pakistan and India,[190] respectively. In keeping with the decision made by the Council, Jinnah stepped down from the party's presidentship[191] to devote himself wholly to the business of the state. This was in any case dictated by the exigencies of his high office as well as his failing health. To the great misfortune of the people of Pakistan, his seventy-first birthday on 25 December 1947 turned out to be his last. However, his great legacy to the Muslims of South Asia will endure, securing him a lasting niche in the temple of fame.

* * * *

Jinnah wanted to build Pakistan through national self-discipline and regarded indiscipline as "more deadly than our external enemies," which would "spell ruin for us."[192] He warned public servants against thinking "in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions."[193] He urged "constructive efforts, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty."[194] He wanted every Pakistani to "vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations..."[195]

Jinnah wanted the future Constitution of Pakistan to be "of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam,.... equality of man, justice and fair play..."[196] What he certainly never wanted Pakistan to be was "a theocratic State..." He believed that "democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows."[197] He saw the opposition's role in a democratic order as a bulwark against tyranny, saying that "An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power".[198] He envisioned a socio-political system for Pakistan based on egalitarianism and free from exploitation of labour by capitalists and of peasants by feudal lords.[199]

Jinnah was in many ways an atypical politician. He was the quintessence of probity and integrity in public life. To him political gimmickry was anathema and he scarcely ever had recourse to political histrionics, rhetoric or claptrap. He had looked forward to making Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world.[200] If his grand vision is to be realized, the nation will have to galvanize itself into action; for it is only with

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unremitting vigour, renewed commitment and unwavering dynamism that we can make his dream come true. We have to strive hard and ceaselessly to make an immiserated Pakistan a nation redivivus, a nation that has rediscovered the spirit of its historic struggle for freedom and honour and dignity, underpinned by faith, unity and discipline.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Notes

[1]Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi, 21 September 1947, Appendix III. 4.
[2]Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi, 19 November 1947, Appendix III. 28, para 9.
[3]Jinnah to Attlee, 1 October 1947, No. 1.
[4]Jinnah's Message to Hindustan, 7 August 1947, Appendix VIII. 6, Vol. IV, 525.
[5]See Liaquat Ali Khan to Mountbatten, Telegram, 27 August 1947, Appendix III. 3, Vol. V, 463-4..
[6]Statement by Jinnah, 24 August 1947, Appendix IV. 2, Vol. V, 530.
[7&8]Statement by Jinnah, 15 September 1947, Appendix IV. 3, Vol. V, 531.
[9]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 8 September 1947, Appendix III. 10, Vol. V, 480.
[10]Maqsood Raza Khan to Jinnah, 9 October 1947, No. 43, & Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 16 October 1947, No. 76.
[11]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 16 October 1947, No. 76.
[12]Statement by Jinnah, 15 September 1947, Appendix IV. 3, Vol. V, 531.
[13]Correspondence on Suhrawardy's Peace Initiative, 21 September to 28 November 1947, Appendix III.
[14]Suhrawardy to M.K. Gandhi, 21 September 1947, Appendix III. 4.
[15&16]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 2 November 1947, Appendix II. 30, paras 4 & 8.
[17]Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins, Telegram, 24 June 1947, Appendix II. 21, Vol. II, 829.
[18]S.J.Shah to K.H. Khurshid, 17 October 1947, No. 80.
[19]Jinnah to Attlee, 1 October 1947, No. 1.
[20]Note by Ismay, 4 October 1947, No. 22.
[21]Liaquat Ali Khan to Nehru, 3 November 1947, No. 151.
[22]Note by Ismay, 4 October 1947, No. 22, paras 1 & 4.
[23]Broadcast by Jinnah, 31 August 1947, Vol. V, No. 175, 164.
[24]Address by Jinnah to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers, 11 October 1947, No. 51.
[25]Riaz Ahmed Khan to Jinnah, 1 October 1947, Appendix I. 1.
[26]M. Yusuf Khan to Jinnah, 9 October 1947, Appendix I. 12.
[27]Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. Ikramullah, 12 November 1947, Appendix I. 24.
[28]Haq Nawaz Mehal to S.M. Yusuf, 17 October 1947, Appendix I. 15.
[29]A.M. Moolla to Jinnah, 17 November 1947, Appendix I. 25.
[30]See List of Donors to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, Appendix II. 14, Vol. V, item 16, 455.
[31]Australian Red Cross to Jinnah, 22 December 1947, No. 310.
[32]Aga Khan to Jinnah, Telegram, 1 October 1947, No. 3.
[33]Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad, 15 October 1947, Appendix I. 14.
[34]Jinnah to Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, 8 October 1947, Appendix I. 9.
[35]Jinnah to Ruler of Swat, 2 October 1947, Appendix I. 10.
[36]Aga Khan to Jinnah, 12 November 1947, No. 199.
[37]Minutes of the 11th Meeting of Central Committee of QARF, 2 December 1947, Appendix I. 32, item 5.
[38]Z.A. Khan to Jinnah, 4 December 1947, Appendix I. 37.
[39]Note by Francis Mudie, 23 October 1947, No. 113.
[40]Address by Jinnah to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947, Appendix IX. 2, Vol. IV, item 4, 538.
[41]D. Nath to Jinnah, 16 August 1947, Vol. V, No. 19, 21.
[42]S. L. Dewan to Jinnah, Telegram, 28 September 1947, Vol. V, No. 313, 343.
[43]The *Statesman*, 4 October 1947. See Appendix II. 7.
[44]Address by Jinnah, to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers, 11 October 1947, No. 51.
[45]Jinnah's interview by Duncan Hooper, 22 October 1947, Annex I to No. 93.
[46]Raghib Ahsan to Jinnah, 26 October 1947, No. 122.
[47]C.E. Gibbon to Jinnah, 27 October 1947, No. 127.
[48]Speech by Jinnah, 30 October 1947, No. 137.
[49]Bhagat Ram to Jinnah, 1 December 1947, No. 235.
[50]Note by Ismay, 4 October 1947, No. 22.

[51]M.B. Mirza to Jinnah, 6 October 1947, No. 27.
[52]Mohammad Noman to Jinnah, 15 October 1947, No. 70.
[53]Zahid Husain to Liaquat Ali Khan, 17 October 1947, Appendix II. 21, para 2.
[54]Jinnah's interview by Duncan Hooper, 22 October 1947, Annex I to No. 93.
[55]Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah, 5 November 1947, Appendix II. 31.
[56]Resolutioin No. 1 by AIML Council, 15 December 1947, Annex I to No. 273.
[57]Resolution II by AIML 31st Session, 25 December 1943. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 467-70.
[58]Jinnah to Attlee, 11 September 1947, No. 219, Vol. V, 221.
[59]Mohamedali Habib to Jinnah, 8 October 1947, No. 39.
[60]Mahomedali Habib to Jinnah, 10 October 1947, No. 50.
[61]Mahomedali Habib to Jinnah, 11 October 1947, No. 53.
[62]Mahomedali Habib to Jinnah, 13 October 1947, No. 55.
[63]Mahomedali Habib to Jinnah, n.d. October 1947, No. 144.
[64]Mohammad Noman to Jinnah, 15 October 1947, No. 70.
[65]Zaiauddin Sheikh to Jinnah, n.d. October 1947, No. 143.
[66]Nazir Ahmad Khan to S. M. Yusuf, 22 November 1947, Enclosure to No. 214.
[67]M. Hashim to the Accountant General, Pakistan Revenues, n.d. August 1947, No. 183, Vol. V, 172.
[68&69]Report by Archibald Rowlands on the Finances and Economics of Pakistan, 12 November 1947, Appendix IV, paras 32 & 42.
[70]Note by Fazlul Qadir, 17 December 1947, No. 291.
[71]Note by M. L. Qureshi, December 1947, Enclosure to No. 311.
[72]M. A. Latif to S. M. Yusuf, 6 November 1947, No. 164.
[73]Message by Jinnah, 26 November 1947, Enclosure to No. 222.
[74]Reply by Jinnah to the Questionnaire by Doon Campbell, 21 May 1947, No. 464, Vol. I, Part I, 842-3. Also see Liaquat Ali Khan to Nehru, Telegram, 24 October 1947, No. 116 & Annex.
[75]Noel Baker to Liaquat Ali Khan, 8 November 1947, No. 177.
[76]Minutes of Joint Defence Council Meeting, 8 November 1947, No. 180.
[77]Erskine Crum to Iskander Mirza, 22 November 1947, No. 215.
[78]Jinnah's interview by De Eric Streiff, 11 March 1948, the *Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1948. See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam, Vol. IV*, Lahore, 1996, 2698-9.
[79]Mountbatten to Listowel, Viceroy's Personal Report No. 16, 8 August 1947, Appendix VI. 2, Vol. IV, para 43, 480-1.
[80]Minutes of Defence Minister's Meeting, 3 October 1947, No. 14, paras 2 & 4.
[81]Message by Jinnah, 22 November 1947, No. 216.
[82]Raghib Ahsan to Jinnah, 26 October 1947, No. 122.
[83]Kh. Nazimuddin to Jinnah, 26 October 1947, No. 123 & Hefazatullah to Jinnah, 17 November 1947, No. 206.
[84]Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan, 29 October 1947, Appendix III. 22.
[85]See speech by Jinnah, 21 March 1948, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan*, Islamabad, 1989, 175-85.
[86]Jinnah to Arthakitti Banomyong, 29 November 1947, No. 230.
[87]M. H. Gazder to Jinnah, 10 November 1947, Enclosure to No. 190.
[88]Ali Mohummed Rashdi to Jinnah, 22 November 1947, No. 217.
[89]Address by Jinnah to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947, Appendix IX. 2, Vol. IV, item 4, 536.
[90]See H. J. Martin to the Chief Secretary, Government of Sind, 23 October 1947, Enclosure to No. 126, Muhammad Tufail & Muhammad Din to Jinnah, 6 November 1947, No. 167, Sher Mohammad to Jinnah, 7 November 1947, No. 176, Agya Ram Atma Ram to Jinnah, 10 November 1947, No. 188 & Niamatullah to Jinnah, 12 November 1947, No. 197.
[91&92]Talk by Jinnah to Civil Officers, 14 April 1948, *Jinnah, Speeches as Governor-General*, 231-4.
[93]A. D. F. Dundas to Jinnah, 24 October 1947, No. 117.
[94]Draft Address by Shahi Jirga to Jinnah, n.d. November 1947, Enclosure to No. 147.
[95]Mir Qadir Bakhsh Khan to Jinnah, 28 November 1947, No. 227.

[96]Mir Qadir Bakhsh Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan, 17 December 1947, No. 288.
[97]Minutes of Defence Minister's Meeting, 3 October 1947, No. 14, para 6.
[98]Mounbatten to Earl Listowel, 15 July 1947, Appendix VI. 4, Vol. III, paras 2 & 3, 954.
[99]Note by Abdur Rab Nishter, n.d. September 1947, Annex to Enclosure I to No. 282, Vol. V, para 7, 302.
[100]The *Pakistan Times*, 23 October 1947.
[101]Abdul Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah, 16 December 1947, No. 278.
[102]Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 7 January 1948, F. 196-GG/4.
[103]Note by Saidullah Khan, 30 September 1947, No. 331, Vol. V, 361-4.
[104]Charles Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall, 10 September 1947, Annex to No. 190, Vol. V, 199-200.
[105]Note by Saidullah Khan, 1 October 1947, No. 6.
[106]Sultan Ahmad Khan to Jinnah, 7 October 1947, No. 33.
[107]Note by Saidullah Khan, 1 October 1947, No. 6.
[108]Note by Saidullah Khan, 3 October 1947, No. 18.
[109]Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan, 4 October 1947, No. 20.
[110]Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan, 8 October 1947, No. 40.
[111]Ibid. Also see Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan, 14 October 1947, No. 61.
[112]Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan, 18 October 1947, No. 86.
[113]Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan, 19 October 1947, No. 87.
[114]Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan, 23 October 1947, No. 106.
[115]See the *Pakistan Times*, 21 October 1947.
[116]Ibid., 11 November 1947.
[117]Note by Saidullah Khan, 22 October 1947, No. 103.
[118]King Mohammad Zahir Shah to Jinnah, 6 November 1947, No. 169.
[119]Najibullah Khan to Jinnah, Telegram, 15 November 1947, No. 203. Also see Jinnah to Najibullah Khan, Telegram, 16 November 1947, No. 204.
[120]Address by Najibullah Khan to Jinnah, 4 December 1947, Enclosure 1 to No. 242.
[121]Jinnah's Reply to Address by Najibullah Khan, 4 December 1947, Enclosure 2 to No. 242.
[122]A separate Volume has been planned regarding the Accession of States. However, it seems necessary to refer to the issue here briefly.
[123]Statement by Jinnah, 17 June 1947, Annex to No. 144, Vol. II, 316-7.
[124]Minutes of Viceroy's Eighteenth Miscellaneous Meeting, 13 June 1947, No. 175, *TP*, XI, item 1, 320-3.
[125]Mountbatten to Jinnah, Telegram, 22 September 1947, Appendix V. 57, Vol. V, para 2, 608.
[126]Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall, 27 October 1947, Annex to Appendix V. 60, Vol. V, 613.
[127]A. P. Quraishi to Jinnah, 24 October 1947, F. 124(4)-GG/3-4. Not printed.
[128]Press Communique, 11 August 1947, Annex to No. 201, Vol. IV, 310-1.
[129] Instrument of Accession of Bahawalpur State, 5 October 1947, *Instruments of Accession and Schedule of States Acceding to Pakistan*, Karachi, 1949, 4-6.
[130]Instrument of Accession of Khairpur State, 9 October 1947, ibid., 8-10.
[131]Instrument of Accession of Amb State, 31 December 1947, ibid., 25-6.
[132]Muslims of Poonch to Jinnah, Telegram, 29 August 1947, Appendix V. 28, Vol. V, 571 & Muslims of Bagh Mallot to Jinnah, Telegram, 29 August 1947, Appendix V. 29, ibid., 572. Also see Alastair Lamb, *Birth of a Tragedy—Kashmir 1947*, Hertingfordbury, 1994, 62-5.
[133]The provisional government stood for the question of accession of the State being settled through "the free vote of the people in the form of a referendum." See Sardar M. Ibrahim Khan, *The Kashmir Saga*, Mirpur, Azad Kashmir, 1990, 116-9. Also see the *Pakistan Times*, 25 October 1947.
[134]Ibid., 31 October 1947. Also see Broadcast by Liaquat Ali Khan, 4 November 1947, the *Pakistan Times*, 5 November 1947 & Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 351-2.
[135]Ali Mohummed Rashdi to Jinnah, 2 November 1947, No. 148.
[136]Ghulamullah to J. B. Dalison, 29 October 1947, No. 133.
[137]Faizullah Khan Niazi to Jinnah, 3 November 1947, No. 152 & Afzal Iqbal to Jinnah, Telegram, 4 November 1947, No. 154.
[138]Liaquat Ali Khan to George Cunningham, 6 November 1947, *FOA*, SA (4)-6/2.
[139]Jinnah to Attlee, 11 September 1947, Vol. V, No. 219, 221. Also see Jinnah to Winston

Churchill & Jinnah to Harold Macmillan, 11 September 1947, Vol. V, Nos. 220 & 221, 222-3.
[140]Liaquat Ali Khan to Attlee, 12 September 1947, Vol. V, No. 225, 226-9.
[141]M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah, 15 October 1947, No. 68.
[142]M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah, 19 September 1947, No. 255, Vol. V, 252-3. Also see Jinnah to M. A. H. Ispahani, n.d., Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, 569.
[143]M. O. A. Baig to Robert A. Lovett, 28 November 1947, No. 226.
[144]M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah, 4 December 1947, No. 243.
[145]Minutes of the Meeting of Emergency Committee of the Cabinet, 15 October 1947, No. 69.
[146]Jinnah to Hassan El Banna, 29 November 1947, No. 229.
[147]R. Joesoef Ahmadi to Jinnah, 25 December 1947, No. 318.
[148]Jinnah to Muhammad Bin Abdel Karim El Khattabi, 29 November 1947, No. 231.
[149]Yusuf Jasim Almajed to S. M. Yusuf, 4 October 1947, No. 21.
[150]Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein, Telegram, 14 October 1947, No. 65 & Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein, 30 December 1947, No. 333.
[151]Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah, 31 October 1947, No. 142.
[152]Schedule of Engagements of the Governor-General, 22 October 1947, F. 887/26, *QAP*.
[153]Ibid., 30 December 1947, F. 887/60, *QAP*.
[154]Ibid., 21 October 1947, F. 887/24, *QAP*.
[155]Resolution No. II by AIML Council, 2 April 1934. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 232.
[156]The *Star of India*, 11 June 1936. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, The Nation's Voice*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1992, 57.
[157]The *Sind Observer*, 9 October 1938. See ibid., 286-7.
[158]Report on Palestine Day in the *Hindustan Times*, 11 March 1939, F. 812/142, *QAP*.
[159]*The Times*, 12 July 1937. See Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 158.
[160]The *Star of India*, 16 & 17 October 1937. See ibid., 182.
[161&162]The *Star of India*, 12 October 1938. See ibid., 286.
[163]Presidential Address by Jinnah at the Sind Muslim League Conference, 8 October 1938, the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 9 October 1938. See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages*, II, 869-74. Also see F. 814/383, *QAP*.
[164]The *Star of India*, 30 January 1939. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 344.
[165]The *Civil & Military Gazette*, 8 February 1939. See ibid., 348.
[166]The *Star of India*, 15 February 1939. See ibid., 354.
[167]Speech by Jinnah, 23 August 1938. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches—Indian Legislative Assembly*, Karachi, 1991, 377.
[168]Speech by Jinnah in the Indian Legislative Assembly, 7 February 1939. See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages*, II, 934-7. Also see report in the *Hindustan Times*, 8 February 1939, F. 812/121-2, *QAP*.
[169]Statement by Jinnah, 10 November 1938. See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages*, II, 889-90.
[170]Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence, 5 November 1939 to 6 February 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 453-6.
[171]Resolution No. II by AIML, 24 March 1940. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 346.
[172]Statement by Jinnah, 4 July 1939, the *Star of India*, 5 July 1939. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 376-7.
[173]Jinnah to the Consul-General of Iraq, Bombay, 12 September 1940, F. 479/14, *QAP*.
[174]Tarek G. Yaffi to Jinnah, 23 January 1947, F. 478/8, *QAP*.
[175]Resolution No. XII by AIML, 26 April 1943. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, Karachi, 1970, 439-40.
[176]Speech by Jinnah, 9 March 1944, the *Dawn*, 11 March 1944. See F. 1020/97-106, *QAP*.
[177]Speech by Jinnah, 8 November 1945, the *Dawn*, 10 November 1945. Also see Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages*, III, 2100-3.
[178]Jinnah to Nahas Pasha, Telegram, 9 October 1944, the *Dawn*, 10 October 1944. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 657.
[179]Jinnah's interview by Duncan Hooper, 22 October 1947, Annex I to No. 93.
[180]Jinnah's interview by Robert Stimson, 19 December 1947, No. 299.
[181]Imam Yahiya to Jinnah, Telegram, 3 December 1947, No. 236.

[182]Statement by Nashashibi, the *Dawn*, 3 December 1947.
[183]Resolution No. 2 by AIML, 15 December 1947, Annex II to No. 273.
[184]Ibid. Also see Palestine Anti-Partition Committee, Singapore, to Jinnah, Telegram, 26 December 1947, No. 322.
[185]Jinnah to Harry S. Truman, 8 December 1947. See Riaz Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam—A Chronology*, 1981, Karachi, 135.
[186]Harry S. Truman to Jinnah, 28 January 1948, ibid., 137.
[187]Statement by Jinnah, 11 October 1940, *Star of India*, 12 October 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 74-5.
[188]Resolution No. VI by AIML, 26 December 1943. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 479-80.
[189]Jinnah's interview by Coorg State Muslim Delegation, 25 July 1947, No. 238, Vol. III, 694-7.
[190]Resolution No. 3 by AIML Council, 15 December 1947, Annex III to No. 273.
[191]The Council of Pakistan Muslim League, meeting under Jinnah's presidentship, decided that no League member holding a government office could b ecome President, Secretary, or holder of any office in the party. Jinnah was believed to have stated that as Governor-General of Pakistan, he could not constitutionally hold office in a political party, for he, as Governor-General, had to safeguard the interests of all sections and parties in the Pakistan Dominion. Subsequently, these reasons for Jinnah's resignation from the presidentship of Pakistan Muslim League were explained in a press note. See the *Pakistan Times*, 26 February & the *Dawn*, 29 February 1948.
[192-94]Address by Jinnah to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers, 11 October 1947, No. 51.
[195]Speech by Jinnah, 30 October 1947, No. 137.
[196]Broadcast by Jinnah to U.S.A., recorded on 4 February 1948, F. 65(3)-GG/2-11.
[197]Address by Jinnah to AIML, 24 April 1947. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 424.
[198]Jinnah's interview by Associated Press of America, 1 November 1945. See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages*, III, 2096-9.
[199]Address by Jinnah to AIML, 24 April 1943. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 424-5.
[200]Broadcast by Jinnah, 31 August 1947, No. 175, Vol. V, 162-5.

Abbreviations

AFM	*Archives of Freedom Movement*
AFRC	Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
API	Associated Press of India
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
CAF	Civil Armed Forces
CSD	Civil Supplies Department; Canteen Stores Department
FOA	*Foreign Office Archives*
GOI	Government of India
GOP	Government of Pakistan
HRH	His (Her) Royal Highness
INC	Indian National Congress
IOR	*India Office Records*
JDC	Joint Defence Council
LLD	Doctor of Laws
MC	Military Cross
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
OPI	Orient Press of India
PA	Political Agent; Personal Assistant
PCS	Provincial Civil Service
PRQ	Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam
PWVS	Pakistan Women's Volunteer Service
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
QARF	Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund
RIASC	Royal Indian Army Service Corps
RSSS	Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh
TP	*The Transfer of Power 1942-7*
UTC	University Training Corps
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Note. Abbrevations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included.

All India Muslim League Working Committee[1]
1947

President
Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Secretary
Liaquat Ali Khan

Treasurer
Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan
(Raja of Mahmudabad)

Assam
Abdul Matin Chaudhury

Baluchistan
Qazi Mohammed Isa

Bengal
M.A.H. Ispahani
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mohamed Akram Khan
Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Bihar
Syed Hossain Imam
S.M. Lateef-ur-Rahman

Bombay
I.I. Chundrigar

Central Provinces and Berar
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Madras
Haji Abdul Sattar H. Essak Sait

North-West Frontier Province
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan

Punjab
Mian Bashir Ahmed
Sheikh Karamat Ali
Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Sind
Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

United Provinces
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman

[1]The All India Muslim League Council resolved on 15 December 1947 to bifurcate the AIML into Pakistan Muslim League and Indian Union Muslim League with Liaquat Ali Khan and Mohammad Ismail Khan as the respective convenors.

Principal Holders of Office

Governor-General	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Private Secretary	S. M. Yusuf
Assistant Private Secretary	Farrukh Amin
Military Secretary	Colonel E. St. J. Birnie
Aides-de-Camp	Lt. S. M. Ahsan
	F/Lt. M. A. Rabbani
	Capt. Gul Hassan

Cabinet

Liaquat Ali Khan	Prime Minister; Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Defence
I. I. Chundrigar	Commerce; Industries and Works
Ghulam Mohammed	Finance
Abdur Rab Nishtar	Communications
Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Food and Agriculture; Health
Jogendra Nath Mandal	Law and Labour
Fazlur Rahman	Interior; Information and Education
Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (from 27 December 1947)

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

M. A. Jinnah	President
M. B. Ahmad	Secretary
Hasan A. Shaikh	Private Secretary

Joint Defence Council[1]

Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan	Baldev Singh
Claude Auchinleck	

[1]Under Joint Defence Council (Amendment) Order 1947, notified on 1 December, the Council was expanded to include one additional Minister from each Dominion and senior most Commander of Defence Services of each Dominion as Advisor, in place of Claude Auchinleck.

Governors

East Bengal	Frederick Bourne
West Punjab	Francis Mudie
Sind	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
N.W.F.P.	George Cunningham

Agent to the Governor-General

Baluchistan	C. Geoffrey Prior A.D.F. Dundas (from 4 October 1947)

Chief Ministers

East Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin
West Punjab	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
N.W.F.P.	Abdul Qaiyum Khan

October

1 Jinnah thanks Attlee for his sympathy and good wishes; states that Pakistan desired to live in peace but its enemies wanted to paralyse it; declares that Pakistan would never surrender to threats by Indian leaders.

Saidullah Khan, Quaid-i-Azam's Personal Representative to Kabul, conveys his disappointment to Sardar Hashim Khan, ex-Prime Minister, over Afghanistan's solitary vote against Pakistan's admission to the United Nations.

3 Government of Pakistan decide to withdraw troops from Waziristan.

4 Jinnah tells Ismay that the Indian Government have no wish to protect the minorities or end communal violence, and that the threat of war looms ever larger.

8 Mahomedali of Habib Bank stresses the economic potential of Pakistan and prospects for its rapid industrialisation.

9 Muslim League Central Office in Delhi complain to the Indian Government about occupation of their premises by Hindus and Sikhs.

11 Jinnah tells civil and military officers that Pakistan was created to enable its people to develop according to their "own lights and culture" based on Islamic social justice; regrets the communal holocaust; regards the emigration of non-Muslims as a conspiracy to "cripple Pakistan"; sympathizes with the sufferings of Indian Muslims and advises them to be loyal to their country; promises a fair deal to minorities; characterizes indiscipline and inefficiency in Government offices of Pakistan as "more deadly than our external enemies"

15 Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani presents his credentials to US President.

17 Mukhtarullah, a private citizen, urges compulsory military training for Muslims.

18 Afghanistan repudiates the Anglo-Afghan Treaties in so far as they related to Pakistan areas and seeks to negotiate fresh treaties with Pakistan.

19 Saidullah Khan informs Afghan Foreign Minister that Pakistan, being a Succession State, had assumed all diplomatic and other responsibilities and obligations under the Anglo-Afghan Treaties.

22 Jinnah promises fullest support to the Arabs against the partition of Palestine; for better relations with India lays stress on restoration of peace and end to communal violence, fair deal for minorities, cessation of hostile propaganda; and redefines the role of the Muslim League after independence.

23 Mudie enumerates problems arising from the refugee influx and suggests remedial measures.

Afghanistan agrees to the exchange of ambassadors with Pakistan.

Khwaja Nazimudin reports bitter feuding between rival Muslim League factions in Chittagong.

24 Liaquat opposes closing down of Supreme Commander s headquarters since reconstitution of the Armed Forces and division and transfer of defence stores had yet to be completed.

Dundas proposes a three-man Advisory Council for Baluchistan.

In his *'Id al-Azha* message Jinnah exhorts the nation to spare no sacrifice and to resolve "to create a State that exists not for life but for good life"; urges mobilization of resources to address the grave crisis stemming from the refugee influx.

26 Nazimuddin requests Jinnah to send J.N. Mandal to East Bengal to help improve Muslim-Hindu relations.

AIML Councillor Raghib Ahsan urges generous treatment of Buddhist minority; suggests that centrifugal tendencies be curbed; recommends the Army be so reconstituted as to avoid

preponderance of one class over another; urges a paradigm shift in the attitude of Muslim ICS officers; warns against making Pakistan a capitalist State.

27 C.E. Gibbon, President, Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan, requests Jinnah to reassure his community of security.

30 Jinnah declares that despite unparalleled difficulties Pakistan shall triumph; flays forces of disorder and disruption which had uprooted millions; invokes guidance and inspiration from the holy *Qur'an;* urges the people against taking law and order into their hands.

31 Jinnah advises students to equip themselves with discipline, education and training for the arduous tasks ahead.

November

1 Sind ML Assembly Party chaired by Khuhro passes a number of resolutions relating to the relations between the Central and Sind Governments.

3 Liaquat protests to Nehru over a statement by Cariappa in London threatening to subjugate Pakistan by force.

8 British Government decides to disband the Supreme Commander's Headquarters on 30 November despite Pakistan's objections.

Jinnah exhorts the Armed Forces and the National Security Guard to work in harmony to face the dangers confronting the nation; expresses confidence that Pakistan shall emerge strong from the crucible.

9 Iftikhar-ud-Din formulates proposals regarding refugee rehabilitation for consideration by the Pakistan-West Punjab Refugees and Rehabilitation Council.

10 Muslim Students Federation of Sylhet District requests East Bengal Government to popularize Urdu by starting additional classes in schools and colleges.

11 Nehru defends Cariappa's statement and emphasizes the need of a strong army for the newly independent India.

12 British Red Cross gift £100,000 to Pakistan for refugee rehabilitation.

14 Hassan El Banna expresses deep concern over the massacre of Muslims in India; assures all-out support to Pakistan.

18 Muhammad bin Abdel Karim El Khattabi thanks Jinnah for intending to raise the Moroccan issue at the UN; suggests that the French interests in the Arab and Islamic countries be used in favour of the Muslims.

22 Ali Mohummed Rashdi makes suggestions for resolving the problems facing Pakistan due to Indian hostility.

26 In his message to the All Pakistan Educational Conference, Jinnah emphasizes the importance of the right type of education, character-building and scientific training.

29 Jinnah thanks Hassan El Banna for his good wishes for Pakistan and expresses confidence that the country shall become a leading Muslim nation; urges continuous Arab support.

December

3 Imam Yahiya, King of Yemen, lauds Pakistan's exposition of the Palestine issue at the UN.

4 Najibullah Khan, the Afghan envoy, presents credentials to Jinnah.

Ispahani informs Jinnah that the State Department had suggested that the visit of a Pakistan Delegation to Washington to negotiate a 2 billion dollar loan for development be deferred and that Pakistan invite a US Trade Mission instead.

Bengal Muslim League request holding of the All India Muslim League Council meeting at Dacca instead of Karachi.

Archibald Rowlands submits his report on economic prospects of Pakistan to Jinnah.

11 Muslim Students Federation of Sylhet District demands making Urdu the State language and the medium of higher education in East Bengal.

13 Mir Qadir Bux Khan demands elevation of Baluchistan as a Governor's province, representation in the Central Government, and inclusion of Muslim League representatives in the provincial *Jirga*.

14/15 Jinnah presides at meeting of the All India Muslim League Council at Karachi. Three resolutions are adopted: condemning communal bloodshed in the subcontinent and partition of Palestine; and recommending bifurcation of the All India Muslim League into Pakistan and India Leagues.

15 Aga Khan offers payment of first instalment of two lakh and fifty thousand rupees, out of 5 lakh, as contribution to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

16 Qaiyum Khan recommends dissolution of the Frontier Assembly.

Jinnah gives interview to Robert Stimson of the BBC; condemns UN decision to partition Palestine; reminds Britain of her moral duty to settle differences between Commonwealth members, regards Kashmir as a grave issue; and elaborates on the AIML decision to split into separate bodies for Pakistan and India.

17/18 Fazlul Qadir submits a report on development of industries in East Bengal; thanks Jinnah for sending a Geologist to examine hydro-electric project and explore presence of coal, oil and other minerals in Chittagong and the Hill Tracts.

22 Jinnah takes oath as Chief Scout of Pakistan and issues a message to the Boy Scouts.

Australian Red Cross send a shipment of relief goods worth six thousand pounds.

24 US President Truman greets Jinnah on his birthday.

26 Singapore Muslims at a mass meeting adopt a resolution condemning proposed partition of Palestine.

27 King George VI approves exchange of High Commissioners between Pakistan and Burma.

29 Jinnah receives the Transjordanian delegation and thanks King Abdullah for his felicitations.

31 American journalist Vincent Sheean arrives in Karachi with a letter of introduction to Jinnah from the Grand Mufti of Palestine.

u.d. Jam'iate 'Ulamai Islam, Chittagong, adopts a resolution for making Urdu the State language as well as East Bengal's Court language.

No.	*Description*	*Date*	*Summary*	*Page*
		October 1947		
1	Jinnah to Attlee Letter	1	Refers to No. 290, Vol. V; says that all they wanted was to be allowed to live in peace in order to so build Pakistan as to ensure happiness and prosperity for all of its people; regrets enemies of Pakistan were out to paralyse the new State; believes that their efforts were doomed to fail, but if the situation was allowed to drift, the consequences might be catastrophic; says that loss of life and property was already colossal; fears that if the Sikhs were not restrained and the situation not handled firmly by India, the ensuing chaos might ruin the economy of both countries; declares that Pakistan would never yield to threats from Hindu leaders hell-bent on crippling it; says that Liaquat had already sent him (Attlee) a full report; prays that the threat to peace not only of the subcontinent but of the world be averted.	1
2	Jinnah to Hassan Ispahani Letter	1	Thanks for No. 255, Vol. V; noting that the Pakistan delegation had arrived in the US, asks him to keep him posted about what was happening there; says he would finalize the order for a Cadillac car after settling his requirements with the representative of General Motors when the latter came to Karachi; asks that the Company's Executive be thanked for bending over backwards in order to get him the car without delay; says he would await his report regarding the aeroplane for Governor-General; also says he had had a look at the speech he (Ispahani) intended making while presenting his credentials; adds that grave and terrible issues and developments confronted him.	2
3	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	1	Refers to Annexure II to Appendix II.3, Vol.V; agrees in principle to contribute Rs. 5 lakh; hopes that Pakistan Govt. would remove difficulties in payment, which he says his agent would explain; expresses inability to appeal to his followers to contribute as well, since he had never before asked them to do so; trusts, however, that they would follow his example; regrets that serious ill health kept him from offering his services for Pakistan.	4
4	M. S. Bukhari to S. M. Yusuf Letter	1	Asks to be allowed to present the Great Seal (to Jinnah) which he says he had	4

			embroidered himself; says he expected no reward or accolade.	
5	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	1	Refers to No. 316, Vol.V; says that the report cited by him was misleading and that Gandhi was opposed to war; says further that Gandhi had only warned of the dangerous consequences in case the situation was allowed to drift and had further explained his position in a press statement; reiterates India's adherence to the declaration of the Joint Conference held on 19-20 September in New Delhi.	5
6	Note by Saidullah Khan	1	Tells of his interview with Sardar Hashim Khan, the erstwhile Afghan Prime Minister, who at the outset asked him if the negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily; says, however, that he countered with an expression of extreme disappointment at the news broadcast that morning that Afghanistan had cast the solitary vote against Pakistan's admission to the UN; says further that Hashim Khan protested ignorance and promised to bring the matter to the notice of the powers that be for making amends, agreeing that such difficulties could only complicate his mission; adds that he learned later that Hashim did convey his (Saidullah's) views to the Afghan Foreign Minister and suggest that suitable amends be made.	8
7	Note by Saidullah Khan	1	Says he had had wide-ranging discussions with Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan, the Afghan Court Minister who, *inter alia*, asked whether, given his high status and the importance of his mission, it would not have been proper for the Pakistan Govt. to have appointed him, rather than an Englishman, as Governor of the NWFP to mollify opinion on both sides of the Durand Line; says he replied that his assignment was neither comparable nor inferior *per se* to gubernatorial office.	9
8	K. H. Khurshid to J. C. Mehta Letter	1	Refers to No. 229, Vol. V; encloses two cheques for Rs. 315 and Rs. 55, being dividends on 35 and 5 shares of Simplex Mills, claimed by Brijmohan and Jwala Bank, respectively.	11
9	K. H. Khurshid to Govan Bros. Letter	1	Encloses two cheques for Rs. 3007-8-0 each including bank charges, in payment of the Third Call on 2400 Ordinary Shares of the Indian National Airways, held by Jinnah.	11
10	Zahid Husain to Mohamad Ali Letter	1	Refers to his letter of 30 September expressing reservations about the usefulness of his further stay in New Delhi as	12

			High Commissioner, in the conditions then obtaining in India, and suggesting that another person with a fairly high political standing might do better as Pakistan's envoy; says that the Prime Minister had agreed to his relinquishing charge after a fortnight; states, however, that since Mian Abdul Aziz, Deputy High Commissioner, was finally leaving his post, he would, in the changed situation, stay on in New Delhi himself until Government were able to relieve him.	
11	Nawab of Bhopal to Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Karachi Letter	2	Instructs to pay Mohamad Ali seven lakh rupees, minus five thousand pounds already paid, by quarterly instalments beginning 1 September 1947.	14
12	Ruler of Kalat to Jinnah Telegram	2	Thanks for his message received through Qazi Isa; proposes arriving in Karachi on 12 October for a week's stay to greet him personally as well as to see Miss Jinnah.	15
13	Ameer of Bahawalpur to Jinnah Letter	3	Says that Gurmani was leaving for Karachi and believes he would call on him (Jinnah); requests his latest portrait as a memento; requests also a portrait in profile for bringing out a postage stamp to commemorate the Pakistan-Bahawalpur union; assures all possible assistance to make Pakistan great and prosperous.	15
14	Minutes of Defence Minister's Meeting	3	The meeting attended, among others, by the NWFP Governor and Premier, Army C-in-C, Secretary-General, and Defence Secretary agrees on the evacuation of troops from Waziristan before December; the Defence Member says that treaties with the States should stipulate that Central Govt. would be responsible for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, the other subjects being the responsibility of the States which would be obligated to take part in the defence of Pakistan by way of quid pro quo; the Defence Member says further that the States' representation in the Constituent Assembly would be considered separately; as regards relationship with the tribes, the Defence Member settles for the status quo, but aims at closer and stronger ties with the tribes, the NWFP Governor agreeing in principle; the Governor and the C-in-C both agree on a somewhat larger tribal representation in the army; the meeting decides that the Governor should (a) start negotiating agreements with the Frontier States and the	16

			tribes, other than those in Waziristan, and (b) announce, after about a month, troop withdrawal from Waziristan in full *jirga,* the withdrawal taking about two and a half months to complete; the meeting decides further that Jinnah's visit to Peshawar to confirm the agreements and to meet States' and tribal representatives would not take place until early December; the meeting decides as well that the Afghan Govt. be informed of the projected troop withdrawal from Waziristan, where the main roads should be kept open; the NWFP Premier mentions the food shortages in Hazara and Peshawar, whereupon the Defence Member and the Secretary-General require full information by the next day; the Defence Member promises to arrange for four trains to be sent to Peshawar for evacuating 10,000 refugees.	
15	Mahomed Ismail & Others to Jinnah Letter	3	Send a draft for Rs.5287-6-0 for aid to the Muslim refugees; show interest in investing in real estate, trade, industry and agriculture; seek information about facilities or assistance extended to entrepreneurs, if any.	20
16	Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro Letter & Enclosure	3	Encloses a clipping from the *Sind Observer* saying that he (Khuhro) had told that newspaper in an interview that, the Pakistan Government's instructions notwithstanding, emigrants would continue to be searched to ensure that no prohibited articles were taken out; seeks to know if he had been correctly reported, for the statement would "create a very serious misunderstanding".	21
17	S. Rasool & Co., Lahore, to Jinnah Letter	3	Say that they had received a cheque for Rs.300 only from his Personal Secretary with the remark that he (Jinnah) considered their charges exorbitant; urge reconsideration for reasons stated.	22
18	Note by Saidullah Khan	3	Refers to his meeting the same day with the Afghan Foreign Minister who, he says, queried him about his precise representative status and the specific object of his mission to Kabul; says he informed him that he had been accredited as Personal Representative of the Quaid-i-Azam in Kabul to assume charge of the functions hitherto performed by the British Legation in respect of matters relating to Pakistan as well as to negotiate the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan; says he informed him further that he had been duly authorized to function as sole channel of communication between the two governments.	23

19	M. Ikramullah to Saidullah Khan Telegram	3	Informs about the press report that Pakistan had been admitted to the UN, and that Afghanistan's was the solitary vote against Pakistan's membership.	26
20	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	4	Referring to their meeting earlier that day at the Foreign Office in Kabul, clarifies that he had been assigned as Quaid-i-Azam's Personal Representative with the Afghan Govt. to function as sole channel of communication between that Govt. and the Govt. of Pakistan and to negotiate the setting up of Pakistan's Embassy in Kabul; clarifies further that the Afghan Govt. was free to discuss any "important political matters" with Pakistan's Foreign Minister direct, through their diplomatic representative in Karachi, or with Pakistan's diplomatic representative in Kabul; seeks to know whether it was proposed to give effect to the stated purpose of his mission and to allow immediate transfer of the agency functions assigned by the Government of Pakistan to the British Minister in Kabul to their own representative.	26
21	Yusuf Jasim Almajed to S. M. Yusuf Letter	4	Conveys felicitations and wishes for success and prosperity from King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud for Jinnah.	29
22	Note by Ismay	4	States that he had had a two-hour meeting with Jinnah who believed that the Indian Govt. were unwilling and unable to protect the minorities, that they as well as Gandhi were intent on undoing Pakistan, that the threat of war between the two countries loomed ever larger, and that the British were incapable of understanding the workings of the Hindu mind; says further that Jinnah dismissed the theory that militant Hindu and Sikh elements were out to topple the Indian Govt. as a ploy to condone the inaction of that Govt.; also says that Jinnah was sceptical of Nehru's sincerity and statesmanship, believing he was conceited and unpractical, and that the real power lay with Patel, supported by Gandhi; states that Jinnah regarded Patel as implacably anti-Muslim, who wanted all Muslims driven out of E. Punjab; says that Jinnah thought Gandhi to be wily, cunning and hypocritical; states that members of the Indian Cabinet other than Nehru and Patel were, in Jinnah's view, lightweights; quotes him also as saying that Sikhs had caused all the trouble in the Punjab and blaming Mountbatten and Patel for failing to have	30

			the ringleaders rounded up; reports that he feared Sikh incursions from across the Punjab border; mentions Jinnah as saying that the trouble in NWFP and Baluchistan had been controlled and hoping that the N.W. Frontier, the policing of which was costing 4-5 crore rupees annually, would eventually cease to cause problems and indeed become profitable; says that Jinnah needed a loan as well as military equipment; also reports him as saying that Patel had prevented the release of Pakistan's share of "reserve equipment" in India and asking for his (Ismay's) good offices.	
23	G. A. Khan to Jinnah Letter	4	Intimates that they had offered eleven of their buses for transportation of the refugees from East Punjab while their other nine buses were engaged in refugee work in Campbellpur District and elsewhere; complains of the unhelpful attitude of the District officials; reports that the District Police owed them Rs.30,000 for the use of their lorries during March-June 1947; says that they had contributed Rs.200 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.	41
24	Salma Tasadduque Husain to Jinnah Letter	4	Informs that Pakistan had been admitted to the UN and that she had been nominated on the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee; says that Mrs. Pandit had invited them to a reception; further says that she had met with all heads of delegation from the Middle East countries who had felicitated him (Jinnah) on achieving a sovereign State for his people and expressed solidarity with Pakistan.	42
25	S. M. Yusuf to Khwaja Nazimuddin Letter	4	Says that it had been brought to Jinnah's notice that factionalism within the Muslim League in Chittagong was likely to translate into serious trouble in the District; seeks a report for Jinnah about the facts of the matter and the action taken to head off trouble.	43
26	Jinnah to Ruler of Kalat Telegram	5	Refers to No. 12; looks forward to welcoming him in Karachi along with his Begum, if she was coming as well.	44
27	M. B. Mirza to Jinnah Letter	6	Regrets that he could not meet him before he (Jinnah) left India; agonizes over the state of turbulence and insecurity in India and the uncertain future of Aligarh Muslim University in the new ambience; says he wished to join Pakistan's foreign service unless persons married to foreigners were ineligible; says further that he was interested also in appointment as Educational Adviser in the USA and Canada or	44

			as Head of an educational institution in Pakistan, given his administrative experience qua acting Vice-Chancellor; adds that in case Pakistan did not need his services, he might go away to Hyderabad State.	
28	Mountbatten to Ismay Letter	6	Recalls that Claude Auchinleck had told them both, at Susan's party, that he was all for the closing down of Supreme Headquarters by 30 November; says Arthur Smith had however told him, at Edwina's lunch, that the Headquarters could not be closed down before 31 December; states that Govt. of India were in any case opposed to the Headquarters being retained until after 30 November; to his suggestion that Supreme Commander and senior officers might quit earlier leaving a rump behind, says Smith responded by saying that a Supreme Commander senior to the two Dominion Commanders-in-Chief was essential for giving them orders and securing compliance; states that Roy Bucher, whom he had sounded out as well, countenanced the winding up of the Headquarters as soon as possible; desires him to consult with the Chiefs of Staff in London and communicate their approval to the closing down by 30 November; fears that Pakistan would oppose the early closing down on the ground that that might delay the transfer of their stores.	46
29	S. M. Yusuf to J. B. Kripalani Letter	6	Refers to No. 291, Vol. V; says that Jinnah was already seized of matters referred to by him and that instructions had been issued against conducting searches; encloses a copy of Sind Govt's communique regarding occupation of places of worship by refugees; adds that the Sind Premier had issued a press statement regarding forcible occupation of houses.	49
30	Note by M. B. Ahmad	7	States that the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had desired to have a Private Secretary and that he had selected Hasan A. Shaikh for that appointment; says that the Constituent Assembly being a sovereign body, sanction of the Ministry of Finance was not required; seeks the President's formal approval to the creation of a post of Private Secretary and the appointment of Hasan A. Sheikh to that post.	49
31	M. S. Bukhari to Jinnah Letter	7	Sends a design for Pakistan Emblem, explaining the symbols contained therein.	50

32	Jinnah to Hassan Ispahani Letter	7	Refers to No. 303, Vol. V; says he was arranging remittance of $ 6,000 on account for the Cadillac on order for the Governor-General; asks to be kept posted about the proposed purchase of an aeroplane; believes that no customs duty was payable on goods required for the Governor-General; seeks full report on developments at the UN.	51
33	Sultan Ahmad Khan to Jinnah Letter	7	Says that he had not believed unconfirmed reports in the press regarding the unfriendly Afghan attitude towards Pakistan which symbolised resurgence of Islam; regrets, however, that the Afghan opposition to Pakistan's membership of the UN, stemming from Indian influence, had betrayed utter disregard for Islamic brotherhood and solidarity; says he possessed thorough knowledge of Afghanistan and its people and also had personal friendship with influential tribal *Maliks,* which he could turn to Pakistan's advantage if given the opportunity; seeks an interview.	52
34	Mountbatten to Ismay Telegram	7	Says the Supreme Commander had suggested that a paper be circulated for consideration by the Joint Defence Council stating that British officers and other ranks would be withdrawn in case of armed conflict between the two Dominion; expresses reservations about propriety of the Council taking up the issue; says HMG should rather communicate with the Dominions through diplomatic channels; fears deterioration of internal security in case of sudden withdrawal; says he had advised Supreme Commander against circulating his paper to JDC and to await outcome of his (Ismay's) discussions in London with Chiefs of Staff.	54
35	Saidullah Khan to M. Ikramullah Telegram	7	Refers to No. 19; says he protested to Afghan Govt. at their vote against Pakistan's admission to the UN, but that they repudiated their delegate's statement, calling it "unauthorized" and promising redress; states that foreign diplomats as well as the intelligentsia in Kabul expressed surprise at, and disapproval of, the negative vote in view of ongoing discussion between the two countries.	55
36	S. M. H. Ali to S. M. Yusuf Letter	8	Says that rumour had it that after the non-Muslims had been evacuated from Eastern and Western Pakistan, the Muslims in India would be butchered; states that the Hindu press had splashed a statement by Liaquat Ali Khan that no more Indian	55

			Muslims would be admitted to Pakistan, which had caused panic; doubts veracity of the statement as reported, enclosing a cutting from the *Searchlight*; urges "some immediate arrangement" for the Indian Muslims.	
37	Jinnah to Ameer of Bahawalpur Letter	8	Refers to No. 13; looking forward to meeting him soon in Karachi, reciprocates his greetings and thanks for his autographed portrait; says he would send him his own photograph soon; expresses confidence that he and the Bahawalpur State would be steadfast friends of, and make their fullest contribution towards strengthening, Pakistan.	58
38	Jinnah to Jaidayal Dalmia Letter	8	Says that he had vacated his Delhi house to give him possession, as desired, by end of August, but as it turned out, the Indian Govt. requisitioned it for the Dutch Representative; suggests that the sale deed be executed and the balance of the purchase price paid, as soon as possible, so that the Title Deeds could be handed over to his agent in Karachi.	59
39	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	8	Adverting to the two interviews he had had with him, sends the first of a series of letters he proposed writing to him on various issues; says that what had struck him most after his return from Europe was that the Musalman was unaware of his strength; states that the Hindu had systematically hyped up the weaknesses of the Musalman and that, unfortunately, the hype had largely sunk in; reports that most people were seen occupied with reading the *Dawn* or other newspapers to find remedies for their problems; suggests that he, inspirational leader that he was, guide and impress the following points of strength upon them: (a) undying faith of the Muslim in God; (b) *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* are his unfailing source of guidance; (c) Pakistan had a huge area of fertile land producing 90 per cent of jute worth some one billion rupees per year, cotton worth about 45 crore rupees annually, and cereals worth over one and a half billion rupees per year; (d) the Pakistan rupee would be stronger than the Indian rupee or the pound sterling because of buoyant exports; whereas it had taken British India some 50 years to industrialize, Pakistan, *Insha Allah*, can establish an industrial base in 5 years; Pakistan had	60

			the support of 400 million Musalmans; an average Muslim was more courageous and stronger than an average Hindu.	
40	Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan Letter	8	Refers to No. 20; welcoming the emergence of Pakistan and his assignment to Kabul as Personal Representative of the Governor-General states that the Afghan Govt. were pleased to enter into discussions with him; says that diplomatic exchanges had been taking place between London and Kabul concerning the political future of Afghans living across the Durand Line; adds that those discussions would be continued with Pakistan while negotiating the establishment of diplomatic ties; states further that the Afghan Govt. desired a solution of the pending problems with a view to fostering a political climate conducive to negotiations; informs that Najib Ullah Khan had been named Envoy Extraordinary to conduct negotiations with Pakistan Govt. in Karachi; requests that facilities be provided to him for pursuing his mission; sends a copy of latest letter to Giles Squire reaffirming its contents; hopes that Squire would have transferred relevant papers to Pakistan; informs that their Foreign Office had no objection to Afghan nationals approaching the Pakistan representative for grant of visas, although that normally was to be done by Pakistan's Embassy or Consultate in Kabul which was yet to be set up.	62
41	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	9	Refers to No. 40; seeks to ascertain if the expression "Treaties and Trade Agreements", used therein, referred to the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, 1921, and the Trade Convention, 1923, or to any other treaty and trade agreement.	64
42	Ismay to Jinnah Letter	9	Thanks him and Miss Jinnah for their warm welcome and hospitality; says he had had two long talks with Attlee on the Indian situation and would be seeing him again; prays for speedy and safe movements of refugees; says he had been told by Listowel that Hubert Rance would be leaving Burma in January; hopes that the Dakota had been delivered and that he was pleased with it.	65
43	M. R. Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	9	Informs that the Central Office of AIML could not be shifted to Karachi for want of suitable premises there as well as due to eruption of disturbances; regrets that he had heard nothing from Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, who, while	66

			leaving for Karachi on 24 September, had assured him that he would ask Liaquat Ali Khan to make arrangements for the shifting, through the High Commissioner in Delhi, as well as send him adequate funds from Pakistan; says the office had been raided twice and also searched by a Special Magistrate, accompanied by Special Police, on 3 October but that nothing incriminating had been found and no damage done; fears that he would not be able to protect the office much longer in view of the worsening situation; requests that the High Commissioner be instructed to make all necessary arrangements for the shifting of the office as well as for the transfer of the staff to Karachi as soon as possible; suggests that the High Commission loan him 3, 000 rupees for defraying transportation expenses and paying salaries to the staff who were all impecunious; says he had locked the office and requests, therefore, that all letters, etc., addressed to him be sent to his residential address through the High Commission.	
44	S. M. Yusuf to Randolph S. Churchill Letter	9	Conveys Jinnah's thanks for No. 218, Vol. V, as well as regrets at being unable to see him due to his many previous engagements; says that Jinnah looked forward to seeing him if he happened to visit Karachi again.	68
45	F. Amin to the Director of Telephones, Delhi Letter	10	Says that Jinnah had sold his New Delhi house, of which the possession was to have been given by end of August; says further that following the Government seizure of the house, the balance of the deposit made by Jinnah on account of the telephone installed there be remitted to him after adjusting dues up to August.	69
46	Claude Auchinleck to Jinnah Letter	10	Thanks for the friendly welcome and generous hospitality extended to him and his party during their stay in Karachi; says that the visit, especially his talk with him, was of great value.	70
47	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	10	Encloses a letter from Hayes G. Shimp saying that the price of Beech Aircraft Corporation's Model 34 had yet to be fixed and that Pan Am's converted B23 was estimated to cost between 175,000 and 200, 000 dollars; says that Model 34 was the best aeroplane for him but that it would take a year to deliver; advises that Dithmer of General Motors, who	70

			was going to study the prospects of establishing an automobile plant in Karachi, was due to visit there in early January 1948; adds that he was a very influential man and could help project Pakistan's case in America for industrial development; requests that his brief stay be made pleasant and productive.	
48	Jinnah to R. K. Dalmia Letter	10	Encloses a copy of the letter he had written to his brother Jaidayal Dalmia; seeks his help, in the changed situation, to get the sale deed for 10 Aurangzeb Road, Delhi, executed.	72
49	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	10	Deplores the appeal made to Hindus in Sind by the Provincial Governor as well as by the Secretary, Provincial ML, to stay on; urges that he restrain them from seeking the help of Hindus and exhort them instead to invoke God's help and to work hard.	73
50	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	10	Expresses serious reservations about entrusting the Reserve Bank of India with the printing of Pakistan currency; as for the issue of paper currency with or without the security of gold reserves, says that the German financial wizard, Dr Schacht, advocated fiduciary issue; urges that Pakistan steer a middle course between inflation and deflation; suggests that Pakistan start off with a total currency of around 300 crore rupees with suitable annual expansion.	73
51	Jinnah's Address to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers	11	Says that Pakistan, for which they had all striven resolutely, was a means to an end and not an end in itself; Pakistan, says he, had given us the opportunity to order our lives in consonance with Islamic ideals and principles of social justice; regrets that the creation of Pakistan was accompanied by mass murder of innocent people, rendering countless others homeless and compelled to seek shelter across the political divide, resulting in the colossal problem of their resettlement; exhorts the officers to face up to the titanic task and pull the afflicted masses out of the abyss of despair; prays that God give them courage and fortitude to bear their crippling losses of life and property; spurs them on to work, work and more work in order to build Pakistan on solid foundations, proving their worth as architects of the new State; expresses concern for the safety of Muslims in India; says India had reneged on the solemn agreement that minorities	75

			would be protected by both Governments; assures of equal opportunities for the minorities in Pakistan as well as of due protection of their lives and property; directs that officers adhere strictly to the stated policy.	
52	Note by Jinnah	11	Refers to No. 30; concurs with M.B. Ahmad's view that the Constituent Assembly being a sovereign body, its President was fully competent to sanction the staff and the expenditure required for its functioning without reference to the Finance Department; sanctions a temporary post of Private Sectretary to the President of the Constituent Assembly and appointment of Hasan Shaikh to that post.	79
53	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	11	Says that the division of assets and liabilities of the Reserve Bank of India was likely, in the usual routine, to take a few years but that Pakistan could not wait that long; suggests that someone from the business community with experience of dissolution of partnerships and assisted by a team of bankers and auditors be entrusted with the task; believes that the division should take one week at the most, the items in dispute being left for settlement later.	79
54	Mahomedali to Jinanh Letter	12	Hopes and prays that the Government in Pakistan would be based on the Islamic principles of reasonableness and justice; suggests that departments of anti-corruption and investigation be instituted for redressal of complaints of citizens against excesses committed by government functionaries.	80
55	Mohamedali to Jinnah Letter	13	Stresses the imperative of addressing the refugee problem speedily; suggests that the refugees be gainfully employed as teachers, agricultural and industrial workers, or in the armed forces, etc., to ease the strain on the economy.	80
56	Quadir Buksh Khan to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	13	Lest what he had written on 5 October be misunderstood, encloses an extract from his speech at Hazaribagh, Bihar, on 11 October; says he had told his audience about his experiences in Karachi and urged them to give no credence to press propaganda regarding conditions in Pakistan; adds that he had also told them that peace prevailed in Karachi and that Jinnah himself was all too solicitous about protection of minorities.	82
57	Minutes of meeting of Emergency Committee of the Cabinet	13	Decide on the setting up of the Pakistan Refugee Council, with the Prime Minister as Chairman and with Cabinet powers, to	84

			address and resolve all problems relating to refugees and their rehabilitaiton; specify composition of the Council and determine its specific responsibilities, modalities of its working and of implementing its directives, etc.	
58	Altaf Husain to Jinnah Letter	13	Requests him to inaugurate the all-Pakistan *Mushaira* to be held, in aid of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, on 25 October on the Sind Madrasah campus in Karachi; says that the *Mushaira* was being organised by the staff of the *Dawn* and that Nishtar was to preside at it.	85
59	Khar Saifullah to Jinnah Telegram	13	Denounces mass exchange of population as solution to the minority problem; urges protection of minorities instead; demands that Pakistan bang its doors on Indian Muslims and invite Gandhi to help find a solution.	86
60	Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan Letter	13	Refers to No. 41; says what he meant was that until "Political Treaties" and "Trade Conventions" between Afghanistan and Pakistan were concluded, commercial and consular matters should continue to be regulated by the treaties and agreements between the Afghan Govt. and HMG.	86
61	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	14	Refers to Nos. 40 & 60 and acknowledges the good wishes of the Afghan Govt. on the achievement of Pakistan by constitutional means; referring to the communal holocaust in East Punjab and elsewhere in Hindustan, which had rendered millions of Muslims destitute and homeless and forced them to seek refuge in Pakistan, says that the Pakistan Govt. were facing the calamity with supreme courage; states that, although the refugee problem had hogged the attention and energies of the Pakistan Govt. they were not unmindful of their obligation towards their Muslim brothers in Afghanistan and had hastened to post him as their representative in Kabul; thanks the Afghan Govt. for the unstinted cooperation extended to him; referring to the acceptance by the Afghan Govt. for the time being, of certain provisions only of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 and the Trade Convention of 1923, points out omission of the clause regarding establishment of consulates; points out further that it was obligatory, under international law, for both Govts. to adhere to the Treaty as a whole until it was amended or abrogated; informs that he had fully assumed the diplomatic duties hitherto	87

			performed by the British Minister in Kabul on Pakistan's behalf; welcomes the decision to send out Najibullah Khan to Karachi for talks preparatory to the setting up of Afghan Embassy in Karachi.	
62	Asadullah to Jinnah Letter	14	Says that Muslims in India, especially East Punjab, had been subjected to savage persecution with a view to forcing them to migrate to Pakistan; urges beefing-up of the defence of East Pakistan and stepping-up of recruitment to the armed forces; stresses the imperative of providing food and shelter to the refugees and resettling them; suggests constitution of district and provincial Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund committees to mount a campaign to raise funds for relief work.	92
63	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Refers to his appeal to Britain and the Dominions for intervention in order to save the grim situation in East Punjab and, from what he had been able to gather, fears that the appeal had not evoked a sympathetic response; lest he (Jinnah) should feel that he was taking undue interest in a matter not primarily concerning Bhopal, assures that Pakistan's welfare was very dear to his own heart; encloses a note containing arguments which he thought might help persuade Whitehall to modify their attitude; says that one of his officers had met Harold Sanderson of the FAO, who was responsible for world procurement and distribution of rice, and explained to him Pakistan's importance to the Commonwealth and to the West; says further that Sanderson, who was highly influential and in a position to bring pressure to bear on governments, was at one with the thrust of the note; given the strategic importance of Pakistan, suggests that Field Marshal Montgomery be persuaded to use his great influence to get Whitehall to respond to his (Jinnah's) appeal in real earnest; suggests further that a copy of the note be given to Grafftey-Smith as well, who might then renew his approach to Whitehall.	94
64	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	14	Refers to Nos. 2 and 32; says that the car ordered for him was the state-of-the-art Super Cadillac 75 with left-hand drive; says further that, in case he would like the car painted light blue instead of deep green, he was asking Shaffi to contact General Motors forthwith and try to get	101

			the change effected; informs that the Pakistan delegation had made an excellent impression and that Zafrulla Khan had delivered one of the best speeches on Palestine at the UN; states that he and the Delegation were both short of staff and were hard put to it to cope with the enormous workload; urges that the staff be augmented quickly since other delegations had much larger staff; informs that the refugee relief campaign was about to be mounted vigorously; says Pakistan had been elected to the Greek Committee.	
65	Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein Telegram	14	Thanks for No. 335, Vol. V; says that Pakistan was fighting against heavy odds and doing everything possible to restore and maintain peace and order; prays for success in rescuing Muslims in India from death and ruin; assures that Pakistan was firmly committed to protecting non-Muslims and giving them a fair deal.	102
66	Transvaal Muslim League, Johannesburg, to Jinnah Telegram	14	Inform that new office-bearers of the Transvaal Muslim League had been elected, who stood by Pakistan and its ideals, prayed that Pakistan would grow strong and take its due place in the family of free and democratic nations, and pledged their steadfast loyalty and material support in response to his appeal for refugee relief; state that they were collaborating with the recently formed Pakistan Central Relief Committee for the purpose of sending all possible assistance.	103
67	F. Amin to Altaf Husain Letter	15	Refers to No. 58; informs that Jinnah would not be able to inaugurate the *Mushaira*.	103
68	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	15	Refers to No. 64; informs that the steering of the Cadillac could not be changed; informs further that change of colour would be possible in case the painting had not been done already; says that the Delegation to UN kept the Foreign Office posted about matters of concern to Pakistan; says also that Zafrulla's speech on Palestine had made a great impression and that he would have to return to New York well before the end of current UN session after participation in the negotiations with India concerning division of assets and liabilities; pleads for more staff for both the Embassy in Washington and the UN Delegation; says he had given a comprehensive picture of Pakistan to the US President when he saw him, telling him how anxious Pakistan was to achieve balanced economic growth, improve health and	104

			education, and raise standards of living; states that the President's response was sympathetic and positive; hopes Laik Ali's negotiations with the State Dept. would bear fruit.	
69	Minutes of meeting of Emergency Committee of the Cabinet	15	Foreign Secretary informed that Italy and Belgium had proposed exchange of ambassadors and that Egypt had accepted the nomination of Pakistan's Charge d'Affaires and designated their own Consul-General in Bombay as Charge d'Affaires in Pakistan; Jinnah observed that Pakistan would have to exchange ambassadors with important countries, like the USA, and Charges d'Affaires with smaller ones to begin with; Jinnah also stressed the importance of establishing diplomatic relations with Belgium and Czechoslovakia.	105
70	Mohammad Noman to Jinnah Letter	15	Reaffirms unwavering loyalty to Pakistan; suggests that adequate steps be taken to answer the virulent Indian propaganda against Pakistan; says Muslims in India were facing untold hardships and that India should be advised to extend humane treatment to minorities; suggests that finished goods rather than raw materials be exported by Pakistan and that foreign investors be induced to invest in Pakistan; seeks permission to see him along with one Masud Hussain who had plans for the manufacture in Pakistan of aircraft and munitions such as Sten guns and revolvers.	106
71	V. P. Saxena to Jinnah Letter	15	Says that a conference was being held at Lucknow on 18-19 October to promote communal harmony and peace, which was to be inaugurated by Sarojini Naidu, presided over by Narendra Deo, and addressed by Nehru and Kripalani; seeks his support and goodwill for success of the peace initiative; requests his presence on, or his message for, the occasion.	110
72	Jinnah to Oriental Building & Furnishing Co., New Delhi Letter	16	Enquires about the position with regard to the library furniture and tapestry ordered by him quite some time back.	111
73	Jinnah to N. K. Petigara Telegram	16	Says Agha Khan had telegraphed to offer a donation of five lakh rupees and to ask help for removing difficulties in payment, to be explained personally by his Bombay agent; asks him accordingly to come over to Karachi and assures him of all necessary help.	112
74	S. A. Rauf Shah to Jinnah Letter	16	Congratulates him on achievement of Pakistan; seeks instructions, through his representative M. Ibrahim, regarding the	112

			course of action to be followed by the Muslims of C.P. & Berar in the circumstances then obtaining; looks forward to seeing Jinnah as early as possible.	
75	S. M. Yusuf to S.M.H. Ali Letter	16	Refers to No. 36; says that the statement ascribed to Liaquat that non-Punjabi Muslims had been barred from entering Pakistan was incorrect; says further that Liaquat had clarified the position through a press statement.	113
76	Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah Telegram	16	Says that Maqsood Raza of Central League Office had sent a detailed report to Jinnah, *vide* No. 43; states that Sikhs had seized the office; seeks Jinnah's orders for evacuation of the League staff to Pakistan.	115
77	R. K. Dalmia to Jinnah Letter	17	Refers to Nos. 48 & 38; says that the purpose of buying his (Jinnah's) Delhi house had not been served because the house had been requisitioned by the Government; states that he was approaching the Chief Commissioner for grant of permission for transfer of the house in his name; adds that payment would be made as soon as permission was received and registration completed.	116
78	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	17	Says that Hindustan was hell-bent on undoing Pakistan but that, by God's grace, it was bound to fail; urges introduction of compulsory military training, with a target of twenty-five million men in arms in five years, and a crash training programme of six months; offers to provide steamers for transportation of military personnel and stores to Pakistan.	117
79	Mukhtarullah to Jinnah Letter	17	Says that his performance as Governor-General did not match his track record as the Muslim League supremo in that he had failed to prevent genocide of Muslims in East Punjab; states further that India had an overwhelming advantage over Pakistan as regards size of armed forces and defence arsenal; suggests that compulsory military training be imparted to every adolescent and adult Muslim, man or woman; regrets that though Junagadh had acceded to Pakistan, he had extended no help to it; as regards Kashmir, says that while India was hell-bent on usurping it, he was rightly neutral since the National Conference was opposed to him, but asks what he had done to contain the damage that loss of Kashmir was going to cause Pakistan; urges appointment as Defence Minister of someone who had a military background and who was gallant and	118

			could play the role of a Churchill; states that Liaquat was unsuitable for the Defence portfolio and that he had weakened Punjab by installing a feudal Ministry under Mamdot, which could not escape blame for the massacre of Muslims in Punjab.	
80	S. J. Shah to K. H. Khurshid Letter	17	Thanks for his anxiety about his dicey stay in Delhi during the disturbances; comparing the scale of violence in Lahore and Sialkot with that in Delhi, says that he was filled with remorse and shame; regrets that not only miscreants but also officials and local Muslim League leaders and workers had engaged in looting and plundering; says that he could, if Jinnah so wished, provide authentic information about the share of the spoils grabbed by each official and local League leader.	119
81	S. M. Yusuf to Wazir Ali Letter & Enclosures	17	Encloses a copy each of Rahimtoola's telegram of 14 October and his reply; says that Jinnah would like the Prime Minister to consider sending a wedding present from Pakistan to Princess Elizabeth.	120
82	Mountbatten to Ismay Letter & Enclosures	17	Thanks for his letter of 9 October and feels satisfied that his visit (to London) had been opportune; says the communal situation had greatly improved, that there were no major incidents any more, and that the refugee movements were proceeding satisfactorily; feels that, as constitutional Governor-General, he should not attend formal Cabinet meetings etc.; admits to his gaffe in dealing with Auchinleck's paper on the closing down of Supreme Headquarters on 30 November inasmuch as, having been advised by Auchinleck that Jinnah had resigned himself to the proposition, he had not bothered to meet and bring Liaquat round as well beforehand; says the result was that everybody at the Joint Defence Council Meeting was flabbergasted when Liaquat refused to consider the closing down of Supreme Headquarters before 1 April 1948; states that he spoke to Liaquat after the meeting, who was under the "illusion" that Supreme Commander could ensure transfer of stores to Pakistan; on being told that if India stalled the transfer, Supreme Commander would be helpless since he owned neither the railways nor the personnel for moving the stores, Liaquat voiced the fear that even if Indian Cabinet ordered the transfer,	121

			lower-level officers might still sabotage the orders; says he then suggested that the Supreme Commander provide lists to each Dominion of the stores held in the other, so that Messervy could, if the stores were not being transferred to Pakistan, report to the JDC; states that Liaquat reluctantly agreed to the alternative suggested, for he realized that Supreme Commander would have to go; states further that in any case Nehru, Patel, et al., wanted Auchinleck replaced with Savory rather than Smith; adds that Indian Ministers agreed that Auchinleck's paper and related issues be placed before British Chiefs of Staff.	
83	Mountbatten to Jinnah Telegram	18	Says he had mailed a copy of Supreme Commander's paper proposing close-down of his headquarters by 30 November, together with relevant excerpt from minutes of Joint Defence Council meeting of 16 October, to Ismay for submission to HMG who were closely concerned with the future of Supreme Command Headquarters.	132
84	Earl of Scarbrough to Jinnah Letter	18	Thanks for inviting him and sending an ADC to the airport to receive him, but regrets that he could not call on him because of very late arrival of his plane; looks forward to seeing him in December on his way back from Singapore.	133
85	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Note & Enclosure	18	Encloses copy of a telegram from Pakistan Representative in Alexandria about formation of a refugee relief organisation under high patronage.	134
86	Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan Letter	18	Refers to No. 61; states that the Anglo-Afghan Treaties were no longer valid and that fresh treaties had to be negotiated between Pakistan and Afghanistan; expresses the view that, in the meanwhile, visa and consular matters should continue to be regulated and governed by the existing arrangements.	134
87	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	19	Refers to No. 86; states that following the transfer of power by the British Government, their Minister in Kabul had ceased to have any *locus standi* in any matter concerning Pakistan, diplomatic, consular or other; explains and affirms that Pakistan, as the Succession State, had duly assumed all diplomatic and other responsibilities and obligations devolving on it under the various Anglo-Afghan treaties pertaining to the affairs of British India, or rather those parts of it which formed Pakistan, until such treaties and agreements were	137

			amended or repealed by mutual consent; seeks answers to a few relevant questions intended to elicit the definitive response of the Afghan Government for consideration by the Government of Pakistan.	
88	Faizul Hassan to Jinnah Letter	19	Says Muslims in the minority provinces, who had elected to be in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement in the expectation that their own lot would improve if Pakistan was achieved, were disillusioned in that Pakistan was indifferent to them while they faced all manner of ill treatment and persecution in India for alleged disloyalty; says further that they had swarmed into Sind rather than Punjab where the people generally were unsympathetic, selfish and parochial in outlook; states that Muslims in Sind as well had begun to resent their arrival in large numbers; concludes sadly that the outlook for them in Pakistan appeared bleak and cheerless.	144
89	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	19	Says that Chairman, Joint Defence Council, had reported a deadlock at the Council meeting on 16 October over Supreme Commander's proposal to close down his headquarters on 30 November; says further that India had deliberated Pakistan's objection to the closure of the headquarters, namely that it would disrupt reconstitution of the armed forces as well as division of defence stores; endorses proposal of Council Chairman that an Inter-Dominion Committee replace the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee and arrange for transfer of stores, as well as winding up other matters concerning the partition.	145
90	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	20	Requests that he give an interview to Dr Norman Brown, Chairman of Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, who was coming to Pakistan and India to study the prospects of introducing a programme of regional studies at that University; says that all too little was known in America about Pakistan and believes that Dr Brown would help meet the desideratum on his return from South Asia.	147
91	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Letter	20	Informs that Mohammad Naeem Khan, a member of the Afghan Royal Family, was due to arrive in Karachi on 24 October for a two-day stay; seeks to find out whether Jinnah would like to put him up, invite him to a meal, or give him an interview.	148

92	A. Hilaly to E. St. J. Birnie Letter	20	Informs that Burmese Premier, accompanied by Ministers for Industries and Labour, was due to arrive in Karachi on the way to Rangoon; says he had learnt that the Premier wanted to meet Jinnah; seeks to find out if Jinnah would like the Premier and party to stay with him, ask them to dinner, or give an interview.	149
93	Duncan Hooper to Jinnah Letter	20	Enquires if he could grant him an interview at any time up to Wednesday, 22 October; recalls he had given him an interview some eighteen months ago and promised him another when they met last spring; encloses a brief questionnaire.	149
94	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	20	Refers to No. 87; informs that the British Minister in Kabul, whose views he had again elicited, had stated that he had already explained the position fully to him (Ali Muhammad) but that he was prepared to do that again, if necessary.	156
95	Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin Letter	20	Refers to No. 315, Vol. V; points to the need of a committee to prepare and submit a practical scheme for the relief of Bihar refugees; promises immediate attention if the scheme was found to be satisfactory by him.	157
96	Note by Saidullah Khan	21	Says he had followed up No. 87 with a personal visit to the Afghan Minister to say that the negotiations with Afghan Govt. had presumably ended unless he wished any other matter clarified; the Minister told him that the decision of his Govt. would be communicated as soon as possible; he in turn told the Minister that Pakistan desired early establishment of diplomatic ties to make for better understanding and that the Minister reciprocated; he hoped that his fully representative character—he was Quaid-i-Azam's Representative, a leading tribal chief, and true spokesman of Pathans of the NWFP— would be borne in mind in taking a final decision; while thanking the Afghan Govt. for advocating the cause of Pathans, he again urged the establishment of diplomatic relations to promote their common objective of uplifting the Pathans on either side of the Durand Line; the Minister lauded him for ably presenting the case of the Pathans; he told the Minister that the Pathans whom he represented anxiously awaited the outcome of his mission.	158
97	Jinnah to Mountbatten Telegram	21	Refers to No. 83 and thanks for the informaiton regarding the future of Supreme Commander's headquarters; says	160

			he could express no opinion as he had not seen the relevant papers; adds that Pakistan Govt. were, however, seized of the issue.	
98	M. Rafi Butt to Jinnah Letter	21	Says it had been long since he had had the opportunity of meeting him as for the best part of the past two years he had been abroad; congratulates him on his historic achievement and hopes that the nation under his guidance would overcome the economic crisis; urges immediate steps to improve banking facilities, restore the transport system, and produce a substitute for coal; suggests that a corporate body be set up to give financial assistance to entrepreneurs and businessmen for industrial and commercial development; says the Provincial Ministry was doing all it could to cope with the gigantic refugee problem, but that it needed someone who could enlist the cooperation of entrepreneurs for reorganizing abandoned industrial units and formulating new schemes for restoration of economic activity; suggests that foreign assistance be sought for overcoming economic difficulties; offers to go to the United States, at his own expense, to help Ispahani capitalize on the valuable business contacts he had established there for beefing up economic activity in Pakistan.	161
99	Saidullah Khan to M. Ikramullah Telegram	21	Refers to No. 35; seeks confirmation whether Kabul had retracted the earlier statement of its delegate at the General Assembly.	162
100	Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to Jinnah Letter	22	Refers to his letter of 15 October; says Wajid Ali too had told him that he (Jinnah) wanted his furniture brought over from Bombay; says further that he had had Gulamhusein, who had arranged the packing when the furniture was sent over to London, make an inspection to assess the steamer space required; states that if separate space on board were provided, the need of packing would be obviated and the furniture could be put into crates, making for considerable saving; enquires if he would like his books also sent to Karachi; says Gulamhusein had since given him an estimate of Rs. 12, 864, which being rather exorbitant, he had obtained a much lower estimate of Rs. 4,000 from Ebrahim Jaffer who had suggested that	163

			nearly all the furniture be crated; seeks instructions; asks whether services of the two *hammals* be terminated since all furniture was to be removed from the house.	
101	Jinnah to Hassan Ispahani Letter	22	Refers to Nos. 64 & 68; says left-hand drive would do but desires the specified colour and wants the Cadillac 60 Special as per sample; feels gratified at the excellent work done by Pakistan Delegation at the UN; notes his request for more staff and assures that he would pass it on to Foreign Office; adds he was glad of his efforts to help with the refugee relief work; approves of Zafrulla staying on in New York for as long as was necessary; says Laik Ali was keeping them posted about what he had been doing; adds that he was pleased to read both his speech, when he presented his credentials to the US President, and Truman's response, but says what really mattered was how America would react for the mutual benefit of both countries.	164
102	Saidullah to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	22	Refers to No. 40; informs that the Prime Minister of Pakistan would be glad to receive the Afghan envoy, Najibullah Khan, for discussion of matters of mutual concern; suggests the 17th of November for Najibullah's talks to commence in Karachi; seeks early confirmation in order to inform the Pakistan Government.	165
103	Note by Saidullah Khan	22	Informs that he had had an audience with the Afghan King that day in the presence of both Foreign Minister and Court Minister; says he had advisedly not spoken in Pushtu to avoid embarrassing his interlocuters who knew precious little Pushtu themselves; says further that he had assured the King that the political change, namely the end of the British colonial rule and the emergence of Pakistan, would indeed help strengthen the relations between the two fraternal Muslim countries; adds that the King had expressed gratification at the successful conclusion of their negotiations clearing the decks for the establishment of diplomatic ties between Afghanistan and Pakistan.	166
104	Erskine Crum to Zahid Husain Letter & Encloure	22	Encloses a note by the Chairman, Joint Defence Council, to be considered at the meeting of the Council fixed for 30 October, containing his recommendations regarding composition of the Council after	169

			the closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters.	
105	M. Ayub to Mohammad Zafrulla Khan Letter	22	Informs that the Afghan delegate had made a statement at the General Assembly withdrawing their negative vote in the hope that an agreement would be reached as a result of ongoing parleys between the two Governments; says that, rather than making a statement before the Assembly, Ispahani had told the press that Pakistan welcomed the retraction of the negative vote and hoped that the new Afghan stance more accurately reflected the friendship existing between Pakistan and Afghanistan.	170
106	Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan Letter	23	Refers to No. 96 and says that the Afghan Govt. reciprocated the desire of the Pakistan Govt. for exchange of ambassadors; suggests that the negotiations concerning the Afghans living between the Durand Line and the River Indus, which had taken place earlier between the Afghan and British Governments, should resume; says further that Najibullah Khan had already been designated Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan to continue the negotiations in Karachi; adds that Najibullah Khan would also negotiate fresh political and commercial treaties with the Pakistan Govt.	171
107	Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan Letter	23	Refers to No. 106; expresses confidence that the exchange of ambassadors between Pakistan and Afghanistan would be a source of satisfaction to both the peoples; conveys thanks to the Afghan King for gracious treatment as well as to Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan and Sardar Shah Wali Khan for the encouragement received from them during his stay in Kabul.	172
108	G. M. Baltistani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	23	States that he had been appalled by newspaper reports about the plight of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir and was exercised also about the fate of his own community, Baltistanis, living in the State; says that he had represented Baltistan in the State Legislature in 1933; requests that the rights of his community be protected in case Kashmir acceded to Pakistan; offers his services to Pakistan Government.	173
109	Jinnah to Ruler of Amb Letter	23	Says that he would be glad to meet him in Karachi, but desires 48-hour notice of his arrival, in view of the heavy schedule of his own engagements.	175

110	Jinnah to R. K. Dalmia Letter	23	Refers to No. 77 ; sends a copy of draft of the previous sale deed giving the necessary particulars for his legal adviser to firm up a sale deed accordingly; asks him to send the deed over expeditiously to enable him to make suitable arrangements for its execution.	175
111	Sultan Ahmad Khan to Jinnah Letter	23	Refers to No. 33 saying he had to have an interview with Jinnah to discuss, and seek instructions regarding a delicate and sensitive issue; states that Afghanistan's unfriendly attitude, the anti-national activities of Khan Brothers and their henchmen, misleading and malicious Hindu press hype, and the Hindu-Sikh axis sparing no effort to throttle the fledgling State posed a serious threat to Pakistan; says that he commanded considerable influence and esteem in both Afghanistan and the Tribal Areas and personally knew many an influential *Mullah* and *Malik* there; claims that he could turn these assets to Pakistan's advantage, confound the enemies of Pakistan, and frustrate their evil designs; says hence his request for an interview.	176
112	Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf Letter	23	Informs about bitter feuding between rival factions within the Chittagong Muslim League led by the President and the Secretary; says that matters had come to a head recently and that a violent clash was averted by sending troops and armed police to the scene and transferring the District Magistrate who was partisan; says further that the new District Magistrate had been instructed to deal firmly, if even-handedly, with both sides as well as to try and get them to resolve their lingering dispute.	178
113	Note by Francis Mudie	23	Says that West Punjab was required to absorb some 59 lakh refugees while its economy had been disrupted by the exodus of about 38 lakh non-Muslims; identifies awesome problems confronting the Province, such as the rehabilitation of refugees, finding gainful employment for them, providing them with housing accommodation, acute shortage of consumer goods, etc.; refers to the frightening magnitude of the problems because of severe resource constraints; proposes measures which, in his opinion, might help improve the situation generally.	179
114	Claude Auchinleck to Jinnah Letter	24	Expresses gratitude for his hospitality; says that staying with him had been a	184

			real rest and relief and that he had enjoyed talking with him.	
115	Message by Jinnah on *'Id al-Azha*	24	Greets Muslims the world over on behalf of the people of Pakistan and on his own behalf; says *'Id al-Azha* symbolized the spirit of sacrifice enjoined by Islam; urges fellow-countrymen to renew their resolve to spare no sacrifice, flinch from no trial and tribulation, and emerge triumphant from the crisis confronting them; exhorts compatriots to strive for "a State of our own concept" that "exists not for life but for good life"; regrets that the day of rejoicing had been clouded by the pain and suffering of five million refugees from East Punjab and neighbouring areas; urges everyone in his prayer on the solemn day to remember those unfortunate people who had lost their dear ones; appeals for sympathy and support of all Muslims for the suffering millions.	184
116	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru Telegram	24	Refers to No. 89; says that the Supreme Commander had explicitly stated at the Joint Defence Council meeting held on 16 October that he had recommended closing down his headquarters by 30 November due to lack of cooperation by New Delhi, and not because he had completed—he had not—his task: reconstitution of armed forces and division of defence stores and equipment; says further that he had offered to retain his HQ till the task was completed, provided he was assured of cooperation by India; goes on to say that the Supreme Commander had been performing his task in an even-handed manner, and that it seemed the Indian Government did not desire continuation of an impartial body for reconstituting the forces and dividing the stores; states that though movement of major units might be over by 30 November, the reconstitution of forces and transfer of stores would take longer, which did warrant retention of Supreme Commander's HQ beyond 30 November; opposes proposal of Chairman, Joint Defence Council, that Army Commanders-in-Chief of the two Dominions form an Inter-Dominion Committee to supplant the Reconstitution Committee and arrange the transfer of stores since, whereas the Supreme Commander took orders from	186

			JDC and was neutral, the Committee of Commanders-in-Chief would be guided by their respective Governments, which could engender conflict; urges that New Delhi extend due cooperation to the Supreme Commander and that his HQ be retained till April 1948, by which time reconstitution of the forces, repatriation of British officers and men, and transfer of stores were likely to be completed.	
117	A. D. F. Dundas to Jinnah Letter	24	Informs that he had drawn up a programme for his four-day visit to Baluchistan and sent it to his Military Secretary; says he had advisedly not suggested that he visit Kalat State, for he was not sure that the Khan had made up his mind to accede to Pakistan; says further that he favoured an Advisory Council of three men rather than one or a larger Council of five, ten, or even twenty; recommends, after discussing their pros and cons, the names of (1) Nawab Jogezai, (2) Nawab Raisani, Mir Doda Khan Marri, or Rustom Khan Jamali, and (3) Seth Fida Ali Alibhoy to form a three-man Advisory Council for Baluchistan.	192
118	A. D. F. Dundas to E. St. J. Birnie Letter	25	Forwards a draft programme for Jinnah's visit to Quetta, including, *inter alia*, a dinner by the Baluch Regimental Centre and an address to civil and military officers; expresses reservations about extending invitations to the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Bela, or the Chief of Kharan, as none of them had till then acceded to Pakistan and negotiations between them were in a delicate stage; requests telegraphic response.	195
119	S. M. Rizwanullah to Jinnah Letter	25	Says that he, along with some other members of the U.P. Muslim League, had come to West Punjab on a peace-and-goodwill mission; seeks an interview to apprise him of the condition of Muslims in India and to submit proposals aimed at improving the situation of minorities in both countries.	198
120	Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah Telegram	25	Says the Central Office of AIML wanted to transfer all property, records and staff to Karachi; requests Jinnah's instructions.	199
121	E. St. J. Birnie to A. D. F. Dundas Telegram	26	Refers to No. 118; says that Jinnah had agreed to the programme for 6, 7, & 8 November and to the dinner at Baluch Regimental Centre on 9 November; says further that Jinnah would decide on rest of the programme for 9 November and on	199

			the engagements for 10 November after arrival in Quetta; confirms that Miss Jinnah would accompany him.	
122	Raghib Ahsan to Jinnah Letter	26	Sends copies of the *Bihar State Killing*, a report on the massacre of Muslims in Bihar in 1946, published by the Provincial Muslim League in February 1947, demanding dismissal of the Congress government for failure to stop the genocide, an international commission of enquiry, and compensation for losses of life and property; appeals for maintenance of communal peace in Pakistan; urges that the Buddhist minority in East Bengal be treated generously; suggests advising Hyderabad to extend all-out support to the Dravidistan Movement to eventually help pave the way for its own independence as well as for securing access to the sea; emphatically advises against dissolution of the Muslim League which, he urges, must not only be retained but reorganized and reinvigorated; cautions against making East Bengal the Cinderalla of Pakistan; urges that centrifugal tendencies and fissiparous elements be curbed; advises that composition of the Army should be such as to avoid the preponderance of one class over another; suggests that Ispahanis and Haroons be given a wide berth lest Pakistan too become a capitalist state like the India of Birlas and Tatas; further suggests that Muslim ICS officers be directed to reorient themselves, shed their snobbery and arrogance, and empathise with and serve the masses, since independence from colonial rule warranted a paradigm shift in their thinking and attitude: from wielding power and authority to serving the people.	200
123	K. Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter	26	Informs that the Scheduled Caste leaders in East Bengal had requested that Jogendra Nath Mandal tour the districts there for at least fifteen days to help improve Muslim-Hindu relations and to organize the Scheduled Castes; says that the Hindu Mahasabha group had been trying to incite the Scheduled Castes to clash with the Muslims; feels that Mandal's tour would help frustrate the nefarious plan.	206
124	Riazuddin to Jinnah Letter	26	Says he had come from Nagpur to meet him; recalls that he had had an interview with him in Delhi, in connection with the organization of ML National	207

			Guards on all-India basis, a few days before the historic session of the AIML held in Lahore in March 1940 that adopted the Pakistan Resolution; seeks interview to discuss the future of the Muslim youth in India, particularly in the CP which had a mere 5 per cent Muslim population; claims that peace in the CP had prevailed only because of the forbearance exercised by the Muslims in the face of provocation.	
125	E. St. J. Birnie to A. D. F. Dundas Letter	27	Refers to No. 118; conveys confirmation of Jinnah's tour engagements proposed for 6,7 & 8 November; asks that no engagements be scheduled for 9 November pending Jinnah's discussion, after arrival, with him of the whole question of meetings with the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Bela, and the Chief of Kharan; says that Jinnah would, however, attend the dinner at the Baluch Regimental Centre that night; asks that no interviews with officers be fixed for 10 November as Jinnah had yet to fix a date for his return from Quetta; adds that Miss Jinnah would be coming as well.	208
126	J. Cordeiro to F. Amin Letter & Enclosure	27	Sends copy of a letter received from the Secretary, Karachi Chamber of Commerce, regarding the general situation in Karachi, for Jinnah's perusal.	209
127	C. E. Gibbon to Jinnah Letter	27	Requests a meeting with the leaders of the minority Anglo-Pakistani community, members of which had helped relieve the distress of their compatriots by volunteering their services as doctors and nurses, besides maintaining the essential services.	212
128	Liaquat Ali Khan to Mountbatten Telegram	27	Says he had received neither the minutes of the Joint Defence Council meeting held on 16 October nor the agenda of the next meeting fixed for 30 October; suggests that the meeting be postponed until after the agenda had been received and considered by Pakistan Govt.	212
129	S. M. Yusuf to Lloyds Bank, Karachi Letter	27	Encloses an order from the Nawab of Bhopal to the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Karachi; instructs that the amount mentioned in the order, viz. rupees seven lakh *minus* £5,000 already paid, be realized in quarterly instalments, beginning from September 1947, and credited to the account of Jinnah.	213
130	M. Ikramullah to Zahid Husain Telegram	28	Refers to No. 76; conveys deep regrets of Jinnah, qua President of the AIML, over unlawful occupation of the League Office	213

in Delhi by the Sikhs; says that Jinnah wanted a strong representation made to the Indian Government urging vacation of the premises; adds that evacuation of persons other than Government servants to Pakistan was not desirable, but that the matter was receiving Government's consideration none the less.

131	V. S. Sawhney to F. Amin Letter	28	Replying to his letter of "yester date," states that he had no specific matter to discuss with Jinnah except to pay "loyal homage" and to apprise him of his efforts to persuade Hindu evacuees to return to West Punjab.	214
132	S. M. Sabzwaree to S. M. Yusuf Letter	28	Says Parsees in the Punjab, a wealthy community, were eager to serve Pakistan; says further that Rustom Dinshaw, a Parsee client, had been able to persuade his community to contribute to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and that about two lakh rupees was expected to be so raised; adds that Dinshaw wanted an interview with Jinnah to seek advice as to what his community should do for the country in its hour of need.	215
133	Ghulamullah to J. B. Dalison Letter	29	An ex-soldier, volunteers his services to help Muslims of Kashmir who were victims of savage repression, the news about which had exercised him greatly.	216
134	Muslims of Glasgow to Jinnah Telegram	29	Declare that they were ready to accept India's challenge in Kashmir; express full confidence in his able and sagacious leadership; offer all manner of sacrifices for Pakistan.	217
135	King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein to Jinnah Telegram	30	Expresses grief over communal violence in India; prays for restoration of peace and goodwill; hopes that exchange of people could be effected, and peaceful conditions for the minorities restored, in a manner such as would help reverse growing alienation; awaits positive response.	217
136	William K. Du Val to Jinnah Letter	30	Says that the American Field Service (AFS) had written to Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington offering to help with the relief and rehabilitation work; says further that AFS was a non-profit organisation and was unable, therefore, to fund relief operations, but could supply experienced men for relief work; looks forward to his response to their offer.	218
137	Speech by Jinnah at a public rally	30	Says that freedom and a sovereign State had been achieved at the cost of untold human suffering and sacrifice as tragically	219

demonstrated by the recent communal bloodshed; expresses confidence that, by the grace of God, we would emerge triumphant from the terrible ordeal; seeks to dispel doubts whether the 3 June Plan should have been accepted, and says the consequences of any alternative would have been catastrophic; believes that time and history would prove that while we had implemented the Plan with honest intentions, the other party, resorting to perfidy, had let loose forces of anarchy and evil; declares that the final victory would be ours if we drew inspiration and guidance from the holy *Qur'an*; exhorts Muslims to develop the spirit of *Mujahids* and live up to their glorious traditions; wants everyone to vow to spare no sacrifice in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as a nation wedded to the ideals of peace and goodwill; appeals to all to contribute generously to helping the destitute refugees and rehabilitating them; urges that no Muslim should shrink from martyrdom to save the honour of Islam and Pakistan; appeals for restraint and refraining from taking reprisals against non-Muslims in Pakistan, regardless of the brutal repression of Muslims across the political divide; urges all to help maintain law and order and communal harmony.

138	E. St. J. Birnie to A. D. F. Dundas Letter	31	Says that he had discussed his proposals, concerning Jinnah's visit to Quetta, with the Private Secretary, in the absence of Jinnah, and that they both considered the various suggestions generally suitable.	221
139	Message to students by Jinnah	31	Tells a deputation of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation that Pakistan was proud of her youth, particularly students, who had been in the vanguard of the freedom movement; urges them to equip themselves with discipline, education and training for the arduous tasks ahead and to keep up their tradition of selfless devotion to national causes; says he would like the students to come forward and help the refugees in every possible way.	222
140	H. J. Engineer to Jinnah Letter	31	Says that his firm, which had several branches in India, wanted to open a branch in Karachi; says further that Mr Steffens, one of their Directors, would be posted to Karachi; requests that facilities	223

			be extended to him for opening the Karachi branch.	
141	Jinnah to A. D. F. Dundas Letter	31	Refers to No. 117; says he had already settled the programme of his visit to Quetta and hopes he had received it from Birnie; says further that he would consider his suggestions when he had reached Quetta; adds that for the time being he was immersed in his work, particularly because of the Kashmir imbroglio.	224
142	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	31	Informs that he had had a talk with the Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry in Ankara, who was exceedingly keen on their Ambassador taking office in Karachi as soon as possible, even if Pakistan's own Ambassador was accredited later; says he had sent his diary of Istanbul to him by post.	224
143	Ziaud-Din Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Says the anti-Muslim riots in East Punjab and elsewhere in India had engendered grave fears about the safety to Indian Muslims; urges, inter alia, that clubs be established in Pakistan to impart training in the use of arms, that gun licences be issued liberally, and that ordnance factories and aviation industry be set up; advocates friendly relations with all countries, especially the neighbouring ones and the USSR.	225.
144	Mahomedali to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Urges that the Government borrow only for funding public enterprises that were productive, such as the construction of canals, dams, railways, steel plants, cement works, etc., and in no case for meeting current account deficits, which latter was incompatible with sound fiscal management.	228
145	Nathan to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Expresses gratification at having met him in Karachi; trusts that the time was not far distant when the inevitable teething troubles confronting the new nation would be resolved; acknowledges receipt of his autographed photograph, which he says he would cherish as a memento of the historic occasion.	228
146	Ahmad bin Umar Renderozi to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Offers felicitations, on behalf of the Indian community in Damascus, on the independence of Pakistan, and prays for its glory and prosperity.	229

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147	B. M. Bacon to E. St. J. Birnie Letter & Enclosure	1	Sends draft of address to be presented to Jinnah by the *Shahi Jirga;* felicitating Jinnah for realizing the Pakistan dream; pleads for retention of existing system of administration, based on customary laws, under which *Sardars, Maliks* and *Mo'tabars* had fully shouldered their responsibilities for maintenance of law and order.	230
148	Ali Mohummed Rashdi to Jinnah Telegram	2	States that the sources of all Pakistan rivers lay in Kashmir; explains that under international law, no state was entitled to exclusive possession and control of common bounties of nature.	233
149	Rahman B. Gajraj to Jinnah Letter	3	Offers felicitations on behalf of Muslims of Georgetown, British Guiana, on the achievement of Pakistan and greets him on his appointment as the first non-white Governor-General; points to Hindu-Muslim strained relationship similar to that in India; seeks affiliation of Anjuman-i Islam, an active socio-religious organisation, with the Muslim League.	233
150	W. V. Grigson to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	3	Forwards draft minutes of the meeting of Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugees and Rehabilitation Council, held in Lahore on 31 October, for Governor-General's information; says the minutes would be sent for approval when received from members.	237
151	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru Telegram	3	Protests against Cariappa's statement lamenting the division of India and threatening that Indian soldiers would reunify the two parts by force; demands official repudiation of the statement.	240
152	Faiz Ullah Khan Niazi to Jinnah Letter	3	Refers to Nehru's broadcast on Kashmir; says that confidence of the Hindus had been shaken after having witnessed the fighting spirit of the Muslims; states that Hindus were secretly conspiring to attack Lahore; stresses that the defence, particularly of West Punjab, be beefed up; advises a pre-emptive attack on India; urges purging of fifth columnists from Muslim ranks; says the morale of Indian Muslims was low but events in Kashmir must have raised it; pleads for formation of bloc of Muslim countries to prevent US-UK-India domination; proposes raising an army of 3 million men; urges shifting of the capital from Karachi to Multan or Rawalpindi; suggests methods to deal with the anti-Pakistan King Zahir Shah, Faqir of Ipi, Ghaffar Khan, et al.; advocates recognition of Azad Kashmir	241

			Government; expresses concern over his failing health; urges that he avoid attending meetings in hostile territory.	
153	A. St. I. Currie to Jinnah Letter	4	Lauds Pakistan's principled stand on Kashmir.	246
154	Afzal Iqbal to Jinnah Telegram	4	Pleads for recognition of Azad Kashmir Govt. and for extending material help to it.	246
155	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	4	Refers to No. 151; informs that they were ascertaining from their High Commissioner in London what Cariappa had actually said; disapproves of officers and servicemen making public statements and regrets that Cariappa had deviated from the norm; surmises that Liaquat's conclusion might be erroneous; says no one considered Cariappa's statement anti-Pakistan.	246
156	H. I. Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter	4	Reports that High Commissioners had been ranked below Ambassadors by the Commonwealth Relations Office causing resentment; says he had spoken to Foreign Secretary Bevin, who had promised to raise the matter at Cabinet meeting; requests that the matter be discussed with British High Commissioner in Karachi; expostulates that the status of Pakistan's High Commissioner should not be lower than that of Ambassadors of other countries.	247
157	Muhammad Yusuf & Others to Jinnah Letter	4	State that they were refugees in Ambala Dist. and without any food and clothes; urge early evacuation to Pakistan before they all perished.	248
158	S. M. Yusuf to S. A. H. Zaidi Letter	4	Intimates that Jinnah had postponed his visit to Quetta indefinitely.	249
159	S. M. Athur to Jinnah Letter	5	Offers to fight the Indian forces and the State troops on the rampage in Kashmir killing and looting innocent Muslims; recounts his own military exploits in Afghanistan and the tribal areas; requests arranging for his passage from Bombay to Karachi.	249
160	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	5	Says that Mountbatten had told him of his conversation with him; hopes that he would be able to come to Delhi for the JDC meeting.	251
161	M. Ikramullah to Wazir Ali Telegram	5	Informs that Najibullah would be reaching Quetta on the 12th and that he wished to have discussions with the Prime Minister on the 17th; seeks to find out whether the PM would be available in Karachi on that date.	251
162	Erskine Crum to Mohamad Ali Telegram	6	Sends draft of Joint Defence Council (Amendment) Order 1947 for consideration at the next meeting of Joint Defence Council; requests that suggestions, if any,	252

			for amending Article 8 be brought to the meeting.	
163	Mohammad Hassan Khan to S. M. Yusuf Letter	6	Regrets lack of response to his request for interview with Jinnah; claims that as a Muslim League leader, he was entitled to an interview to acquaint Jinnah with the terrible sufferings of Ambala Muslims.	253
164	M. A. Latif to S. M. Yusuf Letter	6	Informs that the Minister for Education was holding an All Pakistan Educational Conference in Karachi from 24 to 27 November to consider educational problems and assist the Government in framing appropriate policies and defining objectives; requests, on behalf of the Minister, a message for the conference from Jinnah.	254
165	Mother Mary to F. Amin Letter	6	Thanks for directing District Magistrate, Rawalpindi, to arrange safe passage from Murree to Sialkot for their invalid Sister; requests help for encashment of a cheque.	256
166	Ruler of Amb to S. M. Yusuf Telegram		Requests an interview with Jinnah during his visit to Rawalpindi.	257
167	M. Tufail & M. Din to Jinnah Letter	6 6	Complain that the Office of Civil Supplies, Faisalabad, had demanded bribe for issuing ration cards; request thorough investigation into reports of rampant corruption.	257
168	M. S. M. Sharma to Jinnah Letter	6	Wishes to call on him briefly at his convenience; believes only he could turn the chaos that prevailed in the country into constructive channels.	259
169	King Mohammed Zahir Shah to Jinnah Letter of Credence	6	Expresses fraternal feelings for Pakistan and informs that for sincere negotiations regarding co-operation between Pakistan and Afghanistan, he had nominated Najeebullah Khan, a member of the Afghan Cabinet, as his Envoy Extraordinary with the hope that he would receive all assistance needed.	260
170	Bahauddin to F. Amin Letter	7	Seeks interview with Jinnah to apprise him of the Hindu conspiracy to win over the deposed Mir of Khairpur, then in exile at Bangalore, and persuade him to accede to India.	261
171	Noel-Baker to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	7	Suggests that Pakistan may not go public with their terms until the HMG's announcement and that the terms be notified to the Supreme Commander.	262
172	Arthakitti Banomyong to Jinnah Letter	7	Thanks for his warm welcome in Pakistan; invites him to Bangkok where a cordial welcome awaited him; as to his request for Siamese rice for East Pakistan, informs that his Govt. had agreed to ship 1,000 tons of rice.	262
173	Harold Macmillan to Jinnah Letter	7	Thanks for introducing a person like Mir Laik Ali to him; informs that he had already established rapport with Churchill and Butler.	263

174	Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	7	Hopes that he (Liaquat) would be well enough to attend the forthcoming JDC meeting; says he would be glad to provide him his own aircraft for travel; adds that the Governor-General had been invited to attend the meeting as well.	264
175	Ghyasuddin Pathan to Jinnah Letter	7	Advises immediate contact with Khasi Chiefs, whose States were contiguous to Sylhet, to persuade them to join East Bengal; states that Khasi Hills would not only serve as natural barrier between Assam and East Bengal but also as lifeline for economic development of East Bengal; suggests that A. Hamid, Mudabbir Hossain Choudhury, et al., be approached to use their good offices to bring Khasi Chiefs around; offers his own services as well.	264
176	Sher Mohammad to Jinnah Letter	7	Draws attention to Police excesses at Pindi Bhattian; complains that the houses of rich Hindus had been broken open and all the valuables pilfered by the Police and the Agriculture Inspectors; states that only the worthless and useless articles had been collected for the refugees; requests that the corrupt officials be replaced with honest ones.	265
177	Noel-Baker to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	8	Says the Supreme Commander had recommended liquidation of his Headquarters on 30 November because of lack of goodwill and cooperation between the two Dominions; informs that while the Government of India wanted the Supreme Headquarters replaced with some other organisation by mutual consent, the Pakistan Government desired its retention till 1 April 1948; says that the Headquarters, tasked with assisting the JDC in the reconstitution of armed forces and manned by British personnel, would be closed down on 30 November and all its personnel withdrawn; hopes that the two Dominions would agree on arrangements for completion of reconstitution of forces as well as of division and transfer of defence stores; proposes appointment of a Commander of British Force after 30 November to arrange withdrawal of British personnel.	266
178	Ghulam Jilani to Deputy Commissioner, Lahore Letter	8	Says that prices of basic necessities of life were exorbitant; appreciates his orders for depositing all looted goods in *Bait al-Maal*; requests action against all those involved, including officials if any.	273
179	J. N. Mandal to Jinnah Letter	8	Informs that due to absence of Provincial leaders from Dacca, he could not	274

			settle some important matters during his visit; conveys anxiety of the Scheduled Castes of Tippera District for withdrawal of communal cases and counter-cases likely to be adjudicated by 19 November, for which his presence was needed at Haimchar; seeks permission to visit the area by 15 November to settle the cases amicably.	
180	Minutes of Joint Defence Council Meeting	8	The Council endorsed the decision of Commonwealth Relations Secretary to close down the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander; Pakistan opposed the move but was assured that their share of military stores would be delivered.	275
181	Obaidur Rahman to Deputy Commissioner, Sargodha Letter	8	States that they had a firm in Ambala dealing in arms and ammunition as well as drugs; giving his family background, says that Hindu high-ups victimized his family for taking part in Muslim League activities, and the Deputy Commissioner cancelled his licences and his shop was looted; requests allotment of some suitable business and residential property for eking out an honourable existence; prays similar action for evacuess from Ambala.	276
182	Message by Jinnah to the Armed Forces and National Security Guard	8	Regrets that his illness had prevented him from being with them; advises them to work in a spirit of unity and harmony in keeping with the high traditions of Islam.	278
183	Liaquat Ali Khan to Lord Chamberlain Letter	8	Regrets inability to attend Princess Elizabeth's wedding owing to the grave problems at home.	279
184	M. Iftikhar-ud-Din to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	9	Sends three notes containing his suggestions regarding the rehabilitation of refugees, their movement, and their camps, for consideration at the meeting of the Pakistan-W. Punjab Joint Refugees & Rehabilitation Council fixed for 11 November.	280
185	Abdul Mannan to Jinnah Letter	9	Expresses deep concern at his poor health caused by heavy work and onerous responsibilities; recalls that he had seen his face glow and brim with life when he was leaving Delhi; offers his own blood for transfusion if that might help improve his health; recalls that he had borne the brunt of the attack in Imperial Hotel, Delhi, by Khaksars (on 9 June).	293
186	S. Osman Ali to Federal Ministers Circular & Enclosures	9	Circulates agenda for special meeting of the Cabinet fixed for the following day to discuss imposition of duty on jute and reimposition of duty on salt.	294
187	Miss Sufi to Jinnah Letter	9	Believes that people would lay down their lives at his bidding; laments the atrocities committed by Sikhs and Hindus on Muslims; says that she was raring to break	298

			with tradition and go out to help the oppressed and humiliated Muslim women; urges *Jihad* against the infidels and claims thousands of women were eager to participate in a crusade for protecting the Muslims; condemns Indian Government's design to invade Junagadh; suggests induction of women in the Army and the National Guard and their participation in the mainstream of national life; urges that Muslim leaders refrain from rhetoric and instead inculcate the spirit of *Jihad* in their followers; looks forward to his response for her guidance.	
188	Agya Ram Atma Ram to Jinnah Letter	10	Report instances of alleged abuse of powers by certain officials in their dealings with non-Muslim citizens, including their own firm; plead for redressal.	300
189	Hamid Bux to Jinnah Letter	10	Greets him on the achievement of Pakistan by the Muslim League; offers himself, his two young sons, indeed everything he had, for the betterment of Pakistan.	303
190	M. H. Gazder to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	10	Forwards minutes of 23rd meeting of Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party, held on 1st November 1947, voicing deep concern and resentment over the massacre of Muslims in parts of India by Sikh and RSSS gangs, which aimed at expulsion and conversion of Muslims remaining in India and had wicked designs against Pakistan; the Parliamentary Party rejected the reported move to foist an autocratic administration on Sind and scrap provincial autonomy; urged due representation for Sind in the Central Govt. and equal voice for all units in the Federation; lauded the Govt. and people of Sind for helping with the relief and rehabilitation of refugees; called for protecting the interests of Sind Muslims who had suffered for a long time; condemned the despatch of Indian troops to Kashmir; denounced Sheikh Abdullah for his perfidy; urged recognition of the Azad Kashmir Govt.	303
191	Hassan Ispahani to Ghulam Mohammed Telegram	10	Referring to Laik Ali's negotiations regarding supply of US war equipment on credit states that the matter was pursued with officials of State Department and War Assets Administration; says Americans were not sure they had 45 million dollars worth of equipment, required by Pakistan, left after liquidation of assets worth 20 billion dollars; states further that an initial interim credit of 10 million dollars was	308

			required to be opened by Pakistan; says the State Department wanted detailed list of equipment desired; suggests that if the required equipment was available, experts be deputed to check and examine materials before shipment to Pakistan.	
192	Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	10	Informs that the issuance of communique agreed upon at the previous meeting of Joint Defence Council regarding the dissolution of Supreme Commander's Headquarters had been deferred by 48 hours.	308
193	B. M. Bacon to E. St. J. Birnie Letter & Enclosures	11	Encloses, for information of Jinnah, a memo from Political Agent, Sibi, recommending the request of local Hindu *Panchayats* for an interview, and Dundas's reply regretting that Jinnah's engagements did not permit of the interview requested.	309
194	Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	11	Refers to No. 151; forwards text of telegram from Indian High Commissioner in UK explaining that Cariappa had only defined the role of the soldiers in a free India as a unifying force for their own people and that he never intended to pose a threat to Pakistan.	310
195	Nazar Hussain Shah to Jinnah Letter	11	Extends a warm welcome on his arrival in Rawalpindi on behalf of Muslim employees of all departments; says that the minorities had been given due protection despite the genocide of Muslims in parts of India; suggests that, lest Pakistan's peaceful policy be misconstrued as weakness, *Jehad* be declared against India; says the invasion of Junagadh was tantamount to war against Pakistan; urges recognition of and support to the Government of Azad Kashmir.	311
196	Nazir Ghafoor to F. Amin Letter	12	Reiterates request for the albums already sent being autographed by Jinnah.	313
197	Niamatullah to Jinnah Letter	12	Reports that arbitrary appointments were being made in the Mint at Lahore in flagrant violation of the prescribed requirements; calls for an impartial enquiry.	313
198	Abdur Rauf Shah to Jinnah Letter	12	Seeks an interview to discuss minority problems in both countries and other important matters.	314
199	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	12	Informs that the money had to be raised by mortgaging his properties in Karachi or by selling his race horses; seeks his response.	315
200	Hassan Albanna to Jinnah Letter	14	Thanks *Allah* and felicitates him on the consummation of the struggle for independence; expresses anguish and concern over the massacre of Muslims in parts of India; assures unflinching support of the Arab world for Pakistan's success.	315

201	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	14	Advises that half of his donation to the Relief Fund could be paid in Junagadh to his (Jinnah's) representative while the residual half could be credited to his account in London from proceeds of sale of his (Aga Khan's) horses; seeks approval to proceed accordingly.	317
202	H. R. Lalvani to S. M. Yusuf Letter	15	Informs that some of the Scout Groups had, without due permission, assumed the name, "Quaid-i-Azam Scout Group"; seeks advice.	317
203	Najibullah Khan to Jinnah Telegram	15	Wishes speedy recovery from illness.	318
204	Jinnah to Najibullah Khan Telegram	16	Refers to No. 203; says he was feeling better and hoped to return to Karachi soon; adds that if he could come over to Lahore, he would be delighted to meet him even during convalescence.	318
205	Ifor Evans to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	17	Thanks for his letter of 11 October; encloses a brief note, as desired by Jinnah, containing suggestions for enhancement of cooperation between Pakistan and the United Kingdom in the cultural, artistic and scientific fields.	319
206	Hefazatullah to Jinnah Letter	17	States that there appeared to be an orchestrated move afoot to evacuate Hindus from East Bengal and settle them in West Bengal and that, to that end, Muslims might be driven out of West Bengal; fears a dismal future for Muslims in India.	320
207	Hassan Ispahani to Ghulam Mohammed Telegram	17	Refers to his telegram of 11 October; wants the number of blankets and other items required for relief work cabled.	323
208	Liaquat Ali Khan to Princess Elizabeth and Philip Mountbatten Telegram	18	Sends greetings and good wishes on their wedding.	323
209	Amir Abdel Karim El Khattabi to Jinnah Letter	18	Lauds Pakistan's role at the U.N. for espousing Muslim causes in general and those of North African Muslims in particular; requests that posting of Pakistan's representatives in French Protectorates of Algiers, Tunis and Morocco be pursued with French Government.	323
210	Earl of Listowel to Jinnah Letter	18	Requests grant of interview to Edgar Snow, an eminent American journalist and author.	325
211	Ghulum Rasul to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	19	Refers to his previous meeting with Jinnah; encloses a note stating, among other things, how the Khan of Kalat was attempting to manoeuver the retrieval of Nushki from Pakistan to secure an independent link from Pasni to Afghanistan.	326
212	M. A. Raoof to Jinnah Letter	19	Voices concern over his illness and prays for his well-being.	328
213	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	20	Encloses, requesting his personal attention,	328

			copies of two letters written to Liaquat Ali Khan stating that (a) the Foreign Office had been making unrealistic and unfair demands on the Embassy, which was inadequately staffed, and (b) at times, private individuals or trading concerns made unauthorized statements on behalf of Pakistan Government, which he had to repudiate.	
214	Nazir Ahmad Khan to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	22	Requests an interview with Jinnah; sends his suggestions for national reconstruction through a National Home Front to be manned by volunteers; says the Front had to raise the morale of Muslims, which had plummeted as a result of the tragic events across the divide, through public speeches and writings in the press etc; says further that the Front would have to launch a campaign for growing more food, to inculcate the habit of saving, and to foster respect for law and order.	333
215	Erskine Crum to Iskander Mirza Telegram	22	Informs that the Supreme Commander's Secretariat, renamed Reconstitution Secretariat, agreed in principle that Pakistan's "allegations" concerning division of stores were true; also informs of addition of an item to the agenda for the JDC meeting.	336
216	Message by Jinnah to British Officers	22	Welcomes British officers who had volunteered for service in Pakistan and urges them to help organise, and boost efficiency of the armed forces since Pakistani officers, as well as being insufficient in numbers, lacked experience.	336
217	Ali Mohummed Rashdi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Encloses a note on the crisis of confidence he thinks was resulting from India's studied hostility towards Pakistan and on the measures required in his opinion to deal with the critical situation.	337
218	H. M. Patel to Mohamad Ali Telegram	23	Informs that meetings of the Joint Defence Council and the Partition Council were to be held on 26 and 27 November, respectively.	342
219	Amjad Ali to S. M. Yusuf Letter	25	Seeks interview for Geoffrey Heyworth, a Dutch investor, and his aides with Jinnah.	343
220	S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to Mint Master, Lahore Letter & Enclosure	26	Encloses a list of persons who had renounced their titles.	344
221	Jinnah to Hassan Ispahani Telegram	26	Directs that top priority be given to finalizing a short-term U.S. loan of 45 million dollars.	345
222	S. M. Yusuf to M. A. Latif Letter & Enclosure	26	Sends a message from Jinnah for the Educational Conference as requested, emphasizing the supreme importance of education of the right kind; wants greater attention paid to vocational,	345

			technical and scientific education; stresses that the educational policy and programme should be structured to suit the genius of the people and having regard to the modern conditions and developments in the world; states that education should aim at building character and integrity and inculcating the spirit of selfless service in the youth.	
223	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	27	Regrets that he had not been able to devote enough time to his duties as Ambassador in Washington because he had to spend time in New York attending the UN General Assembly session and in Havana leading the delegation to the Conference on Trade and Employment; says that the vote at the UN session on the Resolution for Partition of Palestine was imminent; extols Zafrulla Khan's work at the session and says he had done Pakistan proud; suggests that the Pakistan Cabinet needed expansion and induction of younger persons as junior Ministers to groom them for the future.	347
224	H. I. Rahimtoola to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	27	Informs that he had read out Jinnah's statement at a press conference; says Mountbatten had been projecting the Indian stance that Pakistan had been unreasonable (over Kashmir); mentions that he briefed the British Cabinet on the Indian situation; says he had found the British sympathetic towards Pakistan generally; adds that Mountbatten continued to harp on the tune of one Governor-General for both Dominions, but had been told that that would have stultified the concept of two independent states.	350
225	Mian Bashir Ahmed to Jinnah Letter	28	Says he did not see fit to meet him in Lahore because he was much too busy and also unwell; hopes to see him at the forthcoming meeting in Karachi of the Working Committee; admires his indomitable courage and prays for his full recovery.	352
226	M. O. A. Baig to Robert A. Lovett Letter	28	Refers to Laik Ali's negotiations for a 45-million dollar loan for purchase of medicines, winter clothing and other requirements for refugee relief and rehabilitation; says he had learnt that the War Assets Administration could provide, initially, a credit of only 10 million dollars, and that he had made a formal request accordingly, although a credit of 45 million dollars was required immediately, given the enormousness of the refugee problem.	352

227	Mir Qadir Bakhsh to Jinnah Letter	28	States that Baluchistan comprised British Baluchistan, Agencies, and States; says further that the population was composed of tribes headed by *Sardars,* on whom the British had conferred power and privileges, and who were used for keeping the people under control, without education, and in the grip of taxes collected by them forcibly; claims that *Sardars'* hold had been weakened by the Muslim League, led by Qazi Isa, which had opened its centres in each district, secured majority support for Pakistan, dispelled the fear of the British, and created awakening, political consciousness, and aspiration for self-rule among the people; states that *Sardars* neither sought the League ticket nor supported the Pakistan Movement; suggests that adult franchise be introduced, or electoral college of Maliks constituted, and tribal areas be treated as being on a par with settled districts; sums up his recommendations: introduction of responsible government; holding of general elections; cessation of support for the *Sardari* system.	354
228	Zahid Husain to K. H. Khurshid Letter	28	Regrets inability to arrange his evacuation from Kashmir; hopes that it would be possible soon.	360
229	Jinnah to Hassan Albanna Letter	29	Refers to No. 200; appreciates his support for Pakistan; hopes to consider recognition of Pakistan Association on the Ambassador's report; thanks for his efforts to project Pakistan's viewpoint.	361
230	Jinnah to Arthakitti Banomyong Letter	29	Thanks for No. 172; states the difficulty in following developments in Bangkok; thanks for his efforts at collecting 1,000 tons of rice.	362
231	Jinnah to Abdel Karim El Khatabi Letter	29	Thanks for No. 209; promises help to Muslims the world over; hopes to discuss the French colonies—Algiers, Tunisia and Morocco—with French Ambassador; expects to communicate with Gen. Franco regarding the Muslims in Spain.	363
232	Address of welcome by the Quetta Municipality	n.d.	Laud Jinnah's services to Muslims and his policy towards the minorities; donate 50,000 rupees to Quaid's Relief Fund.	364
233	Members of Utmanzai Tribe to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Complain that the Commanding Officer, Tochi Scouts had been visiting Thall too often, along with his family and a large convoy, thus wasting petrol; apprehend attack on him by hostile Ipi's men.	366

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234	Ruler of Amb to Jinnah Letter	1	Expresses happiness over his recovery from illness; enquires about the programme of his visit to Lahore.	367
235	Bhagat Ram to Jinnah Letter	1	Feels that lives and properties of non-Muslims in Shakargarh were in danger; says non-Muslims of a village had been forced to leave without their belongings and had lost relatives as well; voices deep disappointment over such happenings; urges creation of peaceful conditions for the minorities; believes he could provide the lead in encouraging non-Muslims to return to their homes.	367
236	Imam Yahiya to Jinnah Telegram	3	Praises defence of the Arab cause by Pakistan at the UN; regrets that the UN, far from promoting peace, was depriving the Arabs of their centuries-old rights; declares that Muslims would resist such injustices.	369
237	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Telegram	3	Urges that the information already requested by him be expedited, without which it would not be possible to obtain the credit of ten million dollars promised by America.	370
238	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	3	States that America had promised a credit of ten million dollars subject to details being provided of specific requirements for relief work; complains that officers wanted by him had not been posted as promised; says he had asked for Usman Ansari as Press Attache and for Agha Shahi as Third Secretary; regrets lack of cooperation from Finance Ministry; grants that Fletcher had effected some improvement in the Foreign Office but feels that much more needed to be done; stresses the need to purchase a building for the Embassy since hired accommodation was unbecoming.	370
239	G. H. Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	3	Forwards Aga Khan's letter regarding the institutions he wished to sponsor, one each in the East and West Zones, which he did not want to bear his own name, reiterating that, in addition to his contribution of 4 million rupees, Pakistan was to raise 10 million rupees.	375
240	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait to Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	3	Enquires about the lodging arrangements for the Muslim League Council meeting and suggests that those be notified in the press.	376
241	President, Anjuman-i-Azizia, to Jinnah Letter	4	Offers services of 750 members of his organisation for the Pakistan National Guards free of charge.	377

242	F. Amin to S. A. Jawad Letter & Enclosures	4	Forwards copies of the address presented to Jinnah by Najibullah and of Jinnah's reply; the address contained felicitations of the King and people of Afghanistan for the Pakistanis and expressed the hope that problems between the two countries would be resolved; welcoming the Afghan envoy, Jinnah reciprocated the sentiments expressed, saying Pakistanis had fraternal feelings for Afghans because of shared perceptions and hoping both countries would solve their problems amicably.	377
243	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	4	Referring to Pakistan Government's message regarding a proposed mission to Washington, led by Finance Minister, to negotiate the 2-billion dollar loan required by Pakistan, says that the State Department's informal reaction was that such a visit was premature and likely to serve no useful purpose; says further that since the loan would eventually have to be voted by the Congress, the right approach, according to the State Department, was for Pakistan to invite a US Trade Mission for an on-the-spot study and evaluation of the prospects of economic development and of Pakistan's capacity for utilizing the loan productively and repaying it; requests that since consultations with the State Department had been informal, no decision be made pending the official response of that Department to the proposal regarding visit of a delegation from Pakistan.	382
244	Habibullah Bahar to Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan Telegram	4	Says that members of the Working Committee were unable to travel by rail or air because of the hazards involved; suggests that the meeting be held at Dacca or postponed.	383
245	Archibald Rowlands to Jinnah Letter	4	Forwards a report on the economic situation in Pakistan, potential and prospects; states that he had had discussions with representatives of industry and commerce, mostly British; also says that he had met overseas press representatives, whom he had convinced of the bright economic prospects of Pakistan.	384
246	Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	5	Reports on the work done by Muslim League women during the emergency; says they had been working virtually round the clock providing relief to incoming refugees; states that Begum Liaquat had helped with getting trucks and petrol; informs that a Relief Committee had been set up; says Fatima Begum was arranging for a large number of quilts and had helped rescue nuns and children from the Baramula Convent.	385

247	Ghiasuddin to Jinnah Telegram	6	Requests an interview on the sidelines of the League Council meeting.	387
248	Habib Rahmitoola to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	6	Says that at the royal reception held at Buckingham Palace, he was presented to the Queen by the Foreign Secretary whereas the Indian High Commissioner was introduced by an ADC; mentions the friendly attitude of Bevin who thought a royal visit to Pakistan desirable for promoting Commonwealth solidarity; says Bevin agreed that Pakistan could play a significant role for preservation of peace, given its special ties with the Muslim world; informs that the King had earlier granted him an audience, in the course of which he had explained Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and Junagadh, which the King had listened to intently.	388
249	S. M. Yusuf to Habibullah Bahar Telegram	7	Regrets that postponement of the League Council meeting in Karachi was not possible; requests maximum possible representation from East Bengal.	389
250	Jinnah to Aga Khan Telegram	8	Requests urgent disbursement of the promised money.	389
251	Ziaul Islam to S. M. Yusuf Letter	8	Requests that his book, *Sidelights on Muslim Politics,* be presented to Jinnah; says he had been victimised in India for dedicating the work to Jinnah.	390
252	Habib Rahimtoola to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter & Enclosure	8	Says the British Govt. took it for granted that Pakistan would stay in the Commonwealth, but that he had made it clear to Henderson that it was wrong to ignore friends and yet take them for granted; says further that in his talks with Bevin, the latter conceded the importance of Muslim bloc in world affairs; stresses that Pakistan could play an effective role in the comity of Muslim nations if it was properly developed; informs that Bevin had supported Pakistan's representation at the Peace Conference for Germany; says that in his meeting with Attlee on 15 September, he had highlighted the Sikh role in the communal disturbances; states that Attlee had agreed that the manner in which Pakistan had handled the disturbances, unlike India, demonstrated Pakistan's commitment to communal peace; states further that he had told the British Govt. that Pakistan would welcome the services of Englishmen for development; informs that he had been able to nail the propaganda that Pakistan was not economically viable; believes Hindu India was working on a diabolical design	391

			of trying to panic people into giving up on Pakistan; refers to disturbances in the Punjab, then in Junagadh and Kashmir, and to driving millions of Muslims into Pakistan; thinks East Bengal might be the next target, but is not worried since, as he says, the entire population there was pro-Pakistan; believes that the Indian machinations would in fact make the people of Pakistan close their ranks.	
253	M. Abdul Hamid Qadri Badauni to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	8	Says Muslims in India desired to keep the Muslim League alive; encloses resolutions, one of which referred to press reports to the effect that the League had been dissolved in various parts of India, which had disconcerted Indian Muslims; quotes a Hindu newspaper which regarded liquidation of the League as not enough, and would have its followers repudiate all they had stood for hitherto and join the Congress, or else they would face political demise and be called saboteurs; refers to another resolution stressing the need of an effective organization to protect the Muslim rights; then refers to the resolution on Palestine expressing deep resentment over the proposed division and a firm resolve to spare no sacrifice in defence of the holy land; refers to another resolution expressing sympathy with Indian Muslims on their persecution and assuring full support for their rights; invites attention to yet another resolution slating the policy of U.P. Govt. to replace Urdu with a language that was neither commonly understood nor written.	394
254	J. D. Shuja to S. M. Yusuf Letter	9	Forwards minutes of the All Pakistan Scouts Conference and the Scouts Association's constitution; says a resolution had been adopted unanimously, requesting Jinnah to consent to become Chief Scout; seeks permission to present the Scout Badge to Jinnah and obtain his signature on the Association's Charter.	399
255	M. O. Kokil to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter & Enclosure	9	Forwards a resolution of the Working Committee of Bombay City Muslim League, requesting the All India Muslim League Council to take no decision regarding the constitution, policy and programme of the Indian Union Muslim League; invites Provincial League representatives to meet in Bombay to consider future course of action for the Indian Muslim League.	400

256	D. H. Daruvala to Jinnah Letter	10	Refers to Miss Jinnah's message that Jinnah intended to invest in real estate; offers two buildings in Karachi: the first, Mohatta Building, that might be had for around Rs. 11 lakh; the second, a three-storeyed building on Victoria Road, for which the owner was demanding about Rs. 8.5 lakh.	401
257	Josh Maleehabadi to Jinnah Letter	10	Reminds him of the letter he had written to him; wonders why he had not been graced with a reply.	402
258	Jinnah to Ruler of Amb Letter	10	Regrets that they could not meet at Lahore as he was not well; says he would be gratified if he could come to Karachi to meet him and stayed with him as his guest.	402
259	Jinnah to Hassan Ispahani Letter	11	Refers to Nos. 213 & 223; agrees with contents of No..213 and hopes Liaquat would consult with him in future; says he was given the Havana assignment reluctantly; says further that since Chundrigar was unable to go to Havana due to illness, he had to be sent instead to lend weight and substance to the work of Pakistan's delegation; thanks for sending two boxes of Havana cigars; assures due consideration for the other points raised by him.	403
260	Mahmud Brelvi to F. Amin Letter	11	Introduces himself as an author-journalist, devotee of the Muslim League, a great admirer of Jinnah's, ex-Professor of Doon College, Dehra Dun, and Commerce Editor of the *Star;* says he had written a book, *Pakistan—Muslim India Rejuvenated,* which he intended to present to Jinnah; seeks an opportunity for presenting manuscript of the book personally.	404
261	Muhibbur Rehman to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	11	Forwards a memorandum, signed by a number of leaders, professors, lawyers and journalists, demanding that Urdu be made State language and medium of higher education in East Bengal; claims that Urdu was the unifying force for Muslims of the subcontinent; encloses a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation regarding, *inter alia,* the corruption rampant in East Bengal administration; cites cases in point; alleges that jobbery and nepotism were prevalent in the departments under Hamidul Huq Chowdhry; laments that a section of Bengalis, playing in the hands of Communists and protagonists of united Bengal, was fanning the flames of parochialism; requests that	405

			such activities be nipped in the bud; suggests measures for effecting economy in the administration and for introducing educational reforms.	
262	H. Gordon to S. M. Yusuf Letter	12	Seeks interview with Jinnah about payment for publicity campaign undertaken by his firm at the behest of Nawab of Bhopal; says his company had been endorsed by Jinnah, Liaquat, and the Secretary-General, and that the contract had been rewritten, on Finance Minister's instructions, in a form unacceptable to the firm; states that it had then been modified in a mutually acceptable form; states further that after three months of negotiation, during which the firm had been working on the project, the contract had been rescinded.	415
263	A. Aziz to Jinnah Letter	13	Refers to his telegram flaying economists inspired by Soviet Communism; hopes Muslim League would become a world body of Muslims.	418
264	Jinnah to Imperial Bank, Karachi Letter	13	Referring to his latest bank statements, indentifies discrepancies in the accounts transferred from Delhi and Bombay; requests reconciliation.	419
265	Ghulam Mohammed to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	13	Forwards copy of a letter sent to the State Department by Pakistan Embassy in Washington regarding credit of 45 million dollars for relief requirements as determined by the Health Ministry; states that US Government had offered an initial credit of 10 million dollars, but was being urged to provide the full credit of 45 million dollars because 4 million refugees had to be fed, clothed and housed.	419
266	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Jinnah Letter	13	Recounts services of the Baluchistan Muslim League, which included opening League centres in every tehsil, changing people's slavish mentality, rallying the overwhelming majority of Muslims round the League, and kindling the spirit of freedom; states that Leaguers had solemnly sworn to support the Muslim cause; complains that Baluchistan had virtually no representation in the Central Government; demands, *inter alia*, self-government, making Baluchistan a Governor's province, taking one minister from Baluchistan into the Central Cabinet, and including League representatives in the Provincial *Jirga*.	420
267	Ghazanfar Ali Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	13	Seeks incorporation in the agenda of the AIML Council meeting of a resolution expressing sympathy for victims of anti-Muslim riots in India and urging everyone to help alleviate their sufferings; the	423

			resolution expressed sympathy for non-Muslims in Pakistan as well, who had suffered loss of life and property and had to emigrate; it also called upon Pakistan Govt. to create conditions favourable to the return of non-Muslim emigrants; it further expected India to extend equal treatment to all citizens irrespective of their religious belief.	
268	Resolutions sponsored by AIML Councillors	13	Abdul Hamid Badauni's resolution would have the AIML Council (a) sympathize with the persecuted Muslims in India, (b) express alarm at the partisan attitude of Indian Government, (c) call upon that Government to create conditions enabling Muslims to live in peace, (d) assure Indian Muslims that it would do all that was possible to help them live as respectable citizens, and (e) appreciate Gandhi's efforts at retention of Urdu as court language in India.	432
			Begum Mashkur Ahmad's resolution calls for dissolution of AIML and for Muslims of the two countries developing close cultural and religious contacts; suggests that Indian Muslims organize themselves under the Indian Muslims Federation with a new leader; suggests further that the Muslim League in Pakistan be renamed 'Pakistan National League.'	
			Tamizuddin Khan, in his resolution, proposes (a) that the Muslim League function within Pakistan under the name, 'The All Pakistan Muslim League,' with Jinnah as President, Members of the Working Committee being nominated by him provisionally and representing Pakistan areas, (b) that the new Working Committee be empowered to frame a draft constitution for the League for consideration by the Council, (c) that the existing Working Committee be empowered to make a final decision on the assets and liabilities of AIML, and (d) that Members of the present AIML Council meet separately and decide on its political future.	
			Chowdhury Mohammad Amin's resolution urges the Council to ask Pakistan Government to introduce reforms in Baluchistan.	
269	Qalandar Ali Khan Wali to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Pays him a tribute in Persian verse; hopes Persian would find favour in Pakistan; in his poem, he likens the advent of Pakistan to the blooming of flowers and the sweet songs of birds, prays for its lasting glory, congratulates him on his great	435

			achievement, considers it auspicious that the State was headed by none other than him, and welcomes clean and honest people to Pakistan.	
270	J. D. Shuja to S. M. Yusuf Letter	15	Conveys his thanks to Jinnah for consenting to become Chief Scout; suggests that the investiture take place on 19 December; requests a message from Jinnah for the occasion; says he would soon bring letters of appointment of Provincial and State Chief Scouts for Jinnah's signature.	437
271	Majid Khan to F. Amin Letter	15	Informs that Petigara had gone to Europe and would see the Aga Khan in France; informs further that on return from Europe, he would visit Karachi to discuss mode of payment of the funds promised by the Aga Khan.	438
272	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	15	Asks for the name of his London representative and the name of his bank for payment of 18,750 pounds before Christmas; says he would arrange residual payment from Junagadh later.	438
273	Meeting of AIML Council Proceedings	15	Jinnah addressed the Council regarding the emergence of Pakistan, the great political divide, the communal holocaust, and the bifurcation of AIML; three resolutions were passed next day: the first expressed deep concern and anguish over the massive killing of Muslims; the second denounced the move to partition Palestine; and the third proposed two separate Muslim League organizations for Pakistan and India.	439
274	Kanji Dwarkadas to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	16	Wishing him a happy birthday, refers to his own letter on Matunga Labour Camp, published in the *Evening News*, describing deplorable conditions in the camp built for Harijans, which had 750 rooms crowded by 9000 people and 15,000 inmates living in 1000 huts, the sanitation being awful and the flush system out of order; states that Bombay Women's Council had provided a dispensary, lights and a welfare centre; complains that Municipal Corporation had done little to improve matters and that 13 sweepers could not cope; says that camps under the Govt were run much better; feels Gandhi's criticism about treatment of Harijans in Pakistan was unjustified considering the conditions in Matunga Camp.	460
275	Akhtar Husain to Jinnah Letter	16	On behalf of employees of the Delhi Municipality, who had to flee to Pakistan because of communal disturbances, states that they possessed vast experience of various facets of municipal work, but	461

			had not been able to secure employment; implores his assistance.	
276	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Letter	16	Requests that an interview be granted to the Egyptian Charge d'Affaires by Jinnah.	462
277	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Letter	16	Requests grant of an interview to the Burmese High Commissioner by Jinnah.	463
278	Abdul Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	16	Says that the actual party strength in the NWFP Assembly then was: 20 (Muslim League) and 14 (Congress); discusses pros and cons of calling the Assembly session and advises against it; suggests that the Assembly be dissolved, but that the Ministry be retained for a year or so; offers to quit if he was considered an obstacle to a solution.	464
279	Robert Stimson to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	16	Encloses text of his interview, requesting that the final version be delivered to him next day for broadcast by the BBC; in the course of the interview, Jinnah said that Muslims of the subcontinent slammed the UN decision to partition Palestine; to the question whether Pakistan would remain in the Commonwealth, he said yes, provided Britain no longer treated it as a stepchild; regarding Kashmir, he stressed that Pakistan had not accepted the State's accession to India, and that there could be no solution to the problem without the Indian troops withdrawing and the State administration being supplanted by an independent authority; to a question about the splitting of AIML, he responded that it would be impracticable for a single body to operate in both countries; to another question whether the Muslim League would be thrown open to all communities, he replied that the time was not yet ripe for such radical change.	465
280	Robert Stimson to Jinnah Letter	17	Referring to No. 279, encloses an alternate version of the interview about Kashmir; suggests that it be modifid to conform to the requirements of broadcasting.	468
281	S. M. Yusuf to Robert Stimson Letter	17	Referring to No. 280, informs that Jinnah did not see fit to modify his statement on Kashmir but had no objection to a potted version provided the words "people of Kashmir" were substituted for the words "local population" at the end of para 3; in the approved version, Jinnah averred that Indian troops had marched into Kashmir concurrently with its illegal accession and that India had refrained from informing, much less consulting, Pakistan; he stated further that if India wanted earnestly to solve the issue and enlist	469

			Pakistan's cooperation, it should withdraw its troops; he declared that Pakistan could not acquiesce in the illegal occupation of Kashmir, which was historically, geographically and economically linked to Pakistan.	
282	Robert Stimson to S. M. Yusuf Letter	17	Referring to No. 281, clarifies that he could not send Jinnah's version of the interview concerning Kashmir to the BBC on technical grounds, and neither could he agree to sending one version to the BBC and quite another to the press; suggests that he send the interview without the segment on Kashmir, which might be released separately as Jinnah's statement without any reference to the BBC; says further that if none of his suggestions was acceptable to Jinnah, he could treat the interview as off-the-record and confidential; thanks Jinnah for his courtesy.	472
283	M.A.C.M. Saleh to Jinnah Letter	17	Hopes to see him should he visit Ceylon on holiday; recounts his services to the Ceylon Muslim League which had supported the Pakistan Movement; says the Ceylon Government were considering sending him as their representative to Pakistan; hopes he would take the opportunity of Premier Senanayake's expected visit to Pakistan to discuss the future relationship between the two countries; assures of loyal cooperation and invokes Allah's blessings for Pakistan.	477
284	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to J. N. Mandal Letter	17	Points out flaws in Baluchistan's legal system which had a Judicial Commissioner at the apex and the Sessions Judge next below, both lacking adequate legal experience; states that workers in coal and chrome mines were at the mercy of mine-owners and believes their lot could be improved by the Muslim League; suggests that Baluchistan League representatives be invited to all central conferences.	479
285	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Letter	17	Suggests that the wool factory at Yaru owned by Seth Jonkiram, an evacuee, be given to a Muslim to run and that a woollen cloth factory be set up to utilize some 500,000 maunds of wool produced in Baluchistan, as well as providing employment to thousands; states that many hospitals and dispensaries had ceased working since Hindu doctors had quit, and they had to be replaced; requests more tractors; suggests that water in Sibi District be used for irrigation and that *taqavi* loans be given for improvement of the *karez* system; urges increased sugar-cane cultivation.	480

286	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to I. I. Chundrigar Letter	17	Suggests that Baluchistan League representatives be invited to all central conferences, that separate dollar and import quotas be fixed for Baluchistan, that arms licences be given to Muslims, that security deposit be dispensed with for Govt contracts, that the Habib Bank be asked to open a branch at Quetta, and that cooperative banks be started in Baluchistan.	482
287	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Fazlur Rahman Letter	17	Suggests that intermediate colleges be raised to degree level and more such colleges set up; suggests further that primary education be made free and compulsory, that the number of primary and middle schools be increased, and that middle schools be raised to secondary level; wants a broadcasting station opened at Quetta, and the incumbent Principal there retained.	485
288	Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan Letter	17	Invites attention to the following problems of Baluchistan and indicates remedial measures: a. Baluchistan was not represented in the Central Cabinet. b. The Province was arbitrarily divided into "leased", "tribal" and "agency" areas instead of into "States" and "British Baluchistan". c. Baluchistan needed to be represented at all central conferences—by Muslim League nominees. d. Kalat government, having declared it was sovereign, was appointing and promoting pro-Congress elements who, as well as discouraging League supporters, might foment civil strife; the remedy was appointment of locals to the higher posts. e. Compared to the NWFP, promotions were slow and no direct recruitment was made to the higher posts.	487
289	Robi Bhaduri to Jinnah Letter	17	Shows concern over his throat trouble and offers to treat it; lauds his support to the under-privileged and the minorities.	491
290	Aga Khan to Jinnah Telegram	17	Informs that the amount donated for relief work would be paid into his account in the National Bank.	492
291	Note by Fazlul Qadir	17	Makes following suggestions regarding industrial development of East Pakistan: a. Completion of Barkal Hydro-Electric Project to generate power for industries. b. Development of Chittagong Port for export of jute. c. Utilization of resources of Chittagong Hill Tracts: pulp for paper; wood for match factories; cotton and hides for related industries.	492

			d. Doubling of railway track between Mymensingh and Chittagong. e. Setting up of jute, cotton, spinning, leather and hosiery mills around Chittagong and of an engineering college to produce skilled and trained industrial manpower. f. Establishing jute and textile industries in Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Sylhet and Faridpur. g. Manufacture of cigars in Rangpur, coir in Barisal and Noakhali, sugar in Rajshahi, and *ghee* in Kushtia. h. Legislation for acquiring land for industries.	
292	Jinnah to Aga Khan Telegram	18	Advises that he could remit his contribution through the London Branch of National Bank of India.	495
293	Jinnah to Claude Auchinleck Letter	18	Thanks for his good wishes and regrets that he could not see him.	495
294	Qamaruddin Khan to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	18	Forwards the welcome address to be presented to Jinnah on behalf of the refugees, thanking him for providing them with relief and succour and regretting that they had become a burden on the nascent State; the address mentions that the refugees had formed an association, requesting that they be settled not far from Karachi and that India be asked (a) to protect shrines and places of worship, (b) to stop shedding blood of Muslims, and (c) to facilitate exchange of property and valuables.	496
295	Fazlul Qadir to Jinnah Letter	18	Thanks for sending a geologist to Chittagong from Quetta.	498
296	A. I. Kajee to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	18	Encloses copy of his letter to Liaquat, regarding relief for refugees, stating that £ 10,000 had been contributed to the Relief Fund and export permit for 16,000 blankets obtained; says Indian Government had banned shipment of parcels, including relief goods, from South Africa, but hopes the ban was not applicable to Pakistan; says further that Natal Indian Organisation was dominated by nationalist Muslims and projecting Indian point of view; reassures him of support for refugee rehabilitation.	499
297	H. A. Gordon to S. M. Yusuf Letter	19	Says his company was still under contract to Nawab of Bhopal who had paid equivalent of two instalments to Pakistan; says further that work was continuing on Pakistan's account and requests early payment or return of the amount to the Nawab.	501
298	Mahmud Brelvi to S. M. Yusuf Letter	19	Enquires about Jinnah's decision regarding his manuscript titled "Pakistan".	502

299	Jinnah's interview to Robert Stimson	19	The final version issued to the press, conveys deep resentment of Muslims of the subcontinent on the outrageous and arbitrary partition of Palestine; on the question of Pakistan's relations with Britain, he says Pakistan would remain in the Commonwealth as a willing member, but expresses displeasure at Britain's indifferent attitude towards Pakistan; to a question about Kashmir, he says it was a grave issue and that he would rather not make any statement in view of the ongoing discussions on the issue between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India; as to the bifurcation of All India Muslim League, he says that since Muslims in India faced different problems than those of Muslims in Pakistan, the same body could not operate in both Dominions; to a question whether Pakistan Muslim League would be open to all religious communities, he says time was not ripe for it yet.	503
300	S. M. Yusuf to A. D. F. Dundas Letter	20	Conveys Jinnah's appreciation for Sardar Akbar Sanjrani's offer of services and for the expression of his tribe's loyalty to Pakistan.	504
301	Transjordanian Minister to Foreign Minister Telegram	20	Informs that a Transjordanian mission was on its way to Pakistan to convey their King's felicitations and message to Jinnah.	505
302	Iskander Mirza to Erskine Crum Telegram	20	Suggests recruitment from Aligarh University for the Pakistan Armed Forces and their transit from the West to the East Zone as agenda items for Joint Defence Council meeting.	505
303	M. Mahomed Ismail to S. M. Yusuf Letter	20	Informs that Muslims in Madras had been discriminated against in various ways; suggests separate electorates for non-Muslims in Pakistan with a view to persuading India to retain separate electorate for Indian Muslims as well.	506
304	Govt of East Bengal to Foreign Office Telegram	20	Informs that the rationing in Dacca and other towns had broken down; requests despatch of two shiploads of rice.	507
305	J. N. Mandal to Jinnah Letter	20	Requests interview to discuss representation of Scheduled Castes in the East Bengal Cabinet.	508
306	Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	20	Forwards, for Jinnah's perusal, a letter addressed to Liaquat regarding imbalance in food stocks between surplus and deficient areas; suggests lifting of controls, for the system encouraged smuggling and corruption; says he and Hamidul Haq favoured the system while Mohammad Ali maintained that	508

			West Pakistan must meet the deficit of East Pakistan; states that a resolution recommending abolition of controls had been moved but that he had managed deferment of voting; says further that he had promised that within a week representatives from the Centre would come and discuss the matter; suggests that Liaquat, Raja Ghazanfar and Ishaque visit Dacca.	
307	Rupert N. Hornabrook to Jinnah Letter	21	Expresses happiness over the report that he intended to visit Britain; says that the conference of Foreign Ministers of the four Western Powers had ended in a stalemate and that it was now for the East to show that it could resolve its differences, and be thus a means to international amity and world peace.	512
308	Message by Jinnah to Pakistan Boy Scouts	22	Says that scouting could play a vital role in character formation of the youth; urges observance of scouting laws in letter and spirit; to build a happier and more secure world, exhorts the youth to imbibe the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed; fervently hopes that universal brotherhood was possible of attainment.	513
309	M. Y. Khan to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	22	Seeks interview with Jinnah; requests that his suggestions be submitted to him ahead of the interview, including compensation to refugees who had suffered losses of life and property during the communal riots; suggests that Jinnah himself administer oath to officers to accept no bribe, to respect women, maintain discipline, and be impartial in dealing with the public; suggests further that officers have access to Jinnah to help eradicate prevalent evils.	514
310	Australian Red Cross to Jinnah Telegram	22	Intimate that they intended to send a shipload of relief goods; enquire who it was to be consigned to for distribution.	518
311	A. B. A. Haleem to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Says he had sent him a note regarding the resettlement of refugees, which he seeks permission to release to the press; *inter alia,* the note suggested allotment of agricultural land to cultivators, formation of cooperative societies to promote farming, provision by cooperative societies of credit as well as purchase, sale and other facilities to members, and grant of *taqavi* loans to those societies, rather than individuals, to make for proper utilization and speedy recovery; the note further suggested that cooperative societies draw their leadership from among landed proprietors who had	518

			come over from India; urges planned development of cottage industries; stresses the need to create conditions favourable to the growth of cooperative farming.	
312	S. M. Yusuf to Mahmud Brelvi Letter	23	Says that Jinnah could not write a foreword to his book owing to his preoccupations; says further that neither did he want his name associated with the book in any way.	524
313	Khan A. R. Rahman to Jinnah Letter	23	Introducing the Punjab Agricultural College and Research Institute, Lyallpur, explains its existing status and his plans to raise its standard; states that the institution was doing its bit to alleviate the distress of the refugees; requests that he preside at its first post-independence prize distribution ceremony.	524
314	S. M. Yusuf to Mahomed Ismail Letter	23	Says that most of the issues he had mentioned had already been addressed by Jinnah in his speeches at the last session of All India Muslim League; advises Madras Muslims to be patient and tactful and to adapt to the new conditions.	526
315	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Letter	23	Encloses copy of a memorandum received from High Commissioner for Burma inviting Jinnah to that country's independence celebrations in Karachi; says he had learnt that Jinnah had already accepted the invitation extended to him by the High Commissioner personally; seeks confirmation before formally replying to the High Commissioner.	527
316	S. B. Thakur to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	24	Seeks permission to name his clinic after Jinnah; says that he had provided for treatment at the clinic with radio rays for chronic diseases.	528
317	T. B. Creagh Coen to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosures	24	Forwards a message received from the US President felicitating Jinnah on his birthday and expressing good wishes for the people of Pakistan; forwards also a draft message from Jinnah in reply.	529
318	R. Joesoef Ahmadi to Jinnah Letter	25	States that the Indonesian 'Ahmadis' had admired his struggle for freedom, valued his help to their spiritual leader, and had two books published, one dealing with his struggle and the other with the communal disturbances; says that little news about Pakistan reached Indonesia and requests arranging for supply of newspapers; prays for divine help in his endeavours.	531
319	Phya Srivisarvacha to Jinnah Letter	25	About Pakistan's desire to import 1,000 tons of rice from Siam, says that approval of UN Food Council was required, following which Siam would do the needful.	532

320	Fredrick & Emmaline Pethick-Lawrence to Jinnah Letter	25	Sends Christmas and New Year greetings.	533
321	S. G. V. Moosani to Abdul Qadir Letter	25	Submits a scheme about Pakistan's currency and allied matters.	534
322	Palestine Anti-Partition Committee, Singapore to Jinnah Telegram	26	States that Muslims of Singapore had, at a mass meeting, condemned the proposed partition of Palestine and hoped that the proposal would be abandoned in the interest of world peace.	537
323	Vijaya Lakshami Pandit to Liaquat Letter	26	Regrets that due to ill health, she could not attend the garden party on Jinnah's birthday.	538
324	A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	27	Informs of arrival of a 3-man Transjordanian delegation without notice; states that they carried a letter from their King for Jinnah; enquires about the time convenient to Jinnah for receiving them; in his letter, the King greeted Jinnah on the attainment of Pakistan which, he said, had lent strength to the world of Islam.	538
325	National Bank of India to Jinnah Letter	27	Inform that instructions had been received for payment of £18,750 from the Aga Khan's account; send a form for his signature for doing the needful.	541
326	Faiz Ahmad Faiz to Jinnah Letter	27	Informs of the impending first anniversary of the *Pakistan Times* and requests a message from him for the anniversary issue.	541
327	Alan Lascelles to Jinnah Telegram	27	Conveys approval of King George VI to the exchange of Ambassadors between Pakistan and Burma.	542
328	Jinnah to Mountbatten Telegram	29	Confirms willingness to meet the Governor-General of Malaya in Karachi; enquires about the time of his arrival.	543
329	Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf Letter	29	Reminds him of a letter he had written to Jinnah about the food shortage in East Bengal; desires immediate action; also desires fixation of salary of the Chief Justice who had received no pay for five months.	543
330	Abid Ahmedali to Jinnah Letter	29	Hopes that his memorandum to Attlee had influenced British policy regarding Spain, West Germany and Palestine; outlines two main tasks before Pakistan, namely ensuring external security as well as beefing up internal security; suggests that the United States, Britain and the Muslim world be cultivated, besides enlisting American assistance for development, to strengthen external security; for reinforcing internal security, suggests overhaul of the educational system, compulsory military training, rapid industrialization, development of power resources, and educating government employees and citizenry about the nation's	544

			cultural, economic and political goals; offers his services qua head of an educational institution, ambassador in an Arab country, or Director of Education.	
331	Address by Jinnah to Transjordanian Delegation	29	Welcomes the delegation and thanks the King for his felicitations on the emergence of Pakistan; says the sympathies of the Muslim world had remained a perennial source of strength for Muslims of the subcontinent during the freedom movement; assures of unstinted support for the Arab cause; also assures of doing everything possible to make their stay pleasant.	547
332	R. C. Curtis to Jinnah Letter	29	Says he was leaving Karachi on 31 December and wishes him and Pakistan a happy future; says further he had two regrets: first, he had never met him; secondly, he was no longer young enough to volunteer his services for Pakistan.	548
333	King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein Letter	30	Thanks for his message of goodwill and welcomes visit of Sheriff Hamid Sa'ad Eddin; feels the visit would strengthen fraternal relations between the two countries; says His Majesty's assurance of cooperation was especially welcome, coming as it did from a sovereign and a people for whom they had the sincerest feelings of friendship; also says he was looking forward to receiving His Majesty's diplomatic representative; expresses good wishes for His Majesty's health and happiness and prays for prosperity of the people of Transjordan.	549
334	A. P. Fonseca to Jinnah Letter	30	Suggests introduction of common currency and coinage for Pakistan and India; also suggests that, both countries being in the Commonwealth, the obverse side of rupee coin bear the King's visage; says that that would link its value with sterling as well as check fluctuations in its rate vis-a-vis other currencies; advises that Western businessmen be encouraged to promote commerce and help bring about prosperity for Pakistan.	550
335	Mrs Fatma Nimet Rached to Jinnah Letter	30	On behalf of the Feminist National Party of Egypt, thanks for support to the cause of Palestine; expresses good wishes for Pakistan.	551
336	S. A. Jawad to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	30	Requests that Mrs Nada Patcevitch and Mr C. Joffe, American journalists then in Karachi, be granted audience by Jinnah for 31 December or 01 January; says they were on a study tour, making notes on culture, arts and crafts for their magazines to promote cultural contacts between Pakistan and the United States.	552

337	T. B. Creagh Coen to S. M. Yusuf Letter & Enclosure	31	Introduces Vincent Sheean, representative of American journal *Holiday,* who intended to publish an article on Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam; says he was a staunch supporter of the Palestine cause and a personal friend of the Grand Mufti of Palestine; endorses his request for an audience with Jinnah.	553
338	Fazlur Rahman to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Sends resolution adopted unanimously at the meeting of Jamiat Ulema Islam, held at Chittagong on 12 December, demanding that Urdu be the State language of Pakistan as well as the Court language of East Bengal.	554
339	Raja Allah Dad Khan to Jinnah Letter	n.d.	Says that Muslims could live in peace and security in the free Pakistan created by him; with a view to foiling the evil designs of Hindus and Sikhs, makes suggestions for defence of the eastern border of West Punjab; suggests that a 20-mile wide belt along the border be created, which should be under Army control; suggests further that in peacetime, the troops cultivate the land in the belt, thereby providing security as well as food to the nation; recommends that the *Rakh* in Thal Project and other colonies be converted into military agricultural farms to help meet the Army expenses; observes that Pakistan had to be made strong enough to resist aggression from any quarter since only strong nations could survive as free peoples.	555
340	Jinnah to Imam Yahiya Telegram	n.d.	Thanks for his message of goodwill; expresses anguish over the unjust UN decision on Palestine; assures that Pakistan would continue to support Arabs in their just struggle.	558

1

M. A. Jinnah to Clement Attlee

F. 93-GG/4-7

1 October 1947

Dear Mr. Attlee,

Many thanks for your letter of September 25th[1] which I received yesterday, and I am extremely grateful to you for your sympathy and good wishes. Let me assure you that the Dominion of Pakistan has no other objective but [that] they fervently hope and pray that they may be allowed to live their lives in security and peace, and build up the new Dominion, although we are starting from scratch, in a manner which will lead to the prosperity and happiness of all the inhabitants of Pakistan, irrespective of the question of caste, creed or colour. But I regret to have to say that every effort is being made to put difficulties in our way by our enemies in order to paralyse or cripple our State and bring about its collapse. It is the case of the wolf and the lamb. I know that it may be a foolish dream and a futile objective of those who are pursuing this policy of disrupting Pakistan, and I also feel that ultimately it is impossible to break Pakistan, but if things are allowed to go on as they are and the situation is not immediately taken in hand, the results we are now witnessing will pale into insignificance. Thousands of innocent lives are lost, enormous amount of destruction of property and brutal and inhuman killing is going on and, as a result of this mad fury and frenzy, we may have to pay even a much greater price in the shape of destruction of life and property. To be frank, unless the Sikhs are dealt with immediately with an iron hand and the whole situation is generally handled ruthlessly by the Congress and the Government of the Indian Dominion, things are bound to go from bad to worse, and apart from a heavy toll of human life [and] destruction of property, the economic life of both the Dominions will be ruined.

It is amazing that the top-most Hindu leaders repeatedly say that Pakistan will have to submit to the Union of India. Pakistan will never surrender. It is an aim which is foolish and impossible of achievement now, but unfortunately the danger lies in the fact that it has become an obsession with them and they are not only thinking in those terms but are trying to put this policy into effect, as is evident from every deed, every action and every measure that is adopted and directed against Pakistan by the leaders of the Congress and the Dominion Government.

I do not want to enlarge on this theme further, because my Prime

Minister has already, in an official communication,[2] represented matters to you fully as the Premier of England, the leading Member of the Commonwealth. I only pray that we might see some light, and what appears to be a grave menace not only to this sub-continent but to the whole world peace may be averted.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Right Honourable Mr. Clement Attlee,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
Whitehall, London

[1]No. 290, Vol. V, 315.
[2]No. 225, Vol. V, 226-9.

2

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

[No. 1547-GG/47] *1 October 1947*

My dear Hassan,

Thank you so much for your letter of September 19,[2] and I am glad to learn that you are well, and I hope also happy.

I see that our delegation has already reached America, and I wish you every success. Please do write to me and keep me informed from time to time as to what is happening in America.

I have noted what you say about the General Motor[s] Company. You have been good enough to try and get me a Cadillac car. When their representative comes to Karachi, I shall be very pleased to meet him, and will finalize the order after settling my requirements. Please convey my thanks to the Executive of General Motors Company for their agreement to do all they can and even override all other prior bookings in order to let me have the car without delay.

As regards the Lincoln, you will let me know when you are able to do so; and also with regard to the special aeroplane, I shall await your report.

I have seen copy of your speech[3] which you propose to deliver at the time of presenting your credentials[4] to the President of the United States.

Yes, I am keeping well, but facing terrible grave and dangerous

issues and developments that are taking place from day to day, so rapidly and so dangerously. Thanking you, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, Karachi, 1983, 530-1.
[2&3]No. 255, Vol. V, 252-4.
[4]See Annex.

Annex to No. 2
Note by U. S. Department of State

US National Archives, 845 F.00/10-347

[WASHINGTON, D.C.]
3 October 1947

SUBJECT: FIRST CALL OF HIS EXCELLENCY MIRZA ABOL HASSAN ISPAHANI, NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN

Participants: The Appointed Ambassador
The Acting Secretary
Mr. [R. D.] Muir

The newly appointed Ambassador of Pakistan, Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani, called on me this date and presented a copy of his Letters of Credence, and a copy[1] of the remarks which he plans to hand [over] to the President at the time he makes his formal call at the White House.

The Ambassador and I had a long talk concerning the separation of Pakistan and India, which covered the historical aspects of the two countries as well as the matters which brought about the present separation. The Ambassador spoke of the willingness of the Muslim group at one time to unite under a common government with the Hindus, but which was turned down by that group; and then of the decision of the Muslims that a separation of the two groups was the only possible solution. The Ambassador went on to say that it was and would be impossible for the two groups to ever become assimilated as their views on religion, politics and the way of life was [*sic* for were] entirely different.

I thanked the new Ambassador for a very interesting and instructive conversation and assured him that the officials of the Department

were at all times willing to assist him in his position as Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States.

[ROBERT A. LOVETT]
Acting Secretary

[1]Enclosure to No. 255, Vol. V, 254.

3

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/1

MARSEILLE,
1 October 1947

Reply Your Excellency's cable.[1] Am happy to subscribe rupees five lakh in principle. Some technical difficulties about payment.[2] My agent Bombay coming Karachi to explain more. Your Excellency's Government will help remove same. About followers, in my sixty-two years *Imamat,* have [n]ever advised followers subscribe, not even towards missionary work, depressed or African tribes. So cannot now appeal but trust my example will encourage all. Regret serious condition my health compelling surgical operation. Latter prevents me from offering my services in Pakistan diplomatic but hope if health restored offer it.

Regards,

AGA KHAN

[1]See Annexure II to Appendix II. 3, Vol. V, 445.
[2]Appendix I. 21.

4

M. Sharif Bukhari to S. M. Yusuf

F. 76-GG/49

C/O RAILWAY RESTAURANT ROAD,
KARACHI,
1 October 1947

Sir,

I should be grateful if you please allow me to present personally

"The Great Seal" for the Government of Pakistan which I have myself embroidered on a fine superior cloth and have completed it very recently.

I enclose a photo[1] of it which I am sorry is not so clear as I wanted it to be; but I am sure the original thing with me will please you a lot.

This is not an attempt on my part to get a remuneration or an applause for it. It is only a matter of my sincere desire to present a Royal Present to the Royal Personality.

May I hope you will be pleased to call me[2] on the following address[3] and oblige,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M[UHAMMA]D SHARIF

[1]See F. 76-GG/50-1. Not printed.
[2]The "Seal" was presented by M. S. Bukhari to Jinnah on 6 October. See F.76-GG/52. Not printed.
[3]Address printed at the top of the letter.

5

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 111-GG/2

CONFIDENTIAL *1 October 1947*

No. 2067-Primin-56

Your telegram No. 372 dated September 29th.[1] Report quoted by you entirely misleading. Gandhiji more than anyone else stands for avoidance of war. He was merely warning all concerned that if matters are allowed to drift, this might lead to dangerous consequences. He has further explained his position in statement in today's papers. Government of India completely adhere to their declaration of Joint Conference of September 19th.[2] I have personally reiterated it on several occasions and propose to do so again.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]No. 316, Vol. V, 347-8.
[2]Annex.

Annex to No. 5

INDIA AND PAKISTAN PLEDGE PEACE[1]

Conflict will result in disaster

Two-day conference at Delhi

NEW DELHI, Sept. 22: Representatives of the Dominion Governments of India and Pakistan at their two-day conference here reaffirmed the policy of both the Governments to create and maintain conditions in their respective Dominions, in which minorities could live in security. The two Governments were in complete accord that they should co-operate in the establishment of peaceful conditions. Any conception of conflict between India and Pakistan, says a Press Note, was repugnant not only on moral grounds but because any such conflict would result in disaster to both.

The Press Note says:

A conference was held in New Delhi on September 19 and 20 between the representatives of the Dominion Governments of India and Pakistan at which the following were present:

Government of India
Prime Minister—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Deputy Prime Minister—Sardar Patel
Sardar Baldev Singh
John Matthai
C.H. Bhabha
K.C. Neogy

Government of Pakistan
Prime Minister—Liaquat Ali Khan
Ghulam Mohammed

There were full and frank discussions, and many complaints received by either Government were considered. Explanations were given or inquiries were promised to be made in regard to them. Regrettable incidents had taken place in both the West and the East Punjab and elsewhere. It was decided that details of these should be communicated by one Government to the other, and it was agreed that these should be investigated and persons found guilty should be drastically punished.

COMPLETE ACCORD

The two Governments were in complete accord that they should co-operate in the establishment of peaceful conditions. Any conception of conflict between India and Pakistan was repugnant not only on moral grounds, but because any such conflict would result in disaster to both. The two Governments would, therefore, work to the utmost of

their capacity to remove causes of conflict and to reduce, as rapidly as possible, both the area and intensity of the present communal conflict. In particular, statements by responsible persons which are either bellicose or one-sided and lead to irritation and ill-will should be avoided.

It was pointed out that certain newspapers were giving publicity to completely false reports and writing editorial matter of a highly inflammatory nature which is likely to lead to deterioration of the existing situation. It was agreed that the Governments concerned should take steps to prevent the publication of such false and inflammatory material.

It is the policy of both the Governments to create and maintain conditions in which minorities could live in security.

In order to maintain close contact between the Governments and to facilitate joint consideration of problems, it was decided that frequent meetings should take place between the Ministers of the two Governments, alternately in Delhi and Lahore. The Prime Minister of Pakistan stated that he proposed to make Lahore his Headquarters till such time as conditions became more settled in the Punjab.

The conference considered the issues of policy arising out of the movement of convoys of evacuees from the East to the West Punjab and from the West to East Punjab and agreed on the following joint declaration.

MOVEMENT OF EVACUEES

The situation in the Punjab has developed in such a way that mass movement of Muslims from the East Punjab and of non-Muslims from the West Punjab is taking place.

The Governments of India and Pakistan have, therefore, decided that the movement of these people from the East to the West Punjab and vice versa is to have first priority. They have agreed to co-operate with each other on this matter to the fullest extent and to take all steps to ensure that the movements in both directions are completed with the greatest possible speed and with the fullest measure of security.

Both the Governments appeal for the co-operation of every member of the public in this matter. Violence begets violence and it cannot be too strongly emphasised that any interference with the movement in either direction will inevitably delay and imperil the movement in the opposite direction. Consequently any persons who may attempt such interference will, in effect, grievously injure their own people.

The Governments of India and Pakistan are resolved to expedite and secure the safety of these movements, and they have armed themselves with the most drastic powers to ensure that those found guilty

are summarily dealt with in the severest manner.—API.

[1]The *Pakistan Times,* 23 September 1947.

6

Note by Saidullah Khan

F. 788/13-4

[KABUL,]
1 October 1947

INTERVIEW WITH H.R.H. SARDAR MUHAMMAD HASHIM KHAN, EX-PRIME MINISTER, AFGHANISTAN

I called on H.R.H. Sardar Hashim Khan at 11 a.m. at his residence and stayed there for about half an hour as my next interview with the Court Minister[1] had been fixed up for 11.30 a.m. by the Minister for Foreign Affairs[2] on that day.

After observing the usual formalities of welcome, etc., Sardar Hashim Khan asked me if the negotiations[3] were proceeding satisfactorily. I told him that before replying to the question so kindly asked by him, I should like to point out that I was extremely disappointed to hear the news on the radio that morning that the Representative of Afghanistan was the only one out of the 51 Representatives of various countries of the world who had opposed Pakistan at the U.N.O. while the others had unanimously voted in favour of Pakistan. I went on to say that if the Royal Afghan Government had already decided to oppose Pakistan on every front, I wished to inquire if it was worthwhile my continuing the negotiations in such an atmosphere. Sardar Hashim Khan told me at once that there must be some misunderstanding somewhere, but he was unaware of it so far and will bring this matter to the notice of the authorities concerned for making suitable amends at once. He agreed with me that it was not fair to me to confront me with all these difficulties at a time when the object of my mission was to create brotherly relations between the two countries. He went on to say that I should not be disappointed and I should proceed with my work calmly and patiently as heretofore.

The talks actually carried us to 11.45 a.m. in spite of the fact that I had told him that the time given to me for the interview with H.R.H. was too short as the Afghan Government had fixed another interview for me with the Court Minister at 11.30 a.m.[4] but, as there was no

pause in between the conversation, I could not leave him until he finished his talk at 11.45.

I came to know later in the day that H.R.H. Sardar Hashim Khan actually rang up the Minister for Foreign Affairs and told him my feelings in the matter of voting at the U.N.O. with the suggestion that suitable amends should be made immediately and conveyed to the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam by the Afghan Government.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN
Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam]

[1]Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan. Also see No. 7.
[2]Ali Muhammad Khan.
[3]The negotiations related to setting up of Pakistan Embassy in Kabul and acceptance of Saidullah Khan as the channel of communication between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan. See No. 20.
[4]Saidullah Khan also had an interiew with Sardar Daud Khan, Afghan War Minister, the same day. See F. 788/9. Not printed.

7

Note by Saidullah Khan

F. 788/10-2

[KABUL,]
1 October 1947

INTERVIEW WITH THE AFGHAN COURT MINISTER

[*Paras 1&2 omitted*]

Question: Now, brother, as a Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam, you have a status equivalent to that of a Governor-General and the mission with which you have set out for this country is of such a delicate and important character that no one below that status could have been entrusted with it, then tell me would it not have been proper for the Pakistan Government to have appointed you as the Governor of the NWFP at Peshawar and thereby console the millions of Pathans as well as Afghans on this side of the Durand Line? He proceeded to say that the selection and appointment of a Pathan would have been most welcome to the peoples of both the countries (Afghanistan and Pakistan). He further

stated that it should not be taken as a diplomatic move on my part; but now that I have called you my brother, I must tell you that there is the feeling in Afghanistan that an Englishman (H.E. Sir George Cunningham) should not have been given preference in the presence of the people of your status.

Answer: I told His Highness Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan that my reply is contained in the very question put to me by His Highness. On this, he was taken aback and paused for a moment and then said that he did not follow. I told him that as he had called me brother and been frank and straightforward in his talk—leaving diplomacy aside—I might be excused if I were to ask him if he was my friend or foe. He at once retorted that most certainly he was my friend and brother. I said, this being so did His Highness wish to convey to me that in view of the position and status which he so kindly gave me, namely that of Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam equivalent to that of a Governor-General and charged with a mission the delicacy and importance of which could not be underestimated, High [*sic* for His] Highness, during my brief intercourse with him, had changed his mind by offering me a job much lower than that of a Governor-General, viz. the Governor of NWFP? Thereupon, His Highness apologised and told me that frankness pays and he appreciated it immensely and added that he would pray for the success of my mission.

Question: Now tell me, brother, before you part that as a Pathan what are your innermost feelings about our people and Government on this side of the Durand Line?

Answer: It will be premature on my part, Your Highness, to express any opinion within so short a time (four or five days); but I will certainly be in a position to express my considered opinion on the termination of these negotiations.

With prayers on his lips for the success of my mission, I left him at 12.45 p.m.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

8

K. H. Khurshid to Jyantilal C. Mehta

F. 88/12

1 October 1947

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of 13th September, 1947,[1] I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 315 in payment of the dividend on 35 shares of the Simplex Mills Ltd., claimed by M/S Brijmohan Lakshminarayan, and another cheque for Rs. 55 claimed by Jwala Bank Ltd., as dividend on five shares of the Simplex Mills Ltd.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and also please send me proper receipts of the parties concerned.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
K. H. KHURSHID
Personal Secretary

Jyantilal C. Mehta, Esq.,
Share & Stock Broker,
Stock Exchange Building,
Elphinstone Circle, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No. 229, Vol. V, 232-3.

9

K. H. Khurshid to Govan Bros.

F. 88/11

1 October 1947

Dear Sirs,

I am enclosing herewith two cheques for Rs. 3007-8-0 each on National Bank of India, Ltd., in payment of the Third Call on 2400 Ordinary Shares of the Indian National Airways, Ltd., @ Rs.2-8-0 per share

plus bank charges, held by Mr. Jinnah.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
K. H. KHURSHID
Personal Secretary

Messrs Govan Bros., Ltd.,
Managing Agents, Indian National Airways, Ltd.,
Scindia House,
New Delhi

10

Zahid Husain to Mohamad Ali

FOA, IU. 3/8

NEW DELHI,
1 October 1947

My dear Mohamad Ali,[1]

This is with reference to my letter to you dated the 30th September 1947[2] in which I have explained my position and informed you of the conversation I had with the Prime Minister while I was in Karachi.

2. Mian Abdul Aziz has returned from Lahore and the Prime Minister is also arriving to-day to take part in the meeting of the Joint Defence Council.

3. Mian Abdul Aziz is leaving the post of Deputy High Commissioner and is returning to Lahore. As a result of some interview with the Prime Minister he has decided to sever his connection with us. When I wrote my letter yesterday[3] I assumed that Mian Abdul Aziz will be available to carry on here. In view of the altered circumstances would you very kindly assure the Govt. on my behalf that I would stay at my post of duty until Govt. are able to relieve me.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN
High Commissioner for Pakistan

[1]Secretary-General, Govt. of Pakistan.
[2]Annex.
[3]Ibid.

Annex to No. 10

FOA, IU. 3/8

NEW DELHI,
30 September 1947

My dear Mohamad Ali,

When I was in Karachi I told you that I had had occasion to discuss with the Prime Minister my position here. I told him that so far as I could see it would not be possible for me to achieve any tangible results in the present conditions; not only is there complete lack of goodwill and spirit of cooperation but there is actual hostility. It is not necessary to state at any length in this letter either the general position or my own views.

2. I explained to the Prime Minister that in the circumstances existing to-day Govt. should have as their High Commissioner, a person who can function at a fairly high political level though it is doubtful whether even such a person would be able to achieve any results. But there would be some advantage in that it would probably be possible to make it appear that something is being done and achieved. If it is not possible to find a person of such type to take up the post of High Commissioner at the present juncture, all that need be done is to keep the office alive.

3. I explained to the Prime Minister that in view of the above I did not see any advantage in my staying on in Delhi. When my appointment was made it was not possible to visualise the developments which have unfortunately taken place since. It was then considered that most of the work would relate to partition proceedings, economic and trade agreements, contacts with foregin missions, publicity, collection of economic and other informatoin, etc.

4. I told the Prime Minister that for evacuation from Delhi we ought to include in our lists of Govt. servants those who are likely to render useful service to our State such as industrialists, engineers, businessmen, etc. It was my intention to come to Delhi and make arrangements for evacuation of such people on the same basis as for Govt. servants. The Prime Minister agreed subject to the approval of Govt. in cases of doubtful value. In actual fact many people are going on their own or with the help of Muslim Ministers of India and there are no means of stopping the flow, or of regulating it.

5. It was my intention to stay here for a fortnight or so and then return to Karachi when I would be able to decide my future programme. The Prime Minister agreed with this and I am writing this letter to

explain the position lest there be any misunderstanding as this matter has not so far been reduced to writing. I am told that some persons from Karachi, while talking on the telephone to the Deputy High Commissioner, told him that I would come here for two days only. If they said so, they spoke without authority.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

11

Nawab of Bhopal to Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China, Karachi

F. 179-GG/1

QASR-I-SULTANI,
BHOPAL,
2 October 1947

Will you please arrange to pay in cash to Mr. Mohamad Ali[1] a sum of Rs.7,00,000 (rupees seven lakh) minus £ 5,000 (five thousand pounds),[2] by quarterly instalments, beginning from the Ist of September 1947. The first instalment of £13,125 is to be paid at once out of which please deduct £5,000 which have already been paid.

HAMIDULLAH

Please pay[3] to the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

MOHAMAD ALI
23.10.47

Pay Loyds Bank, Karachi.

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

The Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China,
Mcleod Road, Karachi

[1]Secretary-General, Govt. of Pakistan.
[2]See No. 333, Vol. V, 371-2.
[3]On Nawab of Bhopal's order Rs. 7,00,000 were paid into Jinnah's account after 3 December 1947. See F. 757/193-4. Not printed.

12

Ruler of Kalat to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 14-GG/22

KALAT,
2 October 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Moh[amma]d Ali Jinnah, Karachi

Very many thanks for your kind message through Qazi Mohammad Isa. Proposal arrive Karachi Sunday twelfth October to pay personal greetings Pakistan Government and Your Excellency. Shall stay till Sunday nineteenth, returning Monday by road. Much looking forward meeting Miss Jinnah and yourself. Kind regards.

[AHMAD YAR KHAN]

13

Ameer of Bahawalpur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 97-GG/1

SADIQ GARH,
3 October 1947

Most dear and respected friend,

Nawab Gurmani[1] is now proceeding to Karachi and I believe will have the pleasure of calling on Your Excellency. I envy him this as I had much looked forward to calling on you in person immediately on my return from England. Unfortunately, owing to my having arrived in such a hurry and then having to leave immediately for my Headquarters I had to deprive myself of this pleasure but *Insha Allah* I look forward to the happy day of our next meeting.

I have requested Nawab Gurmani to convey to you my most affectionate greetings and to make a special request, and this is, could Your Excellency possibly let me have the latest portrait of yourself so that I can keep it near me. This gift will be most treasured and much appreciated. I also would like to have a portrait of yourself in profile as it is my intention to bring out a postage stamp commemorating the Pakistan and Bahawalpur union.[2] *Insha Allah,* most generous friend, you will find us here in Bahawalpur, ever staunch and sincere, in our ambition to be

of every assistance humanly possible towards the welfare and greatness of Pakistan.

May I hope this finds you and your gracious sister in the enjoyment of excellent health.

With many *Salaams* and prayers that *Allah* may bless you with His choicest gifts, and success be yours in every undertaking.

I send herewith a portrait of myself which I hope you will kindly accept.

Ever and always affectionately,
SADIQ MUHAMMAD ABBASI

[1]Prime Minister, Bahawalpur State.

[2]A one-and-a-half anna postage stamp, commemorating the first anniversary of the union of Bahawalpur with Pakistan and bearing the portraits of the *Ameer* and Jinnah, was issued by the State on 3 October 1948.

14

Minutes of Defence Minister's Meeting Held at the Circuit House, Rawalpindi, on 2 October 1947

F. 112-GG/32-4

[RAWALPINDI,]
3 October 1947

1. PRESENT

Liaquat Ali Khan, HM Defence [in chair]
Governor, NWFP
Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army
Prime Minister, NWFP
Mohamad Ali, Secretary-General, Government of Pakistan
Lt. Col. Iskander Mirza, Secretary, Defence
Mr. Shah, NWFP
S. I. Haque, Deputy Secretary, Defence
Brig. J. F. R. Forman—Secretary

2. WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM WAZIRISTAN

The Governor, NWFP, stated that withdrawal was in agreement with general Frontier policy and was necessary in order to save troops. The original object of having troops there to dominate the Mahsuds was now no longer achieved [*sic*]. He did not consider that the evacuation of troops would reduce our hold over the tribes. In fact, he thought

it might have a sedative effect. We should, however, be strong in our settled districts.

Prime Minister, NWFP, agreed that withdrawal was necessary but doubted if the present was the right time to undertake it. He feared that [Faqir of] Ipi and the Red Shirts might both look upon it as a sign of weakness and cause trouble and he doubted the loyalty of Scouts and *Khassadars*. C-in-C stated that, purely from military point of view, early evacuation was necessary. At present, the troops were *qilaband*, under-officered and unable to train properly. The new dispositions would definitely strengthen the army.

Mr. Shah agreed that the withdrawal was necessary. The question to decide was when and how it should be carried out. He considered it was necessary to examine fully the new set-up first, e.g. settle treaties and agreements with Frontier States and tribes.

HM Defence asked which time of year was best for the evacuation. Governor, NWFP, and C-in-C agreed that the winter was the best time and, if possible, before the bad weather set in, in December.

. 3. TREATIES AND RELATIONS WITH STATES AND TRIBES

i. The Governor of NWFP reviewed the relations of the Government with the Frontier States over the past years. He pointed out the difficulty regarding Chitral's relations vis-a-vis Kashmir and the animosity between Dir and Swat. He considered that any treaties should be in the very simplest form.

HM Defence said that agreement should be based on the Central Government being responsible for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. All other subjects would be the affair of the State itself, unless the State willingly surrendered its rights in any other subjects to the Central Government. In return, the States would have the obligation of taking part in the common defence of Pakistan. He wished to produce a form of agreement whereby the States would feel themselves a definite part of Pakistan. The question of their representation in the Constituent Assembly and in the subsequent Constitution should not form part of the present agreement, but should be taken up later. He did not wish the agreement with Chitral to be finalized until he had been able to obtain legal advice regarding Kashmir suzerainty over Chitral.

ii. H.M. Defence then referred to relationship with the tribes. He wished to make their relationship with Government closer than at present. He considered there were three alternatives:

a. That the tribes should be joined to the settled districts. He considered this impossible at present.
b. Federation—this was dangerous and probably not feasible.
c. To keep the present arrangements going but aim at stronger ties with the Government, including the obligation on the tribes to join in the defence of Pakistan if called upon to do so.

The Governor of the NWFP considered that the third alternative was possible provided that the existing allowances and *Khassadari* continued. He thought that the fact that there was now an Islamic Government in Pakistan and that Waziristan was to be evacuated would produce a better feeling between the tribes and the Government.

The question of a greater representation of the tribes in the army was raised by the Prime Minister, NWFP and discussed. It was pointed out by the Governor that the tribes already had a large number of men employed in the C.A.F. and the Frontier Constabulary. He thought, however, and the C-in-C agreed, that enlistment in the army could, in due course, be somewhat increased. The Governor, NWFP, stated that he considered agreements made with the tribes should be in the simplest possible form and should not take the form of lengthy signed documents but should be agreed upon in *jirga*.

4. TIMING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE WITHDRAWAL FROM WAZIRISTAN

After much discussion, it was decided that the Governor of the NWFP should start immediately to negotiate agreements with the Frontier States and with all tribes other than those in Waziristan. After the effect of these negotiations had had time to be felt in Waziristan, the announcement of the withdrawal of our troops from Waziristan should be made by the Governor himself in full *jirga*. The estimated date for this was in about one month's time. Thereafter, the withdrawal from Waziristan would take place in accordance with the military plan which would be completed in approximately months. The visit of Quaid-i-Azam to Peshawar to confirm the final agreements and to meet representatives of all States and tribes would not take place until early December, at the earliest.

5. OTHER POINTS

a. The Afghan Govt. should be informed of our intention to evacuate Waziristan just before the evacuation takes place.
b. The main roads in Waziristan should be kept open for commerce, movement of Political Officers, possible troop moves, etc.
c. Buildings in Razmak and Scout posts would be left intact.

d. The question of whether the relationship between the tribes and the Govt. should be on the present lines or through the Provincial Govt. was fully discussed. It was decided to leave the decision until later.
e. *Malakand Levies*:[1] The Governor, NWFP, said he would have further consultations with the Resident, Tribal Areas and the P.A. concerned and report to the Pakistan Government.
f. *Tochi Scouts in Thal*: It was agreed that Tochi Scouts saved through the evacuation of posts in the upper Tochi should be garrisoned in Thal, relieving the Garrison Company, at present there.
g. *Announcement regarding the Faqir of Ipi*: It was agreed that this should be issued at the same time as the announcement of the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan.
h. *Ghilzai Incursion*: Governor, NWFP, described the action he had taken to try to limit numbers and to control Ghilzai movement. It was decided to pass the same information to the Ghilzais through tribal channels.
j. *Draft Announcement regarding Withdrawal from Waziristan*:[2] This was discussed and certain amendments were agreed to by HM Defence. It was decided to make it clear that allowances, etc., were not sanctioned indefinitely.

6. POINTS RAISED BY PRIME MINISTER, NWFP

a. *Finance*: Prime Minister described the unsatisfactory state of revenue and extraordinary expenditure incurred on upkeep of refugees and in connection with prisons due to civil disturbances.
b. *Foodstuffs*: Prime Minister described shortages in Hazara and Peshawar itself. HM Defence and Secretary-General asked for full information in writing by tomorrow, 3 October morning.
c. *Evacuation of Refugees*: HM Defence said he would arrange four refugee trains out of the twelve arriving from India shortly to be sent to Peshawar to evacuate 10,000 refugees wishing to leave NWFP.

J. F. R. FORMAN
Brigadier
Secretary

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Annexure to Enclosure 3 to No. 282, Vol. V, 309-10.

15

Mahomed Ismail & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/71

P. O. BOX NO. 2,
ESTCOURT, NATAL,
[SOUTH AFRICA,]
3 October 1947

Sir,

We enclose herewith, please find, draft for the sum of Rs. 5,287 annas 6, donated by the Muslims of Estcourt and District[1] for *the destitute Muslims of Pakistan*.[2]

We have been asked by certain members of the Muslim community to seek information from you as regards the prospects of the undermentioned ventures in the Dominion of Pakistan:

1. Investments in real estate.
2. Trade and industry
3. Agriculture, and plots for housing scheme, and are there any facilities or assistance offered by the Government to persons wishing to establish industries and agricultural venture?

Your information in the above matter will be much appreciated.

Thanking you in anticipation,

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
MAHOMED ISMAIL & OTHERS
for Estcourt & District Muslim Community

PS. Will you please let us know the wavelength of our station on which we can receive you in this country on South African time, as we are very anxious to hear Pakistan news?

[1]The contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund was acknowledged by Jinnah. See F. 80(3)-GG/72. Not printed.
[2]Underlined in the original.

16

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

F. 167(3)-GG/1

3 October 1947

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

My attention has been drawn to what purports to be an interview which you gave to *Sind Observer* last night, and I am enclosing a cutting of it herewith.[1] Please let me know whether it is a correct version.

I would draw your particular attention to what you said with regard to the searches to be made. This will create a very serious misunderstanding. Hence, I am writing to you to let me know whether you are correctly reported.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Khuhro, Esq.,
Prime Minister, Sind,
Victoria Road, Karachi

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 16

F. 167(3)-GG/2

SEARCH OF EVACUEES WILL CONTINUE[1]

Khuhro Countermands Pak. Govt.'s Orders

"The searches will continue to be made of the evacuees at the port as usual," said Mr. M. A. Khuhro, Premier of Sind, in an interview to the *Sind Observer* last night.

Mr. Khuhro added: "I do not agree with the Pakistan Government that no searches should be made of the outgoing passengers. Their order seems to me unworkable as it would only mean putting premium on dishonesty. I propose to make a representation to the Government of Pakistan in this connection."

Continuing, the Sind Premier said that the searches were made to see that none of the prohibited articles were taken out of the province. This was a legitimate function of the Government as was being done in all the countries. He quoted an instance in which firearms with all-India licence were also detained at Bombay.

Concluding, the Premier said that he had, however, passed orders

that women should not be searched while the police was authorised to search male passengers on suspicion.

When informed that police had made searches yesterday after the luggage was carried on board the ship, the Premier said that the Customs authorities had stopped making searches on receiving orders from Pakistan Government. It was later found necessary by the Provincial authorities that searches could not be abandoned.

[1]The *Sind Observer*, 3 October 1947.

17

S. Rasool & Co., Lahore, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 861/153

14 HALL ROAD, LAHORE,
3 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
May it please Your Excellency,

We have received a cheque No. BB/3/75409 dated 7-9-1947 with your Personal Secretary's letter dated 23-9-1947 for Rs. 300 with the remarks that Your Excellency considered our bills to be exorbitant. We beg to submit the following lines for favourable consideration:

1. Our Mr. Qadri has reached here as a refugee.
2. As regards audit, our Mr. Qadri spent one month in the audit of Bihar Relief Fund and Government sanctioned fee of a Registered Accountant is Rs. 30 per hour. He has tried his best to be lowest in submitting the bill.

We shall pray to reconsider your decision and let us have increased amount per draft on any bank in Lahore.

We have the honour to be
Your Excellency's most obedient servants,
S. RASOOL & CO.
Registered Accountants & Auditors

18

Note by Saidullah Khan

F. 788/15-9

3 October 1947

As desired by the Hon'ble Minister for Foreign Affairs, I called on him today, 3-10-1947, at 10 a.m. and had a lengthy discussion with him once again relating to the object of my mission to Kabul. The Foreign Minister after giving me a very patient and sympathetic hearing told me that I should write to him explaining briefly about the following few points:

a. My position or status.
b. A brief account of the object of my mission.
c. Authority that I was the sole channel for communication between the Royal Afghan Government and Government of Pakistan and as such the British Legation has ceased to function with my arrival at Kabul in matters relating to Pakistan.
d. The person or authority who is competent to negotiate with the Afghan Government on certain important political matters after the establishment of the Foreign Pakistan Embassy at Kabul.

2. I told the Hon'ble Minister for Foreign Affairs that as I had already verbally replied to the queries raised by him I took full responsibility of my Government and that he could convey the replies given by me to proper quarters. The Foreign Minister, however, requested that I should reduce the replies to writing and let him have them. Hence the letter on the points raised and verbally discussed at the meeting today.

3. As regards (1), I drew the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to the telegram issued by Mr. Liaq[u]at Ali Khan, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, to the British Minister at Kabul for submission to His Excellency Sardar Ali Mohammad, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Royal Afghan Government, Kabul, which was forwarded with the British Minister's endorsement No. 1080/47, dated the 9th September 1947,[1] which is to the following effect:

> In accordance with the arrangements arrived at between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan, through the good offices of the Royal Afghan Consul-General at New Delhi, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has selected Nawabzada Haji Saidullah Khan, M. A. (Oxford), I.C.S., and Bar-at-Law, to be his Personal Representative with the Royal Afghan Government at Kabul. Nawabzada

Saidullah Khan is at present Financial Commissioner of the Government [of] West Punjab. My Government would be grateful if he could be granted the local rank of Minister. He will negotiate with the Afghan Government the question of setting up new Foreign Pakistan Embassy in Kabul. He will also be sole channel for communications between the Royal Afghan Government and Government of Pakistan. As soon as agreement of Royal Afghan Government is received Nawabzada Saidullah Khan will leave for Kabul taking with him about six personal servants. Pakistan Government would be grateful if the Royal Afghan Government would wire their Consul at Peshawar to grant necessary diplomatic visa to Nawabzada Saidullah Khan.

Please accept an assurance of my highest consideration.

I told His Excellency the Foreign Minister that I, as Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah at Kabul, was competent to negotiate with the Afghan Government the question of setting up of new Foreign Pakistan Embassy in Kabul and was the sole channel for communication between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan. I also told the Foreign Minister that with my arrival, the British Minister had ceased to function in matters relating to Pakistan and that hereafter any correspondence relating to Pakistan should be addressed to me. In this connection I also drew the attention of the Foreign Minister to a reference that I had received from the British Minister dated the 30th September 1947,[2] on the subject. I also showed the Hon'ble Minister a copy of the draft note addressed to the Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kabul, by the British Minister that the Legation Passport Office will be closed and the issue of road passes for Pakistan from His Majesty's Legation will also be discontinued from a date to be specified by me. I further told the Foreign Minister that in order to comply with his request that the matter should not be rushed through I complied with his request in anticipation of the orders of my Government. The relevant extract of my D.O. reply to the British Minister on the subject is enclosed.[3]

4. As already explained to the Foreign Minister, I had explained at great length the object of my mission to Foreign Minister in my interview dated the 27th September 1947,[4] and it is therefore hardly necessary for me to reiterate the same here again. Suffice it to say that the object of my mission, besides that specified in the telegram, was to convey the message of Quaid-i-Azam to His Majesty the King through the Foreign Minister and to afford all possible help to the Afghan Government on the transfer of the work relating to Pakistan to me which was hitherto performed by the British Minister.

5. As regards (3), attention is invited to the telegram referred to above which clearly specifies that I was the sole channel for communication between the Royal Afghan Government and Government of Pakistan and as Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam could negotiate with the Afghan Government regarding the setting up of a new Foreign Pakistan Embassy in Kabul. If there be any apprehension in the mind of Royal Afghan Government as regards my identity a reference can be made to my passport which has already been deposited in the Foreign Office. It was in pursuance of these orders that the British Minister asked me for a date for the transfer of work vide his letter referred to above.

6. I told the Foreign Minister that the person or authority which could deliver the goods was the Quaid-i-Azam and that it was discretionary with the Afghan Government to raise any question, political or otherwise, through their diplomatic representative in Pakistan or the Pakistan Representative in Afghanistan. I told the Foreign Minister that as I had on various occasions made it abundantly clear verbally that all that the Pakistan Government desired was the replacement of their temporary representative, viz. the British Minister in matters relating to the Pakistan Government and no more at this stage so that the Pakistan Government Representative might discharge for the present the same duties and functions as were hitherto performed by the British Minister on behalf of Pakistan Government. When once the Representative of the Pakistan Government gets into the shoes of the British Minister further negotiations could be taken up at [the] time and place to be decided upon by both the Governments, viz. Pakistan and Afghanistan. I also pointed out to the Foreign Minister that with the cessation of activities of the British Minister in matters relating to Pakistan, all that the Pakistan Government desired was to avoid any inconvenience being caused to the Afghan Government. Hence the object of my mission. In this connection I also drew the attention of the Foreign Minister to his reply (copy enclosed)[5] which was received by the Pakistan Government through the British Minister at Kabul expressing pleasure over my visit to Kabul. I further explained to the Foreign Minister that as the position had already been explained by the British Minister to him in his letter of which the office copy was shown to me by the British Minister, it was made clear to the Foreign Minister that for the establishment of these relations a telegram from the Pakistan Government was sufficient and this view was also shared by both the Ministers of France and America. The Foreign Minister

also agreed that no formal letter from the Quaid-i-Azam after the despatch of that telegram was necessary.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1 to 5]Not traceable.

19

M. Ikramullah to Saidullah Khan

Telegram, FOA, I. 77/X

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 416

KARACHI,
3 October 1947

2. The press reports that Pakistan has been admitted as member of the United Nations on a unanimous vote except for the sole opposition of Afghanistan. We are awaiting official confirmation but meanwhile consider that you should know of this extraordinary development.

3. Please report urgently any local reactions.

[M. IKRAMULLAH]

20

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/15

ROYAL AFGHAN GOVERNMENT GUEST HOUSE,
DAR-UL-FANOON, [KABUL,]
No. P/3/47
4 October 1947

Monsieur le Ministre,

As required by Your Excellency I attended the Foreign Office at 10 a.m. today and after a fairly long discussion on various matters, including the establishment of Pakistan Embassy in Kabul, you were pleased to ask me to let you have information on certain matters whereupon I drew Your Excellency's attention to the correspondence relating to the points in question and read out various letters to you. As desired by Your Excellency I give below a resume of our discussion:

2. Points for elucidation:

a. My status and function.

b. Object of my Mission with particular reference to the authority

constituting me to be the sole channel of communication between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan, and the consequent withdrawal of authority from the British Legation to function on behalf of Pakistan.

c. The person or authority in Pakistan with whom "important political matters" could be discussed.

3. My replies were:

a & b: My status is that of Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah with the Royal Afghan Government at Kabul—cf. telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan to His Britannic Majesty's Minister, Kabul, which the latter forwarded to you under his endorsement No. 1089/47 dated 9th September 1947,[1] and Your Excellency's D.O. letter No. 2055 dated 11th September 1947[2] to His Britannic Majesty's Minister.

As specified in Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's telegram my mission in Kabul has a two-fold object, namely

i. to negotiate with the Royal Afghan Government the question of setting up a Pakistan Embassy in Kabul; and
ii. to be the sole channel of communication between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan.

With the implementation of the second part of my assignment, which is an integral part of the mission, the British Legation automatically ceases to function on behalf of my Government on my arrival in Kabul.

c. As explained verbally, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, is the sole authority who can deliver the goods. But as in all lawfully constituted Government[s] the Minister for Foreign Affairs (who in the present case also holds the office of Prime Minister) is the appropriate authority in Pakistan with whom "important political matters" may be discussed by a Foreign Government. In the circumstances, it is obviously discretionary with the Royal Afghan Government to discuss any important matters direct with the Pakistan Foreign Minister through their diplomatic representative in Karachi or with the diplomatic representative of the Government of Pakistan in Kabul.

4. I hope I have fully dealt with the points raised by Your Excellency, but should there be anything which needs further elucidation I shall be glad to furnish whatever information I can.

5. On my arrival in Kabul I was informed by the British Minister that a doubt was being entertained by the Royal Afghan Government

as to whether a mere telegram from the Pakistan Government was sufficient for the purpose of starting negotiations with the Royal Afghan Government as contemplated therein. This doubt was, however, removed and the telegram referred to above was considered to be sufficient authority for the purpose.

6. As regards my function as the sole channel of communication between the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan, according to my instructions I should have started work in this connection immediately after my interview with Your Excellency on Saturday, the 27th September 1947, but a letter from Sir Giles Squire held me up. It said *inter alia*:

> As I (Sir Giles Squire) arranged with you yesterday I went this morning to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and told him that as you had now arrived and were, in accordance with the message already sent to him, to be in future the sole means of communication between the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan I should no longer be able to function on behalf of Pakistan in Kabul and that I was arranging to hand over to you the records together with some of my staff on whatever days it was convenient to you to take them over. I told him that I proposed to send him an official communication on the lines of the enclosed draft note. The Foreign Minister was anxious that things should not be done in too much of a hurry and expressed the earnest hope that you would not fix the date for closing of the passport office here until he had had a further opportunity of discussing the whole question with you. In this matter I should of course be guided entirely by your wishes and will arrange to close the office with effect from any date which you decide.

I enclose a copy of the draft note for your perusal.[3] In reply to his letter I wrote to Sir Giles Squire on the 2nd October 1947[4] that I had had no intimation to the above effect from Your Excellency but that I would unhesitatingly comply with your wishes even though it meant contravening the instructions of my own Government. I took full responsibility for this postponement for a *reasonable*[5] period and advised my Government accordingly.

7. From the above exposition it would be abundantly clear to Your Excellency that the intention of my Government was neither more nor less than this that the duties hitherto assigned to the British Minister by the Government of Pakistan should henceforth be performed by their own representative. Any delay in the execution of this intention would naturally mean a contravention of my instructions as well as that of the import of the correspondence exchanged between the two Governments. I should, therefore, be glad to know whether in pursuance of the agreement expressed by the Royal Afghan Government in your

D. O. letter No. 2055 dated the 11th September, 1947,[6] it is proposed to give effect to the purpose of my deputation here and to allow the transfer of duties hitherto performed by the British Minister to the Pakistan Representative with immediate effect.

8. The office I propose setting up will be named "Office of the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Kabul".

Please accept, *Monsieur le Ministre,* the assurance of my highest consideration.

SAIDULLAH KHAN

His Excellency Sardar-i-A'la Ali Muhammad Khan,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
The Royal Afghan Government,
Kabul

[1to4&6]Not traceable.
[5]Underlined in the original.

21

Yusuf Jasim Almajed to S. M. Yusuf

FOA, O/346

SAUDI ARAB BUNGALOW,
NO. 100 GARDEN WEST,
KARACHI,
4 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I have just received a message No. 11459/6/5/21 dated the 30th *Shawwal* 1366 from His Majesty King Abdul Aziz Al-Saud, wishing me to convey to His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah the Governor-General of Pakistan, His Majesty's congratulations. His Majesty also wishes him every success and prosperity.[1]

Yours faithfully,
YUSUF JASIM ALMAJED
Representative of Saudi Arabia

[1]Acknowledged by M. G. Dixon, Deputy Secretary, Govt. of Pakistan. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

22

Note by H. L. Ismay

PRO, PREM 8/558

TOP SECRET

KARACHI,
[*4 October 1947*]

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION[1] BETWEEN H. L. ISMAY AND M. A. JINNAH ON 3 OCTOBER 1947

I had a two hours' talk with Mr. Jinnah last night.

The general impressions he left as to his state of mind were:

a. That the Government of India have neither the wish nor the power to protect minorities or to stop the carnage.

b. That the Government of India, and also Mr. Gandhi, are determined on the destruction of Pakistan.

c. That in view of (a) and (b) above, it is impossible to see how war, or something very like it, between the two countries can be avoided for much longer.

d. That I, and indeed most of my countrymen, are totally incapable of understanding the working of the Hindu mind, and that we are very gullible.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

2. At the outset of our talk, I asked Mr. Jinnah what he thought of the theory that the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S.S, with the support of Sikh terrorist organisations, were out to overthrow the present Government of India. He replied that this was an ingenious fiction designed to magnify the difficulties, and excuse the impotence of the Government of India. I asked whether he seriously doubted Nehru's sincerity and statesmanship, to which he replied that Nehru himself was a figurehead, vain, loquacious, unbalanced, unpractical, and that the real and almost absolute power lay with Patel, who was actively aided and abetted by Gandhi. (This was a "new one on me" and I tried it on Suhrawardy this morning. He took the exactly opposite line, stating categorically that Nehru was Gandhi's favourite, and stood far higher in his estimation than Patel).

MR. PATEL

3. Mr. Jinnah went on to say that the Government of India would certainly not fall unless Patel wished it. Patel had, so to speak, 75% of the total power of India in his hands, and could stop all the troubles in

a week, if he were so minded, and if he were not so implacably anti-Muslim. I intervened with the observation that Patel had made a very good speech at Amritsar a few days ago, only to be assured that Patel had made it with his tongue in his cheek, and had been at pains to introduce the astonishingly pernicious statement that "*all*[2] Muslims must be cleared out of the E. Punjab". I suggested that surely this was a mis-quotation or at least taken out of its context. Was not Patel's meaning roughly this: "It is important for the sake of our own refugees in the W. Punjab that the Muslim refugees in the E. Punjab should be moved to Pakistan with the greatest possible speed and the greatest possible security". But Mr. Jinnah would have none of this!

GANDHI

4. He went on to dilate upon the wicked guile of Gandhi, who, while outwardly preaching brotherly love and tolerance, was intent on destroying Pakistan. "In every one of his speeches", said Mr. Jinnah, "there is a drop of poison. *You*, of course, can't detect this poison, but the Hindus for whose edification it is instilled, have no difficulty in grasping his meaning: and nor do I, who know him inside out". I admitted with suitable modesty—that I myself had failed to detect these regular doses of poison: whereupon Mr. Gandhi's recent reference to war[3] between India and Pakistan was trotted out three or four times, and I was reminded that some years ago Lord Halifax[4] had described Gandhi as the "world's greatest bamboozler".

THE CABINET

5. To my question as to what he thought of the remainder of the Cabinet, other than Nehru and Patel, Mr. Jinnah went through them one by one. I cannot recall his descriptions, but broadly speaking they were all light weights who were either fools or crooks.

THE SIKHS

6. Mr. Jinnah had a lot to say about the Sikhs, and was emphatic that it was they who were at the bottom of all the trouble. The movement could have been nipped in the bud if Mountbatten had not given way to Patel's persuasions and reversed the decision taken by all parties before the transfer of power to round up all the ring leaders. The arrogance of the Sikhs was now overweening, and their armed strength considerable. But even so, the Government of India could easily suppress them, if they were so minded. But Patel would have none of this. Look what he had done in getting the order against *kirpans* prematurely cancelled.

About four-fifths of the Sikhs from W. Punjab had already crossed

over to the E. Punjab. (I questioned this and recalled the column of half a million or so that I had myself seen approaching Baloki Bridgehead, but Mr. Jinnah brushed this aside, by saying that two million were involved, and that over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million had already come across). What were these people going to do? As he saw it, they could either go Delhi way or Lahore way, and he himself was pretty sure that they would choose the latter. It would be the Greek guerilla game over again, with India and the Sikh States playing Russia's part. These incursions across the Punjab frontier would set Pakistan a difficult problem, observing that they already had the N.W. Frontier of India to look after—a five crore commitment.

N.W.F.P.

7. This brought Mr. Jinnah to the position on the N.W. Frontier. So far things had gone very well. There had been incipient trouble, but Cunningham had ably dealt with it: there had also been a little trouble in Baluchistan, but this too had been suppressed. All the tribes were for the moment pretty quiet, and the Faqir of Ipi, who was the only nuisance, was getting an old man. Eventually—say in four or five years—the N.W. Frontier was going to be a paying proposition. (How, he did not explain!). Meanwhile, it was costing [Rs.] 4-5 crore a year. It was amazing that the Government of India did not realise that the North-West Frontier was their frontier just as much as it was Pakistan's. If the Afghan Army and Air Force, backed up by the tribes, were to smash through the Pakistan forces, India would be in the gravest peril. While emphatically agreeing that the N.W. Frontier was essentially the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan, and earnestly hoping that this fundamental fact would be recognised when Pakistan and India were again on friendly terms, I felt it right to mention that the Afghan armed forces were pretty second rate. Mr. Jinnah did not dissent, but thought it highly probable that they would be heavily supported by Russia. Afghanistan's solitary vote against Pakistan joining UNO was significant that Russia put them up to it. How could the handful of Indian squadrons cope with a heavy Russian air attack? I thought it as well to hazard the personal view that if Russia took any *overt* action against India, Great Britain and the USA were not likely to stand idly by.

MR. JINNAH'S IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS

8. Towards the end of our talk, Mr. Jinnah asked me point-blank why I was going to England. I replied that the intention was to give HMG a first hand account of what had happened, is happening and might happen in

this sub-continent. I added that the visit was being undertaken on my own suggestion, wholeheartedly endorsed by Lord Mountbatten, and not on the invitation of HMG in the UK. I then asked whether there was any message that he would like me to give to Mr. Attlee, hoping that this would draw him on the question of his recent appeal[5] to all the Dominions. (It is extraordinary that he should have made no mention of this either during my previous eleven hours' so called heart-to-heart talks with him—or on the present occasion). But not a bit of it. He said that he wanted two things—a loan and military equipment. As to the first, he had only [Rs.] 20 crore to carry on with. It was therefore essential for him to raise money somewhere. As the last recruit to the British Commonwealth of Nations, he would much prefer to get it from the senior partner. I said that finance was right outside my beat, and my understanding, but that I would of course deliver the message. Had he already made any approach in the matter? And what sort of figure had he in mind? On the first point, he said, "No". He would not like to put in a formal request unless he had good reason to believe that it would be granted. And, on the second, he was equally vague. He said that he would like as much as the UK could afford.

This approach seemed to me so curious, that I wondered whether I had not misunderstood, and repeated both questions in different form. In addition, I asked whether he had consulted Sir Archibald Rowlands. His replies to the first two questions were the same as I have already recorded. He added that he had not yet spoken to Rowlands—or presumably Turner[6]—but that he intended to do so.

9. On the question of equipment, Mr. Jinnah said that the Government of India, as represented by Patel, were determined that Pakistan should not have her share of reserve equipment in India, and he asked for my good offices. There ensued a conversation which showed that Mr. Jinnah knew even less than I do about this technical business. I shall therefore make no attempt to record it. I ought to add however that earlier in the evening, Sir Archibald Rowlands had tackled me on the same subject, and had promised to send me a note on it to England. I for my part promised to take it up with the proper authorities both in England and on my return to Delhi.

10. Mr. Jinnah was as usual very friendly. He had got up a special dinner party for me, and kept me back talking for nearly two hours after his other guests had left. On saying goodbye, he pressed me twice to be sure to stay with him on my way back to Delhi. But for all that I managed to elicit from him, I have come regretfully to the

conclusion that he thinks me a rather nice silly ass.

[H. L. ISMAY]

[1]Ismay also briefed T. Eliot Weil, Second Secretary in U. S. Embassy, New Delhi, about some of the subjects he had discussed with Jinnah. See Enclosure to Annex.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3]See No. 316, Vol. V, 347-8.
[4]Viceroy of India, 1926-31, as Lord Irwin.
[5]No. 225, Vol. V, 226-9.
[6]Victor Turner, Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

Annex to No. 22
Henry F. Grady to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/11-1047

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 327

NEW DELHI,
10 November 1947

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Department a copy of a memorandum[1] of a conversation between General the Lord Ismay, Chief Adviser to the Governor-General, and T. Eliot Weil, Second Secretary of Embassy, in which are set forth Lord Ismay's views on current Indian problems.

As the Department is aware Lord Ismay was one of Mr. Churchill's most valued advisers during the late war, and his usefulness to Lord Mountbatten since last March cannot be overestimated. He has provided a steadying influence which has restrained Lord Mountbatten from taking impulsive steps which on some occasions might have proved unwise; and with his intimate knowledge of India and long experience in international dealings has probably been able to see the Indian picture in broader perspective than Lord Mountbatten. I feel his departure will leave a large gap in the Governor-General's Staff, but Lord Ismay feels that Indo-Pakistan relations have now reached a point where it will be impossible for him to give advice to members of the Indian Government without being accused either by Indians or by Pakistani[s] of playing a partisan role.

In view of the fact that the British staff of the Office of the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom in Delhi numbers around 150, Lord Ismay's reference to Sir Terence Shone's "inadequate staff" may sound strange, but it must be admitted that during the next year or two the work falling on the United Kingdom High Commissioner's staff will be heavy—particularly in connection with evacuation of British

subjects and problems relating to British property and organizations.

It will be noted that Lord Ismay is not optimistic regarding relations between Pakistan and India, or regarding future maintenance of law and order. He says he does not, however, believe war between India and Pakistan is inevitable.

Lord Ismay said he did not believe the Sikhs would try to take over the Central Government, but that when they had consolidated their position in East Punjab they would expand either toward Delhi or into the lost portions of their "homeland" in West Punjab. He thought it more likely they would follow the latter course and that the Central Government would neither dare nor care to stop them. Lord Ismay expressed admiration for Mr. Nehru and referred to Mr. Patel as "unprincipled"; and agreed that if it were not for Mr. Gandhi's support, Mr. Nehru would be unable to continue as Prime Minister.

With reference to Kashmir, Lord Ismay said he had decided that under the circumstances the Indian Government had no choice but to send in troops, but that he felt "they had done the right thing in the wrong way." In this connection, his comment on his efforts to bring Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Nehru together to negotiate the Kashmir problem indicated that prospects for a rational settlement are by no means bright.

It will also be noted that Lord Ismay expressed the opinion that the British had no choice but to promulgate the June 3 plan[2] for partition, "poor" though it was. He said that while there was a possibility that the plan could be put into effect without a major explosion, and explosion would certainly have occurred if transfer of power had not taken place when it did. In this connection, he remarked that since Conservative governments had for years been sponsoring plans for transfer of power, the Conservative Party as such was quite unjustified in criticizing the present labor Government for its action; and that Winston Churchill, who had consistently warned against chaos which would result from a premature transfer of power, was the only Conservative clearly entitled to indulge in criticism at the present time.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY F. GRADY

[1]Enclosure.
[2]No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.

Enclosure to Annex to No. 22

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN LORD ISMAY AND T. ELIOT WEIL

NEW DELHI,
5 November 1947

I called on Lord Ismay this afternoon by appointment and discussed current developments for 45 minutes.

Lord Ismay began by saying how shocked he was to hear of the death of Mr. [J. G.] Winant[1] and spoke at some length of the extent to which they had worked together during the war and of the admiration he felt for Mr. Winant.

REASON FOR DEPARTURE

Lord Ismay then said his position in India was "quite unconstitutional"; that when Lord Mountbatten had been asked to come out as Viceroy he had not wanted to take the job, but that after he had been persuaded to do so, he (Lord Ismay) had agreed to accompany him on the condition that he would be released as soon as the transfer of power was completed. However, said Lord Ismay, when things began to go so badly after the transfer of power, he did not want "to leave Dickie in the middle of a fight "and he had agreed to stay on a while longer. Now, however, the situation had reached the point where he could not give advice without being accused of partisanship. If, for example, he urged an Indian Minister to go to Lahore for a conference when, in the eyes of the Indian Minister it would mean a loss of face, he would be accused of being pro-Pakistan, and the time had come when it was obvious that such situations would arise more and more frequently.

Lord Ismay said that when he told Lord Mountbatten he must go at the end of November, he had asked the latter not to release anything to the press until he left. Mountbatten, however, said he must publish it immediately because if he left it to the last minute it would be assumed that there had been a quarrel and there would be no way of disabusing the Indian politicians and public of this idea. The announcement had therefore been made.

Lord Ismay said the present set-up in India was somewhat incongruous so far as the British were concerned; that logically the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom should be the most prominent figure in handling relations between the United Kingdom and the Indian [Government], but that "poor Terence" (Shone) with an inadequate staff was quite overshadowed by the Governor-General and his staff.

RECENT REPORT TO CABINET

Lord Ismay then told me that with the exception of Kashmir developments, his views and conclusions on the over-all picture had been set forth in his report to the Cabinet which he had written on the plane on his way to London early in October. He said that since he knew our Ambassador in London very well, he had given him a copy. He then went over the various points in the report, the substance of which has presumably been communicated to the Department by the Embassy in London.

The report included reference to an observation Lord Ismay had made at the end of July—prior to the actual transfer of power—to the effect that it would be wrong to assume the problem had been settled because there was so much inflammable material lying about—particularly the Sikhs—that it was all too likely that there would be some sort of explosion. Lord Ismay said he went to considerable pains to make it clear to the Cabinet what a colossal problem the Indian Government faced in the form of communal riots in the Punjab and in Delhi in September. He said he had described the situation in "journalistic" terms in order to try to impress Cabinet members with the fact that the riots in Delhi constituted a problem with which no government, however well established, could have dealt effectively during the first few days. He said he had also stressed the fact that the Government of India made strenuous efforts to deal with the crisis, and pointed out that Mr. Jinnah's remarks—made when Lord Ismay passed through Karachi on his way to London—to the effect that the Government of India had proved it was hopelessly inept, were not justified.

With reference to the origin of the communal warfare, Lord Ismay said he had reported that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya [Swayam] Sewak Sangh, aided by the Sikhs, had instigated communal warfare with a view to ousting Nehru from the Government.

Lord Ismay said that in his conclusions he had stated that "an uneasy truce" between Pakistan and India might be maintained under certain conditions. Among these conditions were the following: The Nehru Government must stay in power; the Pakistan cabinet must demonstrate a more reasonable attitude (in this connection he remarked that Liaquat Ali Khan was a comparatively reasonable person); communal trouble must not spread to parts of India which have to date not been affected; and Pakistan and India must set up some sort of machinery for handling problems requiring joint action.

THE SIKHS

In reply to my question, Lord Ismay said the Sikhs felt highly

confident following the success of their "rebellion." He said their bitterness had stemmed from the fact that they had expected the British to give them a better boundary line than could possibly be drawn, and that in the fighting which followed, Sikh Princes had provided Sikh mobs with weapons. Ismay said he thought the Sikhs would eventually move either toward Delhi (from East Punjab) or toward Lahore and the lost canal colonies—probably in the latter direction. He said he believed that when Sikh raids into Pakistan territory began the GOI would not dare interfere, and the problem of controlling the Sikhs in East Punjab would be to the Government of India what the problem of the tribesmen in the Northwest is to the Government of Pakistan. In this connection he said he questioned whether Jinnah dared interfere with the tribesmen who were entering Kashmir.

Ismay said he did not believe the Sikhs had any intention of trying to take over the Central Government, but that they would certainly endeavour to consolidate their position in the East Punjab and probably plan to regain the lost portions of their "homeland" in West Punjab. He said there was no single leader who could control the community as a whole, but agreed that Master Tara Singh was still probably the most influential individual in the community. He said [Raja of] Faridkot had told him he had been asked by the Sikhs to assume leadership of the community and that he had told [Raja of] Faridkot he had known him when he was "a little boy riding a shaggy pony" fifteen years ago that he would be silly to try to assume leadership and that if he did he would "get his throat cut."

INDIAN CABINET

With reference to the Indian Cabinet, Ismay said there was no doubt that the Mahasabha and other extremists were continuing to bring heavy pressure to have Nehru ousted, and he agreed that if Gandhi's influence were to end Nehru would be finished. When I asked whether he thought Patel would take over, he said Patel was a party boss and "unprincipled"; and that he was opposed to Nehru's ideals even though he did not dislike him personally. Nehru, on the other hand, had, he said, shown "statesmanship" and "moral and physical courage," and was "a gentleman." He added that even though Nehru had spent more time in British jails than Patel he did not hold this against the British, whereas Patel was still bitter.

KASHMIR

With reference to Kashmir, Lord Ismay said that when he returned to Delhi early in the morning of October 28 and found what had happened he was appalled; he phoned Mountbatten and told him he

has made a horrible mistake in allowing troops to be sent to Kashmir and that entirely aside from political implications the military risk was obviously clear and that he told Lord Mountbatten he ought to resign. He said Mountbatten had said he would come over and see him but Lord Ismay suggested that they "sleep on it" and meet later in the morning.

Lord Ismay said that when Mountbatten explained the circumstances he was forced to agree that the Government of India had had no choice, but that he felt they had done the "right thing in the wrong way."

Lord Ismay said he told Mountbatten that the Government of India should have telegraphed the Government of Pakistan as soon as the first contingent of troops was sent to Kashmir, and that the telegram should have stated that while it was realized it might have been difficult to prevent raiders from infiltrating into Kashmir, the Government of India's "reconnaisance" force had found a situation which required action by the Pakistan Government to prevent further incursions, and that unless such action could be taken it would be necessary to send more Indian troops. Lord Isamy said a telegram was then sent but it was "30 hours late."

With reference to the meeting held in Lahore on November 1, Lord Ismay said that both Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had said to him, "we must fight this out"; that he told them a war would ruin Pakistan and greatly weaken India, but they seemed to prefer running the risk of destruction to making an effort at reasonable settlement. He said, incidentally, that Liaquat Ali was a sick man, and he tried to persuade him to get a specialist from Bombay to supplement the diagnoses of the local general practitioners.

With reference to Nehru's decision not go to Lahore, Ismay said he had done his best to persuade him, and had cited the example of the late President's decision to go to Yalta despite the fact that the press in the United States maintained that it was Stalin's turn to leave Russia. Nehru's reply to this, however, was that the two situations were not comparable because of the acute internal problems of India. So far as Jinnah was concerned, Ismay said he would "never go to see anyone."

When I asked whether he thought there was any hope of settling the Kashmir dispute by negotiation, Lord Ismay said he was not optimistic but, unlike many of his countrymen, he did not believe war between the Dominions inevitable. In this connection he said Liaquat Ali Khan was expected to attend the next meeting of the Joint Defence Council in Delhi, and that further efforts would be made at that time to get leaders of both Dominions to sit around the table to discuss Kashmir.

COMMUNAL WARFARE

When I asked Lord Ismay for his views on the communal crisis he implied that it would continue and that there might be new flare-ups at almost any time. He agreed that the western districts of the United Provinces were still a dangerous area, but said he thought Pandit Pant, the Prime Minister, had done a very good job in maintaining order and added that Cunningham had done an excellent job in the Northwest Frontier. In this connection he spoke of his admiration for Cunningham in agreeing to return to India at Jinnah's invitation after having retired full of honors.

Lord Ismay remarked that after communal trouble recurred the Indians would eventually turn on foreigners and that would include all "Europeans." Referring to his experience as a young man in the Indian army, Lord Isamy said he had never dreamed that communalism could take hold of the army so quickly; that this had happened "in a week," despite that fact that up to August 15 he had been assured by army authorities that there was no sign whatsoever of serious communal feelings among the troops. He also spoke of a farewell party given in New Delhi to Muslim officers departing for Pakistan just prior to August 15, at which non-Muslims and Muslim officers had drunk a toast pledging eternal brotherhood and declaring that while the country might be divided they as comrades in arms would never be divided.

BRITISH DILEMMA

As I was about to leave, Lord Ismay asked me if I felt the British could have done anything other than present the June 3rd plan for partitioning of India. I said that frankly I had felt all along they had no choice; that if they had not transferred power when they did there might have been mass movements and anarchic conditions which they could not hope to control. Lord Ismay said he thought the June 3rd plan was poor—very poor—and that he had told the Cabinet so, but that there was a chance it would work; whereas if they had not transferred power when they did the development of chaotic conditions would have been a certainty.

With reference to criticism of the transfer of power, Lord Ismay said that the Conservative Party was not justified in its criticism because the processes leading up to transfer of power had been started years ago and had been fostered by Conservative Governments. He said it was inevitable that when you approached the bottom of the slide you must get off.

Lord Ismay said there was really only one Conservative who had a right to cavil at the Labor Government's action, and that was Winston

Churchill, who consistently maintained that transfer of power would lead to a breakdown of administration. However, he said that in the course of a conversation with Mr. Churchill he had once pointed out that to continue British administration in India would require recruitment of at least 2,000 British civil officials to bolster up administration, and four divisions of troops. Lord Ismay said: "When I asked Winnie if he would send four divisions to India, he replied, "Not four men."

T. ELIOT WEIL
[*Second Secretary, US Embassy*]

[1]US Ambassador to Britain.

23

Malik G. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (3)-GG/106

NORTHERN PUNJAB TRANSPORT CO. LTD.,
GOVT. MAIL CONTRACTORS,
GANJ MANDI, RAWALPINDI,
[?4] *October 1947*

Sir,

We are in receipt of Your Excellency's PA's letter acknowledging the receipt of our contribution towards Pakistan Government. Thanks very much.

2. Your Excellency will be pleased to know that we are striving hard to relieve and console our brethren refugees who enter Pakistan with tales of sorrow and grief.

3. In this regard we have offered the services of our eleven buses to do the exodus work of Muslim refugees from Eastern Punjab.

4. Similarly our other nine buses are busy with refugee work in Campbellpur [now Attock] District and other places.

5. Anyhow we regret to inform Your Excellency that Deputy Commissioner, Campbellpur, and other officials display unfavourable behaviour towards us, and the sum of Rs. 30,000 is due towards [*sic*] Superintendent of Police, Campbellpur, for our lorries which had been engaged with police from March to June 47.

6. In the end we contribute the sum of Rs. 200 which have been deposited in Habib Bank, towards Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund. The receipt is enclosed herewith.[1]

7. We wish Pakistan a happy and prosperous future.

Pakistan Zindabad

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
MALIK GHULAM AHMAD KHAN
Manager

[1]F.80(3)-GG/107. Not printed.

24

Salma Tasadduque Husain to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 164-GG/1

PAKISTAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS,
BARCLAY HOTEL,
111 EAST 48TH STREET, NEW YORK,
4 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am glad to inform you that I have joined the Pakistan Delegation on 6th September and we have been admitted to the United Nations Organization on the 30th September.

Now everybody is busy with his work. Although I am here, my heart is always with my poor brothers and sisters who are passing through a terrible time. I have met a number of people here who seem to know very little about Pakistan, and they desire that we should furnish them with the fullest information about the newly born State of Pakistan and about the conditions over there. I am concentrating more on the women's side. I have been nominated on the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, but even there I always take up the line where women and children are concerned. I am trying to give them a clear idea that women in Pakistan are not lagging behind and are quite alive to the present problems.

My dear Quaid-i-Azam, I must thank you heartily for giving me this opportunity and great honour to represent Pakistan in this great organization of the world. I can easily imagine that you shall not only give us what we desire, but more than we ought to have.

I just want to inform you that on the 2nd of October we were invited by Mrs. Pandit[2] to a reception and party, and on the 6th another

delegation has invited us. I have met all the chief delegates of the Middle East countries. They are so homely and cultured, and they send their best wishes and congratulations to you on your great success in achieving a free sovereign State for your people. They say, "We feel as if we are one."

May God bless you with a long life and guard the destiny of the Muslim nation.

Please do convey my best respects to Miss Jinnah.

With best regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
SALMA TASADDUQUE HUSAIN

[1]F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's thanks for the letter. See F. 164/2. Not printed.
[2]Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru and leader of Indian Delegation to the UN General Assembly.

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S. M. Yusuf to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 167(2)-GG/8

No. 1691-GG/47 *4 October 1947*

Dear Khwaja Nazimuddin,

It has been brought to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam that factions in the local Muslim League in Chittagong are likely to lead to serious trouble in the district. Would you kindly let me know for the information[1] of the Quaid-i-Azam what the facts of the matter are and what is being done to avoid trouble?

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin,
Prime Minister, East Bengal,
Dacca

[1]See No. 112.

26

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Kalat

Telegram, F. 14-GG/24

IMMEDIATE/STATE *5 October 1947*

Many thanks for your telegram.[1] Will cordially welcome you. Please wire time your arrival and whether by road or train. Also let me know if you are bringing any Kalat official with you. If Begum accompanying you, Miss Jinnah and I would be delighted and we will welcome her.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 12.

27

M. B. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/127-9

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH, U.P.,
INDIA,
6 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I was very unfortunate in not having an opportunity to meet you when you left India in July[1] last. I feel like an orphan without your and Miss Fatima Jinnah's patronage and guidance.

The condition in India is most chaotic. Since Pakistan was in sight I have been opposing expansion in the Alig[arh] Mus[lim] Univ[ersity]. My frank opinion is that Aligarh be reduced to a degree college and all facilities for post-graduate studies be given in the Pakistan Universities. It is simply impossible for us teachers to concentrate our minds on academic pursuits as well as for our students to study in an unsettled atmosphere with fear of loot, arson and murder all the 24 hours. Moreover, I am sure, the Govt. of India will Hinduize the Ali[garh] Mus[lim] Univ[ersity] in due course of time under the threats of discontinuing their grants and Aligarh will no more remain a central institution.

It is said that nobody has offered himself to serve Pakistan from this University. I, at least, offered my humble services[2] but never received a

reply. I believe this is due to the top heavy work involved in rehabilitation of refugees.

I take the liberty of mentioning here that I had expressed my desire to serve Pakistan in the foreign service. I hear that persons married to foreigners are not eligible for this service. As far as I know, with the exception of U.S.A., no other country has accepted this principle. Mons. Litvinov, who was Russian Ambassador in England, has an English wife. I have some friend diplomats married to foreigners. Mons. Paul Dubois, who was French Consul-General in Calcutta, has a German wife. I can understand that such a person is not posted to the country to which the wife belongs. Anyhow, if this principle has been laid down by the Govt. of Pakistan, one has to abide by it.

My second choice was to be appointed Ed[ucational] Adviser in U.S.A. and Canada to supervise and facilitate the training of the Pakistan nationals. Due to the research work I have done, I am in contact with researchers and professors in the Universities of U.S., U.K., Canada and the Continent of Europe. So far Mr. Sundaram has been Ed[ucational] Adviser in U.S. and he has utterly neglected the interests of Muslim students.

Thirdly, I would like to be the Head of an ed[ucational] institution in Pakistan. My administrative capabilities have been tested in Aligarh. I have been acting V.C. for a considerable time as Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad used to be away from Alig[arh] for at least three weeks in a month. In this capacity I have discharged my duties to the satisfaction of all honest and selfless persons.

I am not forcing myself on Pakistan. There may be persons much more capable than myself and I would gladly withdraw my candidature in their favour, for efficiency, honest and selfless work should be the watchword in Pakistan.

Nothing is more repulsive for me than to stay on in India. I longed and lived for Pakistan and if Pakistan does not require my services, I am thinking of going away to Hyderabad State.

My wife sends her respects to you and Miss Jinnah. May you live long to govern the Pakistan State to prosperity. *Aameen*.

I remain always at your command,

M. B. MIRZA
Dr.
Professor of Zoology

[1]Jinnah in fact left India on 7 August. See Appendix VIII. 6, Vol. IV, 525-6.
[2]Not traceable.

28

Louis Mountbatten to H. L. Ismay

Mountbatten Papers F. 150

NEW DELHI,
6 October 1947

As you know, at Susan's cocktail party at your house, Claude[1] told us both that he entirely agreed with the closing down of Supreme Headquarters at the earliest possible moment, as he was most averse from [*sic* for to] leaving a rump behind. He told us both that he was aiming at the 30th November, and although he could not guarantee this, he hoped that the date would be pretty near this.

Quite by chance Arthur Smith[2] and Roy Bucher[3] were asked to lunch by Edwina as she wanted to talk welfare with their wives. After lunch (Sunday), Arthur Smith informed me that the date for closing down Supreme Headquarters was going to be 31st December, since it was practically impossible to manage it any earlier. I told him that I thought that this would be a disaster since even Nehru was attacking Supreme Headquarters, and I now had no one in the Government to support me in my single-handed battle to keep Supreme Headquarters going. I told him I did not think I could "carry the baby" for more than another eight weeks, and even then I was doubtful if there would not be a complete blow-up.

I then asked Arthur Smith whether it would not be practicable for the Supreme Commander and senior officers to leave, and leave a rump behind, even though I knew Claude was against it.

He stymied me by saying that it was essential to have a Supreme Commander senior to the two Commanders-in-Chief of the Dominion Armies, as he had to be able to give them orders and ensure that they were obeyed.

I told him that this was precisely what my Government objected to and that if that were so, I most certainly would oppose an extension and would suggest that the two Commanders-in-Chief should form a Committee, and deal with any further matters by mutual agreement. However, I asked him not to say anything about our conversation, and that I would reserve my judgment until I saw the paper, but I asked to be shown this paper before it was submitted to the J. D. C.

Arthur Smith's final remark was that he was quite certain that both Rob Lockhart[4] and Frank Messervy[5] would wish Supreme Headquarters to remain until at least the end of the year, as they would hardly

be willing to face the administrative chaos of an early wind-up.

My next conversation was with Roy Bucher, and I began by saying "would you sooner face administrative chaos as a result of Supreme Headquarters closing down on 30th November, or have a better turn-over by keeping them in existence until 31th December?" His reply was typical—"I am certain that Rob and I would sooner face the administrative chaos than keep this appalling set-up one unnecessary day. We can always disentangle chaos, but we cannot undo the mischief that they are doing every day to British-Indian relations, for every day that Claude stays here, he is undermining his own great reputation not only with all the Indians, but, I am sorry to say, with all the British who are not in his own Headquarters. I consider the 30th November the latest possible date for him to stay and would have thought he could have got out by 30th October". I got him to check with Rob that, whatever happened, he personally wanted to see Supreme Headquarters close down at the earliest possible moment and in any case not one day later than 30th November.

If you really want a nice bit of scandal, let me tell you that he revealed to me in confidence that Rob was forced into writing that ridiculous paper to the Cabinet, saying that British officers would not fight, and therefore they must arbitrate, as a result of a meeting with Claude and Frank.

Claude apparently addressed the British Commanders, saying "you are responsible to me and not to your Governments. I am responsible to the British Chiefs of Staff to see that there is no war between the two Dominions and I intend taking every step to carry this out. At the slightest sign of war, I shall threaten to remove all the officers, and if war breaks out I shall actually do so. Your loyalty is to H. M. G. through me, and not [to] your Dominion Governments". I cannot say that these were the exact words he used since Rob repeated them to Roy who repeated them to me, and it may by now be a very garbled version, but you can imagine how dangerous it is if Claude really thinks that it is his business to take a hand in political matters out here.

I could not think how to communicate with you, since I thought it would be dangerous to send a telegram through Terence Shone,[6] as he and the senior staff would see it, and there might have been a leakage, so I have despatched today a telegram to you in Household Cypher, which will have to be deciphered by Tommy,[7] who hates anything to do with deciphering himself, so you must explain the background of this to him when you see him (possibly through John).[8] This telegram reads "Important. Household Cypher. Apologise using this Cypher but have no alternative. Please pass. Ismay from Mountbatten. Supreme

Headquarters now propose remaining till 1st December. Can you telegraph me through High Commissioner that Chiefs-of-Staff pleased to hear of closing by 30th November as they consider earliest closing essential, and do not wish this date extended unless both Dominions agree extension".

You will have heard that Addison[9] is coming much earlier— arriving 17th and leaving 20th, and if you are to stay and see the King as I want you to, there is no hope of your being back in time for discussions with him. I therefore think you had better stay as long as you consider necessary.

I am suggesting that the meeting of the J. D. C. at Lahore should be on 16th October, but in the meanwhile will send you Claude's scheme, as soon as I can get it, by post so that the telegram to H. M. G. after the J. D. C. can be fairly brief.

I am afraid that Pakistan will almost certainly object to the early closing down of Supreme Headquarters, since they will somewhat naturally regard them as the only means of getting their "pound of flesh" out of India. On the other hand, it would take up to two years to get their stores moved, and a month cannot make much difference. In any case, you will remember that Patel himself agreed that they would be allowed to take up to one third of the stores, provided the necessary financial adjustments were made with the Arbitral Tribunal, so I do not see why they should not have their share, unless the situation deteriorates even more.

[Last 3 paragraphs omitted]

Yours ever,
DICKIE

[1]Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck, Supreme Commander.
[2]Lt. Gen. Arthur Smith, Deputy C-in-C, Indian Army.
[3]Gen. Roy Bucher, Chief of Staff, Indian Army .
[4]Gen. Rob Lockhart, C-in-C, Indian Army.
[5]Gen. Frank Messervy, C-in-C, Pakistan Army.
[6]British High Commissioner in India.
[7&8]Not identfied.
[9]Christopher Addison, British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

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S. M. Yusuf to J. B. Kripalani

F. 99-GG/8

6 October 1947

Dear Mr. Kripalani,

I am desired by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated the 25th September, 1947,[1] and to say that the matters referred to by you have already been engaging his attention and strict instructions have been issued to all concerned regarding searches. As regards the occupation of places of worship by refugees, the Sind Government have already explained the position in a communique, a copy of which is enclosed for your information.[2] The attitude of the Sind Government with regard to the forcible occupation of houses has also been fully explained by the Sind Premier in a statement which appeared in the press a few days ago.[3]

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

J.B. Kripalani, Esq.,
President, All-India Congress Committee,
6 Jantarmantar Road,
New Delhi

[1]No. 291, Vol . V, 316.
[2&3]Not traceable.

30

Note by M. B. Ahmad

F. 108-GG/1

[KARACHI,
7 October 1947]

APPOINTMENT OF A PRIVATE SECRETARY FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

It is the practice of the Speakers of various Legislatures to have Private Secretaries. The President of the Constituent Assembly of India has also a Private Secretary in addition to his staff as Food Member.

The Hon'ble President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan has expressed a desire to have a Private Secretary. I understand from the Hon'ble Mr. Chundrigar that the Hon'ble President has selected Mr. Hasan [A.] Shaikh for that post. Mr. Hasan Shaikh also showed me a letter written by the Hon'ble Mr. Chundrigar to him in which the salary of the post was also mentioned as Rs. 1,200 per month.

The Hon'ble President has also spoken to me about Mr. Hasan Shaikh.

No reference to Finance Department is necessary for Mr. Hasan Shaikh's appointment as the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan is a sovereign body and its office is administered by the Hon'ble President himself. Appointments made by the Hon'ble President are not subject to the sanction of the Finance Department. All that is necessary is for the Hon'ble President to express his pleasure. The amount involved is to be included in the budget of the Assembly. This is also the rule in the Indian Constituent Assembly.

Orders of the Hon'ble President are, therefore, necessary for:

1. creation of the temporary post of Private Secretary to the Hon'ble President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan;
2. appointment of Mr. Hasan Shaikh to that post.[1]

M. B. AHMAD
Secretary.

Hon'ble President,
Constituent Assembly

[1]See No. 52.

31

M. Sharif Bukhari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76-GG/53

C/O RAILWAY RESTAURANT,
OUTRAM ROAD,
KARACHI,
7 October 1947

Your [*sic*] Quaid-i-Azam,

May it please your [*sic*] Quaid-i-Azam I, one of your loyal subjects, enclose[1] a design for Pakistan Emblem.[2] I am also explaining the symbols which have been included in it.

1. *Star*. God's gift to His creatures which shines and throws light on low and high equally.

2. *Scale*. A symbol of justice to the world, which means friendship between all the communities.

3. *Pulpit*. From where the true love of God could be spread in the world, and which will bring other communities nearer to God.

4. *Pen*. Which should be used for the good of the people of the world, and which will last long, so that the coming generations may praise the doings of the present Government of Pakistan and its rule.

5. *Moon*. By which the people of the world may come to know that Muslims are one and are confident of their doings.

6. *Tree*. Which means that Muslims are thankful of the gifts of God by which all the necessities of life can be fulfilled.

7. *Mast of a ship*. Which means that Muslims must be in touch with the outside world commercially.

8. *Crown*. It is a command of God that a Muslim with crown should rule with honour and justice.

9. *Sheath*. To safeguard Islam.

10. *Sword*. To fight the enemies of Islam and that of the Government of Pakistan.

11. *The Mace of Muhammad* [peace be upon him]. To serve the people of the world without any distinction.

I beg to remain,
Quaid-i-Azam's most
obedient servant,
M[UHAMMA]D SHARIF

[1]F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's thanks on 14 October 1947. See No. 76-GG/56. Not printed.
[2]See F. 76-GG/59. Not printed.

32

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

No. 1681-GG/47 *7 October 1947*

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 27, 1947,[2] enclosing a letter addressed to Mr. L. Shaffi regarding Cadillac car. I am making arrangements to put you in funds to the extent of $ 6,000 as suggested by you and the final accounts can be settled when the bill is presented. I am glad you are taking interest in the proposal about the aeroplane and will keep me posted with further developments. As regards the

various items of equipment mentioned in the enclosure to your letter, I think it will not do to have left-hand drive in [Pakistan]. As regards the colour, I would prefer it to be according to the sample I am enclosing herewith. *I believe the Governor-General is exempted from payment of customs duty for things required for use in Govt. House.*[3] This would apply to the Cadillac in question and the matter should be tied up beforehand with the Customs authorities in Karachi.

I am looking forward to getting a full report about the happenings at the U.N.O. and in U.S.A. in general. Please keep me in touch with what is going on.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
Ambassador of Pakistan in USA,
New York

NB. The car must be right-hand drive.

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 531-2.
[2]No. 303, Vol. V, 332-3.
[3]Sidelined in the original.

33

Sultan Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/148-9

BALOCH BUILDING,
OPP[OSITE] LEA MARKET,
[KARACHI,]
7 October 1947

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

The confidential nature of this letter and the want of a typewriter of my own compel me to send this to you handwritten. I apologise for the scribble and request you to excuse the inconvenience which it must cause to you.

For some months past vague and unconfirmed rumours of the Afghan Government's unfriendly attitude towards Pakistan were published in newspapers. But I did not believe these rumours because I

felt that no Muslim State, worth the name, could have any but the most cordial good wishes for our new State which is destined, *Insha Allah,* to be the nucleus and bulwark of resurgent Islam in the world.

The authoritative news published in the newspapers a few days ago[1] about Afghanistan's most uncalled-for and vicious opposition to Pakistan's membership of the U.N.O. and the jejune explanation broadcast the same night from Kabul have, however, confirmed the worst apprehension expressed by our press; the Afghan Government have openly danced an ugly jig, to the tune set by the *bania* wirepullers in Delhi, and have thereby betrayed not only a complete want of appreciation of the critical situation facing the whole Islamic world today, but also shown an utter disregard for the brotherhood of Islam and the essential unity of the faithful.

Like all Pakistanis, I have been greatly pained by this un-Islamic action of the Afghan Government, and feel that it is imperative that this disruptive move should be put down with an iron hand, even though it may be expedient to cover it up with a velvet glove, or to make it even altogether invisible. I am sure our Government must be considering suitable steps to induce a reasonable frame of mind on the part of the Afghan Government, and it is in this connection that I have taken the liberty of addressing you on the subject.

I am the grandson of the late Amir Sher Ali Khan of Afghanistan, and possess thorough knowledge of the country and the subtle peculiarities of the character and currents of thought of her people. Moreover, I have spent considerable length of time in the interior of the North-Western Frontier tribal area, mixed freely with the various tribal people and won their confidence. I have also many personal friends among the influential *Maliks* and *Mullahs* there. All this, in addition to my ancestral position, would enable me to do useful work for Pakistan if I am allowed to utilize my knowledge, position and contacts for that purpose. *I am also, therefore, in a position to suggest for your consideration really effective steps for meeting this threat to our State's integrity and security. Accordingly, I would request the favour of your very kindly granting me an interview*[2] *in order that I may place my views and suggestions before you in detail.*[3]

I need hardly add that I desire no recompense, of any kind, for my service which I may have the good fortune of performing for my Nation, State and Faith. On the other hand, I shall consider myself eternally indebted to you for an opportunity to perform my duty and serve Pakistan.

I close with the prayer that Almighty may, in His infinite mercy, grant you a long life, for leading our people from great to greater victory for the glory of Islam.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad! *Pakistan Paindabad*! *Aameen*!

Yours faithfully,
SULTAN AHMAD
(Afghan Mohamedzai)

[1]No. 6. Also see the *Pakistan Times*, 8 October 1947.
[2]F. Amin advised him to send his proposals for Jinnah in writing. See F. 25 (Part I)-GG/150. Not printed.
[3]Sidelined in the original.

34

Louis Mountbatten to H. L. Ismay

Telegram, Mountbatten Papers, F. 150-A

IMPORTANT

NEW DELHI,
7 October 1947

Supreme Commander has asked my concurrence as Chairman to circulate a paper for consideration by the Joint Defence Council stating that, if Dominions came into conflict with each other or an Indian State, he would have no choice but to withdraw at his orders every British officer and other rank now employed in India and Pakistan. I understand privately from Supreme Commander that secret orders to this effect have been issued to Commanders for their personal information and that the British COS and the U.K. High Commissioners in India and Pakistan have been informed.

2. I do not think that the circulation of such a paper is the best way of dealing with this issue as this is a matter of high policy affecting HMG's relations with both Dominions. If HMG really consider such a warning necessary, personally I consider it should be done through High Commissioners in tactfully worded letter rather than by Supreme Headquarters.

3. If the many higher British commanders and staff were suddenly withdrawn from areas remote from the Boundary before Indians could replace them, I feel internal security might deteriorate with incalculable effects for European population.

4. Supreme Commander has seen this telegram and agrees with paragraph 3 but thinks it would be extremely difficult, if not impos-

sible, to leave any British officer serving in any capacity in either Dominion once open conflict has broken out.

5. I have told Supreme Commander not to put up paper until we hear from London as you were raising this matter with the Chiefs of Staff.

6. Please reply through this channel [U.K. High Commissioner in New Delhi].

[MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA]

35

Saidullah Khan to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, I. 77/X

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. I-LG

KABUL,
7 October 1947

Your telegram No. 416.[1] Immediately after radio announcement on October 1st, I took up matter with Afghan Government. They disassociated themselves from Abdulhamid statement and frankly confessed that his action was unauthorized. I demanded contradiction and they promised to make amends. Negotiations were continued after this assurance.

Intelligentsia including foreign diplomatic representatives were surprised at this unexpected development in midst of negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan and expressed their disapproval in no uncertain terms. Will furnish details personally on arrival in Karachi.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]No. 19.

36

S. M. H. Ali to S. M. Yusuf

F. 38(2)-GG/27

PATNA,
8 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you kindly place this letter before H.E. Quaid-i-Azam

for favour of his kind perusal and sympathetic consideration.

It is strongly rumoured here that after the non-Muslims have left the Eastern Pakistan and Western Pakistan, safely evacuated, the Muslims of India will be butchered and killed to pieces. The statement[1] of Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan that Indian Muslims will not be admitted into Pakistan has been very widely flashed in the Hindu papers and [has] created another panic. I don't think [the] statement is correctly reported but I am enclosing a cutting[2] of the Congress paper the *Searchlight*. I consider, it is essential that some immediate arrangement should be made for Indian Muslims and this is the unanimous opinion of the afflicted Muslims of Bihar. The Congress has sent some Congress Muslims to blackmail Pakistan.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. MAHMOOD HASAN ALI
MLA

[1]See Annex. Also see Annex to No. 75.
[2]F. 38(2)-GG/27-A. Not printed.

Annex to No. 36
Howard Donovan to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F.00/10-1047

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 254

NEW DELHI,
10 October 1947

With reference to my despatch No. 249 of today's date[1] on the subject "Reaction to Liaquat Ali Khan's October 7 Broadcast from Lahore", I have the honor to state that in private conversation with an officer of the Embassy today, Mr. Harishwar Dayal, Deputy Secretary, External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, has confirmed a press report published in Delhi on October 8 to the effect that Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, at a conference in Lahore on October 6 with Mr. K. C. Neogy, Indian Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, and Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger, Indian Minister without Portfolio, requested that no more Muslim refugees be sent to West Pakistan from areas in India other than East Punjab because it seemed unlikely that Pakistan would be able to absorb refugees from other parts of India. A copy of a special correspondent's report published in the *Statesman* October 8 is enclosed.[2]

The report in question confirms rumors which the Embassy has heard

during the past two weeks or more to the effect that authorities in Karachi were seriously concerned over the prospect of having to re-settle millions of Muslims who would undoubtedly migrate from India to Pakistan in the event that communal warfare spread beyond the areas already affected. If figures given to the Consul at Lahore by Mian Iftikharuddin, Pakistan [West Punjab] Refugee Minister, on October 8 are correct, absorption of all the Muslims expected to migrate to Pakistan from East Punjab (some six million) in districts evacuated by some four million non-Muslims will in itself be difficult. It, therefore, seems entirely likely that Pakistan authorities are seriously worried over the possibility that substantial portions of the forty-odd million Muslims in India outside of East Punjab might decide to move to Pakistan.

The Indian representatives at the Lahore conference did not appear to have given Liaquat Ali Khan much encouragement for they apparently told him that they would not interfere with the departure of Muslims who wished to leave India and pointed out that unless Pakistan succeeded in retaining non-Muslims in Sind and Frontier Province, it would be difficult to confine migration from India to the Muslims of one province. It is the Embassy's impression, however, that in the interest of re-establishing peace in India, if not in the interest of helping Pakistan, the Indian Government is making an effort to keep West Punjab refugees from spreading to all parts of the country, for they would almost certainly stir up communal feeling to a point where many more Muslims would feel compelled to leave for Pakistan.

It will be noted that other problems reportedly discussed at the Lahore conference were the auctioning of non-Muslim property in Pakistan at nominal prices; Pakistan's need for non-Muslim assistance in re-opening banks and insurance companies; activities of the Military Evacuation Organization in West Punjab; a proposal that a mixed committee tour refugee camps in both East and West Punjab; and implementation of the Pakistan Government's decision to allow refugees to leave the country with their personal effects.

Opponents of Mr. Jinnah's Two-nation Theory, of course, take grim satisfaction from the quandary in which the Pakistan Government finds itself. The *Hindustan Times* on October 9 said Liaquat Ali Khan's request that refugees be prevented from entering Pakistan from areas other than East Punjab indicates "the state of utter confusion in which the leaders of Pakistan find themselves. Having rallied the Muslims of the whole of India in support of the demand for a Muslim homeland, it appears to be a cruel joke that Muslims other than those belonging to East Punjab are not only not welcome in Pakistan, but that its doors may be closed against them." The *Hindutan Times* asks: "By what right

then is Mr. Jinnah Governor-General and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan? Are they not refugees of India not belonging to East Punjab?"

Unfortunately this attitude, which is probably typical of most Congressmen and other anti-Pakistan groups, is not going to help solve the problem. The only possible solution—so far as India is concerned—lies in earnest support of Mr. Gandhi's and Mr. Nehru's efforts to convince the people of the necessity of making it possible for Muslims to live in India with some sense of security.

Respectfully yours,
HOWARD DONOVAN
for the Ambassador

[1]*US National Archives*, 745.45 F/10-1047. Not printed.
[2]Not printed.

37

M. A. Jinnah to Ameer of Bahawalpur

F. 97-GG/2-3

8 October 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Many many thanks for your letter of the 3rd of October.[1] I am sorry I missed meeting you on your arrival from England, but I am looking forward to meeting you very soon, and I hope that you will come down to Karachi for a few days as I have a lot to tell you.

I most cordially reciprocate your affectionate greetings and am thankful to you for your autographed portrait. I am also trying to get some decent copy of my photograph. At present I do not possess any good copy which I can send you, but I will secure one and send it to you as soon as possible[2], especially the particular pose which you have emphasized.

I am sure that yourself and Bahawalpur State will be staunch and sincere friends of Pakistan and you will make your fullest contribution towards the welfare and greatness of Pakistan.

I was very happy to countersign the Instrument of Accession which you were good enough to agree to.[3]

With my very best *Salaams* and fervent prayer for your good health and long life,

Yours most sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness Rukn-ud-Daula Nusrat-i-Jang,
Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlis-ud-Daula wa
Muin-ud-Daula, Nawab Al Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan,
GCIE, KCSI, KCVO, LLD,
Sadiq Garh, Bahawalpur

[1]No. 13.
[2]An autographed photograph of Jinnah was sent by F. Amin to Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani on 16 October 1947. See F. 97-GG/4. Not printed.
[3]The Instrument of Accession was executed by the Ameer of Bahawalpur on 3 October 1947, and accepted by Jinnah on 5 October 1947.

38

M. A. Jinnah to Jaidayal Dalmia

F. 85/32

8 October 1947

Dear Mr. Dalmia,

I had, as you know, vacated my house completely in order to give you possession as you were very keen to have it on or before the end of August, but as circumstances developed, the Dominion of India Government requisitioned this property and, I understand, they have now taken possession and given it to the Dutch Diplomatic Representative in Delhi.

The Deed of Sale was to be completed and executed on or before the 10th of January. May I, therefore, suggest that the Sale Deed should be executed as soon as possible, so that the whole transaction may be completed and finalized.

Further, I will appreciate very much indeed if I can get the balance of purchase price as soon as possible as I require the money for certain immediate purposes. I wonder whether you can fall in with this suggestion and agree to expedite the matter. You can have the Sale Deed prepared and it can be sent to me here through your Branch Firm in Karachi, and it can be executed and signed by me, and at the same time I can hand over the Title Deeds on receiving the balance of purchase price from your agent.

Please attend to this matter as soon as you can and oblige. Hoping you [words missing].

Yours,
M. A. JINNAH

Jaidayal Dalmia, Esq.,
2 Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi

39

Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/12-5

HABIB BANK LIMITED,
NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
8 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

With reference to my two interviews with you, this is the first of a series of letters I propose to write to you on various problems.

In order to save time, I shall be very brief. The germ of an idea *Insha Allah* will be there, but for the present I shall omit the details as to how it could be executed.

After my arrival from Europe last week, the thing that struck me most was that the Musalman was not aware of his strength. Every human being and nation has weakness as well as strength. Ever since 1930, the Hindu in a systematic manner, has kept on harping on the weaknesses of the Musalman; and this thing has been carried so far that unfortunately a very large majority is wrongly convinced that the Musalman is weak.

Wherever I go in Karachi, I find people furiously reading *Dawn* or *Anjam* and they look terribly worried. The reason is that they are hoping to find in these papers the remedies of the problems they are faced with. There is no problem in the world which has not a remedy or a solution.

By God's grace, you are the biggest leader of the Musalmans and again by God's grace you are so popular that Muslims are willing to hear, obey and do whatever you ask them to do. I believe, if you can get time for a press conference (almost every body [*sic* for day] for the present and later on whenever necessary) you can with the help of God show remedies and solutions to their problems. The Muslims of

Pakistan are in terrible need of your leadership to show them what they should do after taking Pakistan.

By God's grace, the following points of strength must be forcefully impressed on the Musalmans:

i. His first strength over any other nation is his living faith in One, Seeing, Hearing, Answering God.
ii. His belief in his Prophet Muhammad [peace be upon him] who has lived and left instructions on a perfect conduct of life and every phase of human life. A Muslim *Insha Allah* will most surely find the solutions of all his problems if only he will read and understand the *Qur'an* and the life of Prophet Muhammad [peace be upon him].
iii. The Muslim of Pakistan has a huge area of fertile land.
iv. He grows 85 to 90 per cent of jute which is more precious than gold, because things cannot be carried from place to place in times of war or peace without jute. The value of his jute crop every year is about Rs. 100 (one hundred) crore, and this could easily be doubled, only if modern cultivating methods are employed.
v. He grows 33% of the cotton crop. His annual income from cotton is about Rs. 45 (forty five) crore.
vi. His greatest advantage is his crop of foodgrains which I believe is worth more than Rs. 150 (one hundred and fifty) crore.
(I have quoted all the old figures I had read. The present correct figures should be found).
vii. *Insha Allah,* Pakistan rupee shall always be stronger than Indian rupee or English pound and *Insha Allah* it can be as strong as American dollar [and] Swiss franc, if not better. For the simple reason that from the exports from the Pakistan area, the old British India paid for its imports of capital and consumer goods.
viii. British India took more than 50 years to get its present industries. Pakistan *Insha Allah* can establish [industries] in 5 years. Here again the reasons are simple. The British put every obstacle in the way of Indians in order to stop the industrialisation of India. Therefore, it took 50 years. Whilst I pray to God that the Pakistan Government will help and encourage the Pakistanis to build industries.
ix. Pakistan has the support and sympathy of 400 million Musalmans.
x. Individually, a Muslim is every time more courageous, strong[er] and [more] efficient than a Hindu.

These 10 points I have put down just offhand without thinking. I

am sure many more points can be found in favour of the Muslims of Pakistan.

Insha Allah almost everyday I shall send you one letter on finance, commerce, industry, agriculture, education, refugee problem, Army, Navy, Air Force and development.

Pakistan Zindabad! Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

40

Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan

F. 1026/21-3

No. 2258 KABUL,
8 October 1947

My dear Excellency,

I am writing to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. P/3/47 dated the 4th October 1947[1] and to say that I am glad to bring the following facts to Your Excellency's notice:

2. The Royal Afghan Government welcome the success achieved by the Indian Muslims in setting up an Islamic State of Pakistan. My Government are extremely happy over the fact that an "Office of the Personal Representative of H. E. Mohammad Ali Jinanh, Governor-General and President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Kabul" should be set up in Kabul. Equally pleased are my Government to enter into negotiations and discussions with Your Excellency in your capacity as "Personal Representative of the Governor-General of Pakistan". But Your Excellency is doubtless aware of the fact that discussions about the Afghans living on that side of the Durand Line and about the political future of these Afghans had been going on between Afghanistan and His Britannic Majesty's Govt. for the last few years. These discussions have, in particular, been in progress after British Govt.'s decision to change the Indian statute and to set up the Dominions of Pakistan and India. Even now, these discussions are going on. Correspondence and discussions have accordingly been exchanged on this subject in London and Kabul between the official and diplomatic representatives of Afghanistan and those of Great Britain.

3. I want to point out to Your Excellency that the concurrence of the Royal Afghan Govt. to the setting up of an "Office of the Representative

of Pakistan Governor-General in Kabul" will not interfere with the objectives of Afghanistan. This will rather constitute one of the political matters scheduled to form the subject-matter of the discussions between Your Excellency and the Foreign Ministry of the Royal Afghan Government at the time of negotiating the establishment of diplomatic relations and arriving at an agreement for setting up the Pakistan Embassy, i.e. the discussions already held in London between H.R.H. the Prime Minister of Afghanistan and H.E. Mr. Bevin, the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the British Government, will henceforward be held between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Great Britain.

4. As my Government are desirous of finding a solution of the problems pending between the two brotherly countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, by means of friendly and cordial discussions, in order to ensure that a favourable basis is secured for the strengthening of friendly relations and securing collaboration between Afghanistan and Pakistan with a view to conducting political negotiations and thus preparing a ground for the setting up of an Afghan Embassy at Karachi.

5. The Government of H. M. the King of Afghanistan have selected and detailed H. E. Najib Ullah Khan, the Acting Minister of Education, to proceed to Karachi as an extraordinary representative of Afghanistan with Governor-General of Pakistan, with the mission of discussing such matters as are worthy of discussion. I request Your Excellency to intimate the name of the extraordinary representative of Afghanistan to your Government and ask them to provide necessary facilities and usual diplomatic privileges so as to enable him and his official attendants to discharge the mission assigned to them. With a view to adding to Your Excellency's information in regard to the matters relating to the Afghans living on that side of the Durand Line and already discussed with His Britannic Majesty's Government, I am enclosing herewith and sending to Your Excellency a copy of my latest letter[2] addressed to H.E. Sir Giles Squire, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty's Govt. I hereby reaffirm the contents of this letter. From now onwards the Pakistan Govt. will likewise take part directly in the discussions now going on in this matter. I think that the British Govt. will have already handed over to the Pakistan Govt. copies of such files, previous records and correspondence as have a bearing on this subject.

6. As regards the taking out of visas (by Afghan nationals) from the Pakistan Representative, I am to add with due deference that although it normally devolves only on the foreign Govt.'s diplomatic Missions or Consular representations to issue visas and deal with other similar matters—and the mission of the extraordinary representatives consists

only in carrying out the important political and diplomatic discussions designed to set up diplomatic missions and consular representations—yet if the Pakistan Govt. have decided to assign the visa and passport work as well as commercial matters, etc., to your "Office of the Representative of Pakistan Govt." even from now, the Foreign Ministry will have no objection provided that until the revision of the treaties and commercial pacts, the usages so far in vogue between Afghanistan and England in regard to commercial, visa, passport and other matters of daily routine, shall continue to remain in force.

7. In conclusion, I hasten to offer an assurance of my distinguished considerations.

[ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN]

[1]No. 20.
[2]Not traceable.

41

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/19

SHAHR-I-NAU JADEED,
[KABUL,]
No. P/7/47 *9 October 1947*

Monsieur le Ministre,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. 2258 dated 8th October, 1947.[1]

2. Before asking for clarification of certain other points raised in your letter I should be grateful to know if the expression "Treaties and Trade Agreements" used in the penultimate paragraph of your letter refers to the Anglo-Afghan Treaty and Trade Convention, dated 22nd November 1921 and 5th June 1923, respectively, which operate and subsist till they are revised, or to any other treaty and trade agreement.

Please accept, *Monsieur le Ministre,* the assurance of my distinguished considerations.

SAIDULLAH KHAN

[1]No. 40.

42

H. L. Ismay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1075/1-3

WORMINGTON GRANGE,
BROADWAY, WORCESTERSHIRE,
9 October 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Once again I have to thank you and Miss Jinnah for your warm welcome in Karachi, and for your kind hospitality. It was so very good of you to give me so much of your time.

I have had two very long talks with Mr. Attlee and I shall be seeing him again before I leave on the 20th. He has plenty of "domestic" troubles but is never too busy to discuss the situation in India.

Press reports here are neither very fair—nor very accurate in every case—and much may have happened this last week which I have not yet heard of. I can only pray that there have been no major disasters, and that the movements of refugees are proceeding rapidly and in security. Lord Listowel[1] mentioned in the course of a talk with me that Sir Hubert Rance[2] would be leaving Burma in January, and that H.M.G. would probably be offering him another appointment in the fairly near future. I thought that you would wish to know this in view of our correspondence[3] about him.

I much hope that the Dakota has been delivered, and that you are pleased with it.

With my kind remembrances and sincerest thanks.

Yours sincerely,
ISMAY

[1]Secretary of State for India & Burma.
[2]Governor of Burma.
[3]See No. 306, Vol. V, 334-5.

43

Maqsood Raza Khan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 151-GG/1-3

2671 NIZAM MANZIL,
KUCHA CHELAN,
DELHI,
9 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In July last, it was decided by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, that the Central Office of Muslim League would be shifted to Karachi. But as a suitable building in Karachi was not available at that time, it could not be done at once and was postponed for some time. Owing to the outbreak of disturbances in Delhi and Eastern Punjab, neither the office could be shifted nor the staff transferred to Karachi up to this time.

Somehow or other Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, left for Pakistan by plane along with his family, on the 24th of September 1947. While leaving, he told me that he would ask Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to make suitable arrangements through the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India for the shifting of the Central Office etc. Mr. Shamsul Hasan had also given me a letter of authority, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.[2] Mr. Shamsul Hasan paid me nothing for expenses in this connection and had said that he would send me adequate funds from Pakistan. But I regret to note that almost a fortnight has passed and I have heard nothing from him.

During this period the office was raided two times but by the grace of the Almighty no damage was at all done. I wrote a letter to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, informing him of this raid and sent copies thereof to certain other officials and Ministers concerned.[3] A copy of this letter I am enclosing herewith in addition to a copy which I have already sent to you by Air mail.[4] No response to this letter has yet been received from anywhere and no action seems to have been taken in this respect. The office was also searched by a Special Magistrate accompanied by Special Police on the 3rd of October 1947. They made a thorough enquiry but nothing incriminating was found.

In the office are lying all records, office equipment, literature and other movable properties of the All India Muslim League. The literature consists of a large number of books which are the personal property of your good self. The situation here is not at all satisfactory. I am

afraid I will not be able to protect and guard the office from loot and arson any more.

I am unaware of Mr. Shamsul Hasan's whereabouts. Moreover, the mail transaction these days is far from satisfactory, and that it will take long to communicate with him in this connection. I, therefore, approach your good self. I understand, in the present circumstances and in view of the constant danger prevailing here, it is most essential to shift the office to Karachi without further delay. Therefore, I request you to kindly instruct the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India to make all necessary arrangements for the shifting of the Muslim League Office to Karachi by rail and transfer the office staff with their families in Delhi to Karachi by air or train whichever is safer. I think that approximately Rs. 3,000 will be required for packing, loading, forwarding, r[ai]l[wa]y freight, cartage and other petty expenses in this connection. The amount will also cover the salaries of the staff for the last month who have become penniless at this critical time and have no means to live on, and the travelling expenses from Delhi to Karachi. If I could get [a] loan [of] this amount on behalf of the All India Muslim League from the High Commissioner under a proper receipt, I will give the whole account of income and expenditure to Mr. Shamsul Hasan who will settle the High Commissioner's account.

I have locked the office building. Therefore, any response to this letter should kindly be communicated to me at my residential address given above, through the High Commissioner, as the mail and telegrams are not being distributed by the Postal authorities in this part of the city.

I am quite confident that your good self will kindly realise fully the urgency and importance of my request and that you will kindly issue orders by express wire to the High Commissioner.

Trusting this will find you in the best of health.

With respectful regards,

Yours very obediently,
MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN
[*Incharge, Central Office*]

PS. As I was about to despatch this letter I came to know of a sudden change in the situation, as per copies of the telegrams enclosed herewith,[5] which are self-explanatory.

MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN

[1]The letter was typed on the letterhead of All India Muslim League, Daryagunj, Delhi.
[2]No. 272, Vol. V, 267.
[3]No. 337, ibid., 374-5.
[4]Not traceable.
[5]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 43
Maqsood Raza Khan to Chief Commissioner & Deputy Commissioner, Delhi

Telegram, F. 151-GG/5

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
9 October 1947

Sikhs and Hindus broke open Muslim League Central Office in Faiz Bazar Number 4876 this morning. Two earlier raids already reported to you. Pray take necessary action.

MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN

Enclosure 2 to No. 43
Maqsood Raza Khan to Louis Mountbatten & Others[1]

Telegram, F.151-GG/4

CENTRAL OFFICE,
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
9 October 1947

Sikhs and Hindus broke open Muslim League Central Office in Faiz Bazar number 4876 this morning after two earlier raids already reported.

MAQSOOD RAZA KHAN

[1]Prime Minister and Home Minister of India; API; Reuters; Globe News Agency; All India Radio; and Associated Press of America.

44

S. M. Yusuf to Randolph S. Churchill

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/166

9 October 1947

Dear Mr. Churchill,

I am desired by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to thank you for your letter dated 10th September 1947,[1] and to say that he regrets that he missed seeing you while you passed through Karachi the other day. As you stayed only for a day and he had so many previous

engagements it was not possible to arrange a meeting with you. He, however, hopes that if you happen to visit Karachi again and have more time at your disposal he would have the pleasure of meeting you.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Randolph S. Churchill, Esq.,
c/o Govt. of Australia,
External Affairs Dept.,
Canberra

[1]No. 218, Vol. V, 220.

45

F. Amin to Director of Telephones, Delhi

F. 85/34

10 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to say that he has sold his house—No. 10 Aurangzeb Road—and its possession was to be given by the end of August. It is now understood that Government has taken possession of this property, and, therefore, the telephone in this house must have been transferred to the party now in possession of the house. I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam has already paid a deposit and I would, therefore, request you please to adjust it up to the end of August, and take steps to remit the balance due to him at Government House, Karachi, as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN
Assistant Private Secretary to the Governor-General

The Director of Telephones,
Delhi Telephone District, New Delhi

46

C. J. E. Auchinleck to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1024/30-1

IN THE AIR

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
10 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank you again for your kindness and generous hospitality to myself and my numerous party. I can assure you that the friendliness of the welcome extended to us and really perfect arrangements made by your personal staff for our comfort have made a deep impression on us all and we are very grateful to you and to them.

I am very glad we went to Karachi and I hope we may have been of some help to you and your government. Our visit was certainly of great value to us. I especially value my talk with you.

With many thanks and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
C. J. E. AUCHINLECK

47

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW YORK,
10 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing copy of a letter[2] from the Beech Aircraft Corporation, and also a copy of the details concerning the converted B-23. They speak for themselves. The Beechcraft will be a four-engine job and a magnificent aircraft. The Beech factory are world famous for the aircraft they turn out. The Expeditor is one of their products. The delivery, however, is scheduled for a year from today and I wonder if you will be interested. If you are, kindly let me know.[3] In answer to our enquiry about the price, we have received the following telegram:

> Model 34 has recently begun successful test flights. Price not yet established.

However, there is no doubt that this is the best plane for you, if you

can defer delivery of your machine for a year.

The other day I was entertained at luncheon by a very influential group of Big Business where I had the opportunity of meeting responsible executives of the principal industrial organisations of the United States. I addressed them on the economics of Pakistan and gave them an idea of the lines on which we propose to build and equip our nation.

Mr. Dithmer of General Motors is on his way to Bombay and Karachi via South Africa. He expects to be in Karachi [in] the first week of January 1948, and will, in all probability, stay at the American Embassy. I have asked him to advise your Secretary of his arrival through the Embassy and shall be deeply grateful if you will invite him to a meal during his stay in the capital. Mr. Dithmer is a very influential man and if handled tactfully, will be of great assistance in putting forward our case for the industrial expansion of Pakistan in this country. He told me that he was going to make a very detailed study of the prospects and possibilities of establishing a General Motors factory or assembly plant in Karachi. I have assured him of every co-operation by our Government.

I am also writing to Liaquat Ali Khan and Ghulam Mohammed asking them to make Mr. Dithmer's brief stay in Karachi a pleasant one.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 532-3.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]On 19 October, Jinnah asked Ispahani to pursue the matter. See Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 538-9. Not printed

Enclosure to No. 47
Hayes G. Shimp to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

HAYES G. SHIMP, INC.,
230 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK 17,
8 October 1947

Dear Hassan,

After telephone conversation with you yesterday, I immediately wired to the Beech Aircraft Corporation for a price on their Model 34, about which they recently wrote to you and of which letter a copy was

sent to you.

This afternoon the Beech Aircraft Corp's answer by wire is in hand, as follows:

> Model 34 has recently begun successful test flights. Price not yet established.

In speaking with Pan Am about the converted B-23, it is indicated no definite figure has yet been established because the conversion is not complete on the first plane. It is estimated, however, the cost will run between $175,000 and $200,000 per plane. According to Mr. Smith of Pan Am, these converted B-23's will be just about the last word in executive type of planes.

I hope the foregoing fully answers your query of yesterday about the cost of the two planes brought to your notice.

Sincerely,
HAYES G. SHIMP

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 534.

48

M. A. Jinnah to R. K. Dalmia

F. 85-GG/33

10 October 1947

Dear Mr. Dalmia,

I enclose herein a copy of a letter I have written to your brother, Mr. Jaidayal Dalmia,[1] for your information.

I hope you will help me to bring about this arrangement in the light of the new circumstances that have arisen.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ram Krishna Dalmia, Esq.,
9 Mansingh Road,
New Delhi

[1]No. 38.

49

Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/16

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

In today's *Dawn* on page 5, the Governor of Sind is pitiably pleading to the Hindus to stay and on page 2, Secretary, Sind Provincial Muslim League, is appealing [to] the Hindus to stop migration.

For God's sake restrain these people from this show of weakness. Instead of invoking the help of Hindus and others which is not going to materialise, please ask them to invoke the help of God and put the shoulder to the wheel and work hard. *Insha Allah*, every thing will be alright, for God's help is sure to come to the Muslim[s] in a short time.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

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Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/17-9

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

CURRENCY

I understand the Reserve Bank of India is printing the currency for the Dominion of Pakistan. It is extremely dangerous to entrust this work of currency, except [to] the Bank of Pakistan, for during the last World War, Japan tried in Burma to destroy the rupee currency by printing and distributing rupee notes.

Everybody is thinking what will be the backing behind the currency of Pakistan and how much currency we shall have?

Before the "managed currency system", for every unit of 100 the Government Bank held in stock bullion (gold and silver) worth 40%. But Dr. Shacht, the financial wizard of Germany, discovered that this was not necessary. The productivity of the land and the people of the country are considered sufficient security behind a reasonable amount of currency.

The curse of inflation is perhaps worse than mass slaughter or bombing of the civilians, for inflation consigns a huge population to a living death.

Deflation is another enemy of humanity. It makes the people poor, miserable and unhappy.

After the First World War 1914-18, inexperienced and amateur Finance Ministers ruined Europe by inflation, and [the] British ruined and lost India by deflation.

Between these two extremes your Finance Minister must find the happy medium and must resist the temptation of easy money by inflation to tide him over his financial difficulties.

Now the important question of how much currency Pakistan shall have must be answered.

The minimum is one month's earning power of the entire population and the maximum is 12 months' earning.

In Pakistan the monthly income of the entire population meaning women, children, farmers, industrial and other workers, I believe, would be about Rs. 10 per month. Assuming the entire population of Pakistan to be 10 crore, the minimum currency shall be [Rs.] 100 crore and maximum [Rs.] 1,200 crore.

The starting figure of currency should be Rs. 300 crore, because the day when Pakistan and India were created, the currency per head was Rs. 30.

For continued progress, prosperity and happiness of the population, a reasonable expansion (mind you not inflation) of currency every year is necessary. This expansion must depend on the conditions prevailing at the time. The annual expansion to be divided into 50 weeks, shall not be less than Rs. 3 crore (one per cent) and the maximum shall not be more than Rs. 30 crore (ten per cent).

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

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Jinnah's Address[1] *to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force Officers*

F. 788/34-46

KHALIQDINA HALL,
KARACHI,
11 October 1947

Gentlemen,

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.

I had no illusion about the hard work that awaited us and the difficulties that had to be overcome. I was, however, fortified by the knowledge that I could count upon the unstinted support of all Muslims and also the minorities whose co-operation we could win over by fair—nay, generous—treatment.

Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life are today paupers with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck up in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have been unmindful of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.

The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State, I referred to earlier, manifold. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born

State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies?

This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. Our masses are today disorganized and disheartened by the cataclysm that has befallen them.

Their morale is exceedingly low and we shall have to do something to pull them out of the slough of despondency and galvanize them into activity. All this throws additional responsibility on Government servants to whom our people are looking for guidance.

I know that during the past few weeks, anxiety about the safety of your kith and kin in East Punjab, Delhi and other disturbed areas of India has been weighing on the minds of most of you. Lots of you and your staff have suffered bereavements in the recent holocaust and have lost valuable property. My heart goes out in sympathy to those who have suffered bereavements and I pray to Almighty God that He may give them fortitude to bear their losses with courage.

But are all these sacrifices, that we have been called upon to make, to be in vain? Are we going to sit down and mope over our losses? If we do so, we shall be behaving just as our enemies want us to behave. We shall be playing their game and will soon be suppliants for their mercy. The fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determination to get down to the task of building our State on strong and firm foundations, a State which should be fit for our children to live in. This requires work and more work. I fully realize that a majority of you have worked under a terrible strain during the war years and might need relaxation. But you should remember that for us the war has not ended. It has only just begun and if we are to fight it to victory, we shall have to put in super-human efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions. It is the time for constructive efforts, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty.

This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that now that Pakistan has been achieved they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralised by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi, and in others, the general lawlessness prevailing in some parts of the country, has bred a spirit of indiscipline. These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies and will spell ruin for us. It is the duty of all of you who have gathered here today to see that this cancer is removed

as speedily as possible. You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.

God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.

Another question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away. I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bonafides and give us their whole-hearted co-operation as citizens of Pakistan when the crises suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, as subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. But for a few sporadic incidents here and there, nothing has happened to mar the peace of Sind, but despite the prevalence of peaceful conditions here the exodus of Hindus continues. Some have given way to panic and others have been leaving Pakistan in the hope that it will be paralysed economically and socially. A lot of migrants are already realizing the folly of their rash act in leaving the country of their birth or domicile but some interested parties persist in encouraging migration which is fraught with grievous consequences for the migrants and also does harm to our State in the process.

It is true that there was some trouble in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but it was not the outcome of any premeditated plan. Some excitable elements in society were carried away by tales of woe brought by refugees from East Punjab; and sought solace in revenge which was definitely against our policy and contrary to our expressed instructions to our people that there should be no retaliation. Whatever has happened cannot be justified.

I am, however, glad to say that this trouble was short-lived and the situation was soon brought under control.

In West Punjab, things were rather different. It was nearer the scene of carnage and so could not escape the contagion. Regrettable incidents have, no doubt, taken place there but the arm of the law is again asserting itself and things are returning to normal.

When I turn my eyes to the sister Dominion of India, I find that the Muslim minority there has suffered grievous wrongs. Not content with having uprooted Muslims from East Punjab, certain sections in India seem to be determined to drive Muslims from the entire Dominion

by making life impossible for them. These helpless victims of organized forces feel that they have been let down by us. It is thousand pities that things have come to such a pass.

The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If that is still the policy of the Government of India—and I am sure it is—they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted in, would mean ruin for both the States.

My advice to my Muslim brethren in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership which should give them the correct lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the Governmental plane; it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements.

As regards the Government of Pakistan, I again reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that we shall pursue our settled policy in this respect and we shall continue to protect the life and property of minorities in Pakistan and shall give them a fair deal. We do not want them to be forced to leave Pakistan and that so long as they remain faithful and loyal to the State they shall be entitled to the same treatment as any other citizen.

It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us.

[1]Also see *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-48*, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 74-8.

52

Note by M. A. Jinnah

F.108-GG/2

11 October 1947

I have considered Mr. M. B. Ahmad's note dated 7th October.[1] As at present advised, I do not think that a reference to the Finance Department is necessary for the requirements and expenditure of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Appointments will be made by the President and cannot be subjected to the sanction of the Finance Department. It is entirely for the President to consult such person or persons as he thinks necessary as regards the requirements of the Constituent Assembly from time to time and give his decisions which must be considered final. Such amounts as may be required will be included in the budget of the Constituent Assembly.

The appointment of Mr. Hasan [A.] Shaikh to the temporary post of Private Secretary to the President of the Constituent Assembly is sanctioned.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 30.

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Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/20

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
11 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

The division of assets and liabilities of the Reserve Bank of India is likely to take a few years if done in the usual Government routine and the Government of Pakistan cannot afford to wait for a few years. Somebody from the commercial community who has had experience of desolution [*sic* for dissolution] of partnership, may be entrusted with this work and he should be assisted by accountants, auditors and

bankers and the first division should be done within one week and the items in dispute may take some time.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

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Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/21

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
12 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I sincerely hope and pray to God that the Government in Pakistan will be based on the Islamic principles of reasonableness and justice.

In order to save an average citizen of Pakistan from tyranny and oppression of Government servants, two very small departments are indispensable:

1. Anti-Corruption Department
2. Investigation Department to examine the complaints of tyranny, oppression and neglect by Government servants

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

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Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/22-3

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
13 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

REFUGEE PROBLEM

This [problem] must be immediately tackled and solved, otherwise

it will ruin prosperous Pakistan. Lakhs of refugees are sitting with folded hands and are doing nothing except eating. This waste can ruin any country, however rich.

All over the world there is a shortage of manpower. If other countries can have only manpower, they can produce so much more and [become] richer and happier.

Even in Pakistan our bottleneck is also manpower.

At present refugees seem to have become an industry [?]. Refugees are getting free quarters and free food; they do not feel like working. The people who cater to the needs of the refugees are also making money.

However, the solution is as under:

1. Immediately, a slip of paper must be given, asking each refugee what he was doing just before the disturbances.
2. These slips have to be filled in and returned to the authorities within 3 days, otherwise defaulters would be turned out of refugee camps.
3. After a week, the refugees should be asked to find jobs for themselves within a fortnight, otherwise they shall have to do whatever Government asks them.
4. From the occupation slip, female and male teachers have to be sorted out and they shall be employed by the Education Department. Boys and girls of school-going age can be entrusted to the care of these teachers and whatever little education can be given to children under the present difficult situation, must be given.
5. Farmers can be directed to the land for picking the crop at present, and then for cultivation.
6. Industrial labour can be directed to industry.
7. The remainder should be put in the armed forces, and if they cannot do anything, they must be made to do left right.[1]
8. Widows, orphans and old men can be put in an asylum camp.
9. No refugee train or steamer should be allowed to the camps but they must be sorted and put to work.
10. All the above things must be done in a humane way and they must be made to understand nicely that it is for their own good.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

[1]Signifies military drill.

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Quadir Buksh Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25(Part I)-GG/180

HAZARIBAGH,
BIHAR,
13 October 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

So that my writings dated the 5th October, 1947,[1] may not be misunderstood, I am forwarding an extract of my speech[2] at Hazaribagh on the 11th October, 1947, in the Station Club, Hazaribagh, on the occasion of a meeting of the East and West Fraternity Club, where Hon'ble Mr. K. B. Sahay, Minister in charge, Revenue, Government of Bihar, presided. It may be placed before Quaid-i-Azam for his perusal. People of all classes attended. I described all my experiences at Karachi and [with] Sindh Government and told them that false propaganda of the papers regarding the condition of Pakistan territories should not be believed. I told them how anxious Quaid-i-Azam was for [the] protection of the minorities and what [*sic* for that] peace prevails at Karachi City where I had the occasion to go round. I had the pleasure to go through the papers' report of speech of Quaid-i-Azam on the 11th October, 1947,[3] regarding minorities and the Muslims of India. It has given satisfaction to everybody concerned.

Yours sincerely,
QUADIR BUKSH KHAN
Advocate
Secretary, East & West Fraternity Club

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosure.
[3]See No. 51.

Enclosure to No. 56

F. 25(Part I)-GG/181

STATION (EUROPEAN) CLUB,
HAZARIBAGH, BIHAR,
11 October 1947

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF QUADIR BUKSH KHAN

The important concern of ours is the Dominion of India and we are

glad to know that the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is doing his best to see that prefect peace prevails in Indian Dominion. Though, I had not the opportunity to meet him, as I could not go to Delhi and I had to return on account of different troubles on the way, but what I have gathered from the disinterested quarters, I can safely say that he is doing his best to see that perfect peace prevails. I had an opportunity to meet Chaudhry K[haliq-uz-]Zaman, the leader of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the Constituent Assembly. He told me exactly the same thing what he spoke in the Assembly on the dignity of the flag of India. Certainly, we should be loyal to the Dominion where we reside and that is the first criterion which Mr. Jinnah also reiterates. I had an opportunity to go and meet with the Ministers of Pakistan Government at Karachi. I had been there on professional business the other day. There, I had an opportunity to meet the Hon'ble Ministers of the Central Government of Pakistan Dominion and also paid a courtesy call to the Government House. There, I had an opportunity to meet the messengers of peace from Indian Dominion, Choudhry K[haliq-uz-]Zaman and others. I can tell you with confidence that the Pakistan Government and officials in the person of Hon'ble Ministers and even the Governor-General, Mr. Jinnah are no less keen than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to see that perfect peace prevails in the Dominions of Hindustan and Pakistan.

Exchange of population is proving [a] great hardship to the peace and tranquillity of the whole country. Therefore, the real need of the hour is the feeling between different communities. By the by I have referred to you the condition in Pakistan and I hope it might help you to remove the misunderstanding and perfect peace and cooperation between different communities, specially the Hindus and the Muslims [*sic*]. Let us try our best and we hope that we shall succeed and God would help us. In order that the name of the East and West Fraternity Club should be significant with the change of the time, I hope ladies and gentlemen, you would favour me with your suggestions as to what should be the proper name of this Fraternity.

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Minutes of the Meeting of Emergency Committee of the Cabinet

F. 38(2)-GG/32-3

[KARACHI,]
13 October 1947

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of West Punjab reached the following agreement regarding the method of dealing with refugee and rehabilitation work in the West Punjab. It was agreed:

i. that a Special Committee with Cabinet powers should be set up at Lahore to deal with the refugee and rehabilitation problem in all its aspects. This committee would be called the Pakistan Refugee Council.

ii. that the composition of this Council should be as follows:
   a. The Prime Minister of Pakistan
   b. The Governor of the West Punjab
   c. The Refugees and Rehabilitation Minister of Pakistan
   d. The Premier of the West Punjab
   e. The Refugee[s] and Rehabilitation Minister of the West Punjab.

iii. that the Prime Minister of Pakistan or in his absence His Excellency the Governor of the West Punjab should be the Chairman of this Council.

iv. that the Council should be concerned with the refugee and rehabilitation problem only insofar as it related to the East and West Punjab; (the Government of Pakistan would lay down policy relating to the refugee and rehabilitation questions generally).

v. that the orders of the Council should be implemented by the Departments of the West Punjab Government concerned.

vi. that there should be a joint secretariat attached to the Council which would deal with policy and planning. The Secretary of the Pakistan Ministry of Refugees should be the head of this secretariat and have under his control executive organisations charged with the carrying out of the orders of the Council insofar as these functions were not the responsibility of officers of the West Punjab Government. The Pakistan Refugee Commissioner would be the head of Administraton and Movement in this executive organization.

vii. that this secretariat should deal, under the Pakistan Minister for Refugees, and not under the Council, with questions relating to refugees and rehabilitation in provinces other than the West Punjab.

viii. that an officer should be provided by the Government of Pakistan for appointment as Financial Adviser to the Council.

ix. that appointments to this Secretariat should be made on the recommendation of the Departmental heads, in consultation with the Secretary and with the approval of the Minister for Refugees of the Pakistan Government.

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Altaf Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 129-GG/1

KARACHI,
13 October 1947

My dear Sir,

The staff of *Dawn* have organized an All Pakistan *Mushaira* in aid of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, to be held on October 25 at 9 p.m. in the Sind Madrassah Compound, Karachi. The Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar has consented to preside.

In my capacity as President of the *Mushaira* Committee I have been asked to approach you with the request that you may be pleased to open the *Mushaira*. I shall be grateful if you kindly let me know your decision.[1] If you so desire I shall be glad to discuss the matter with you and place such other facts before you as you may wish to know. I enclose a progress report of the arrangements so far made, submitted to me by the Secretary.[2]

Yours sincerely,
ALTAF HUSAIN
Editor, Dawn

[1]Jinnah regretted his inability to inaugurate the *Mushaira*. See No. 67.
[2]See F. 129-GG/2. Not printed.

59

Khar[1] Saifullah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 38(2)-GG/25-6

ANDHERI,
[BOMBAY,]
13 October 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Karachi

Mass exchange of population as minority solution is nonsense, madness and disastrous. Protection of minorities is the only solution. Death is preferable to migration. Wisdom demands that you bang Pakistan doors to Indian Muslims at once and invite Mahatma Gandhi for advice. He will not fail you and all would be well, *Insha Allah*. Pray act without delay.

KHAR SAIFULLAH

[1]Spelling as given in the telegram.

60

Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan

F. 1026/20

No. 2304

[KABUL,]
13 October 1947

My dear Excellency,

In reply to Your Excellency's letter No. P/7/47 dated the 9th October, 1947,[1] I am writing to state that what I meant was this that until the execution of Political Treaties and Trade Conventions with the High Government of Pakistan, there should be no pause in the routine commercial and consular matters, and that the rules and regulations governing such matters as are covered by the undermentioned Treaties and Agreements concluded between the Royal Afghan Government and His Britannic Majesty's Government are allowed to remain in force:

1. Matters covered by Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of Friendship concluded on the 22nd November 1922.[2]
2. Matters covered by the Anglo-Afghan Trade Convention, executed

on the 5th June 1923.[3]

3. Matters covered by the results achieved as an outcome of the Trade Discussion signed in the month of January 1939, as also the decisions passed on the basis of the aforesaid Discussion of 1939, by means of the communications and correspondence subsequently exchanged between the Royal Afghan Government and the British Legation, Kabul.[4]

Whilst elucidating the above data, I avail myself of this opportunity to venture [to] offer my distinguished considerations.

[ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN]

[1]No. 41.

[2]In a letter to Ali Muhammad Khan on 14 October, Saidullah Khan pointed out a clerical mistake "regarding the date of the Treaty which is 22nd November 1921 and not 22nd November 1922". See No. 61. Also see No. 60, note 5, Vol. III, 151.

[3]The Convention provided for regulating the import of goods into Afghanistan and for arranging commercial matters not mentioned in the Treaty of 1921. See C.U. Aitchison, comp., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads—Persia and Afghanistan*, Vol. XIII, Calcutta, 1933, 297-300.

[4]Not traceable.

61

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/30-6

No. P/2/47 SHAHR-I-NAU JADEED, KABUL,
14 October 1947

Monsieur le Ministre,

It is indeed a pleasure to me to receive Your Excellency's letter No. 2258 dated the 8th October 1947[1] and subsequent despatch No.2304 dated 13th October 1947[2], conveying among other things the good wishes of the Royal Afghan Government on the magnificient achievement of not only the Musalmans of India but of the entire Islamic world in setting up, by constitutional and lawful means, the powerful State of Pakistan. Similar messages of goodwill, actuated by feelings of common brotherhood, have also been received by the Government of Pakistan from almost all the Muslim countries of the world. Glory be to *Allah* through Whose beneficence we are so knit together that the happiness of one is a source of happiness for the rest and the grief of any one the grief of all.

2. Your Excellency is aware of the terrible carnage that occurred at

the very inception of Pakistan in East Punjab and elsewhere in Hindu India with the result that millions of Muslims were rendered destitute and homeless. History will bear me out that no Government in the world was ever faced so suddenly with the problem of refugees on such a gigantic scale as the Government of the new State of Pakistan. But thanks to the Almighty God that the Government of Pakistan are facing the calamity with dauntless courage and grim determination and it is hoped, *Insha Allah,* that normal conditions will soon be restored. In short the entire Muslim nation of Pakistan, both official and non-official agencies, are fully engaged in this great and all important task of evacuation and rehabilitation of millions of Muslim refugees.

3. Despite their preoccupations, however, they did not overlook their responsibility towards their Muslim brothers on this side of the Pakistan border and hastened the despatch of their representative to Kabul to attend to all the functions hitherto performed by their representative (the British Minister) and afford such relief and assistance as was humanly possible under the existing conditions. With this aim in view I set out for Kabul in the hope that the success of my mission largely depended on the assistance and co-operation that I received from the officials of the Royal Afghan Government. My personal experience during the course of discussions and negotiations has now placed me in a position to express my gratitude for the whole-hearted co-operation and perfect understanding on the part of Your Excellency and the Royal Afghan Government.

4. Before dealing with the other issues raised in Your Excellency's letter No.2258 dated the 8th October 1947 I wish to deal first with the simple issue involved in Your Excellency's second despatch No.2304 dated 13th October 1947, viz. the acceptance by the Royal Afghan Government of certain Articles of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921[3] and the Anglo-Afghan Trade Convention of 1923[4], to the exclusion of other Articles of the Treaty for the present. A reference has also been made to the performance of consular work in Your Excellency's letter but, perhaps through an oversight, the Article dealing with the establishment of consulates for this work at Kandahar, Jalalabad and Karachi, viz. Article IV, has been omitted. Another clerical omission appears regarding the date of the Treaty which is 22nd November 1921 and not 22nd November 1922, as specified in the letter. In the event of Your Excellency's agreement, I shall effect these corrections before this correspondence becomes a public document.

5. It is a pleasure to note that the Royal Afghan Government are generally agreed on the principle that the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, dated the 22nd November, 1921, and the Anglo-Afghan Trade Convention,

dated 5th June 1923, hold good between the Pakistan Government (as legal heir to the British Government) and the Royal Afghan Government with regard to Article VI, VII, VIII, IX and X—acting presumably on the assumption that the rest of the Articles could conveniently be postponed to a future date. In this connection I invite Your Excellency's attention to Article XIV of the Treaty which reads as follows:

> The provisions of this Treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified, twelve months before the expiration of the said three years, the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. This treaty shall come into force after the signature of the Missions of the two Parties, and the two ratified copies of this shall be exchanged in Kabul within $2\frac{1}{2}$ months after the signature.

Your Excellency will perhaps agree with me that the taking up of the Treaty piecemeal is not only opposed to the clear provisions of the international law but also contravenes the terms of the Treaty itself, and cannot on principle be accepted. It is obligatory on both the Contracting Parties to stand by the Anglo-Afghan Treaty as a whole and the Pakistan Government will act on it accordingly. I shall also refer to this Treaty in the subsequent paragraphs of this letter while dealing with the other issues raised in your letter No.2258 dated 8th October 1947, and proceed on the assumption that the Treaty has to be reckoned as a whole by both the Contracting Parties and not in parts.

6. As already explained during the course of my discussions with Your Excellency and in my letter No. P/3/47 dated 4th October 1947,[5] the object of my mission is primarily to relieve our Representative, the British Minister, of all the diplomatic functions hitherto performed by him on behalf of Pakistan in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, as ratified by the present Royal Afghan Government in 1930, and the Anglo-Afghan Trade Convention of 1923. I am glad that as stated in the concluding paragraph of Your Excellency's letter under reference and amplified in your subsequent despatch No.2304 dated 13th October 1947, the Royal Afghan Government have, in accordance with International law, reaffirmed their intention to abide by the provisions of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty and Afghan Trade Convention, dated the 22nd November 1921 and 5th June 1923, respectively. The Government of Pakistan, on their side, as legal heir to one of the Contracting Parties viz. the British Government, are fully aware of their responsibilities and realise the sacred nature of the obligations which have devolved upon them. I, therefore, affirm on their (Pakistan Government) behalf that the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 and the Trade Convention of 1923 shall remain in force *in their entirety*[6] until such time

and date that they are revised, abrogated or modified in any form-vide Article XIV of the Treaty dated 22nd November 1921. It, therefore, follows that the transfer of power from His Majesty's Government will and shall not in any way affect the rights, privileges and liabilities of the Contracting Parties, viz. Pakistan Government (having replaced the British Government) and the Royal Afghan Government, under the existing Treaty and Convention until such time as they are revised, abrogated or modified in any way. (Please see Article XIV of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty dated 22nd November 1921).

7. After the exchange of telegraphic messages between the two Governments (the Royal Afghan Government and the Government of Pakistan) I, under directions from my Government, came to Kabul for the purpose set forth in the Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister, Pakistan's telegram dated the 7th September 1947,[7] communicated to you with the British Minister's endorsement No.1089 dated the 9th September 1947[8] and acknowledged by Your Excellency on the 11th September.[9] On arrival in Kabul I was informed by the British Minister that he should now be deemed to have been relieved of *all the functions* hitherto performed by him on behalf of Pakistan Government, and that I should see that he was formally relieved of the duties assigned to him, during my stay in Kabul. I told him that I would be seeing Your Excellency on the following day, viz. 27th September 1947, and would let him know after I had discussed the matter with you. After my interview with Your Excellency and in accordance with the orders of my Government I proceeded to relieve the British Minister of all the work assigned to him by the Pakistan Government, keeping of course in view the convenience of the Royal Afghan Government in the matter of taking over of charge from the British Minister. I am now in a position to inform Your Excellency that a complete charge of all the diplomatic functions, so far executed by the British Minister on behalf of Pakistan, has been taken over by me and in accordance with the agreement of the Royal Afghan Government, communicated to me in Your Excellency's letter No. 2258 dated 8th October 1947, my office has started functioning. I may incidentally point out here for the information of the Royal Afghan Government that the British Minister, under instructions from His Majesty's Government, informed me both verbally and in writing, that after he had been relieved of the entire diplomatic functions relating to Pakistan, he would cease to function for Pakistan, and that intimation to this effect had also been given by him (British Minister) to the Royal Afghan Government through Your Excellency, both verbally and in writing, on Saturday the 11th October 1947. It is, therefore needless for me to point out that with the abandonment of

the entire diplomatic functions by the British Minister relating to Pakistan, the Representative of Pakistan Government has stepped into the shoes of the British Minister with regard to all such duties previously assigned to the British Minister.

8. As regards the name which should be assigned to my office, it is common knowledge and Your Excellency with your vast experience of such matters is no doubt fully aware that the location or establishment of an office for the transaction of business in a foreign country cannot be said to be for a purpose other than that for the discharge of its diplomatic functions and as at the time of the despatch of my letter No.P/3/47 dated the 4th October 1947 the position with regard to the setting up of Missions was obscure, it was not possible for me to predict the decision of the Royal Afghan Government, hence the specification of the name contained in my letter referred to above. Now that the Royal Afghan Government, vide the concluding paragraph of Your Excellency's letter under reference, have taken a decision regarding the formation of an Embassy after the completion of necessary formalities, and have selected His Excellency Najibullah Khan for the purpose, it is immaterial so far as I am concerned what name the Royal Afghan Government assigns to my office—viz. Pakistan Office, Office of Pakistan's Charge d'Affaires, Pakistan Legation or Pakistan Embassy,—so long as it serves the purpose for which it is located. The decision on the main issue of the establishment of Embassies by both the Governments (Pakistan and Afghanistan) brings one to the irresistible conclusion that the names assigned to such offices should be such as are worthy of their character and in conformity with international practice. I shall anyway be guided entirely by the wishes and decision of the Royal Afghan Government in the matter and will act accordingly.

9. I may be permitted to point out here that the introductory letter of my Government has since arrived and is being forwarded in original to Your Excellency. With the receipt of this letter all the necessary formalities connected with my mission have, I hope, been completed.

10. I welcome the decision of the Royal Afghan Government in selecting His Excellency Najibullah Khan, the Acting Minister of Education, to proceed to Karachi as the Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan with the Governor-General of Pakistan for discussions before setting up an Embassy in Karachi. Intimation to this effect has been given to my Government as desired by Your Excellency, and as soon as I hear from them, arrangements will be made to afford necessary facilities and usual diplomatic privileges to His Excellency Najibullah Khan and the members of the staff accompanying him.

11. I beg leave to point out, in conclusion, that but for the reply to this letter my task here has terminated and unless the Royal Afghan Government wish me to remain on for any further discussions etc., or there be any further issue arising out of the reply requiring elucidation on my part, I intend, subject of course to the permission of the Royal Afghan Government, to leave Kabul on Sunday the 19th October 1947.

Please accept, *Monsieur le Ministre,* the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

[1]No. 40.
[2]No. 60.
[3]See ibid., note 2.
[4]See ibid., note 3.
[5]No. 20.
[6]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[7,8&9]Not traceable.

62

Asadullah to M. A. Jinnah

F.120(11)-GG/249-50

6 SARATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY ROAD,
(MAHUTTULY),
DACCA,
14 October 1947

Your Excellency,

Mass massacre of Muslims in Hindustan has been the order of the day. Lakhs of Muslims in East Punjab and some of the native States remain untraced. Lakhs have left or are leaving their hearths and homes for safety of their lives. Attacks on Muslims in railway trains are going on unabated. Refugee convoys are being attacked. Calcutta Muslims experienced riot and carnage on a large-scale several times within a year and the possibility of such horrible happenings is not beyond the range of possibility. Muslims in minority provinces are being harassed, insulted and asked to go to Pakistan.

We would like to draw your attention to:

I. PROVISION OF MILITARY FORCES FOR EAST PAKISTAN

a. Radcliffe Award provides no natural boundary.
b. Slow but steady exodus of Hindus from East Bengal—not without a plan and programme.
c. Existence of Nepal close to Eastern Pakistan—a formidable menace.

d. Gandhiji's cryptic reference to war.
e. Concentration of Hindu and Sikh groups at points near to Eastern Pakistan.
f. Increasing number of traitors and saboteurs in East Pakistan—reported to be working under Hindu guidance.

We apprehend trouble in the near future and therefore suggest that:

a. Immediate provision be made for military fortification of Eastern Pakistan. Recruitment may be made from ex-servicemen, Muslim National Guards, Civic Guards, Home Guards and U.T.C., etc.
b. Military concentration be arranged on all fronts, e.g. Sylhet, Comilla, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Nadia, Jessore and Khulna. This is absolutely necessary and urgent.
c. Construction of railway lines between Jessore and Chuadanga via Jenidah should be proceeded with at the earliest.

II. PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

a. Slow but steady influx of Muslims from minority provinces into Eastern Pakistan has already begun.
b. Large-scale exodus is bound to start if there is the least trouble in Hindustan during *'Id* and *Puja*.[1]
c. No arrangement has yet been made for providing refugees with food and shelter, not to speak of their rehabilitation in Eastern Pakistan.

We are definitely of opinion that it would be quite easy to collect funds and make provision when peace prevails. Delay would mean disaster and we shall be caught napping. It is therefore necessary:

a. To immediately establish Provincial and Dist. Commitees for Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund for Eastern Pakistan.
b. To make forthwith arrangements for land for settlement of the refugees either by acquisition or gift. This should begin without a moment's delay.

We hope you would kindly give time to consider the points raised and the remedies suggested by us. We have every reason to hope that in view of the emergency and importance of the situation you will kindly take necessary action in the matter.

Yours sincerely in Islam,
ASADULLAH,
B. L.
Pleader, Judge's Court,
Member, Council of the All India Muslim League

[1]For East Bengal Premier's appeal for peace and amity and to "create atmosphere of goodwill on *'Id al-Azha* and *Durga Puja*", see the *Pakistan Times,* 18 October 1947.

63

Nawab of Bhopal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 603/9-11

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI,
BHOPAL,
14 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was most interested to learn of the approach which you have made to Whitehall, and to the other Dominions, with regard to the trouble in the Punjab.[1] From what I have been able to gather, and I hope my information is not correct, I fear that this approach has not met with the sympathetic response which it deserves. Though naturally I have no direct contact with him, either officially or unofficially, I have reason to believe that Sir Lawrence Grafftey-Smith possibly shares in this disappointment.

I hope you will not feel that I am interesting myself unduly in a matter which does not primarily concern Bhopal State, but I need hardly assure you that the welfare and future of the Dominion of Pakistan is very near to my heart. I am, therefore, venturing to forward to you a note,[2] under a separate cover, summarising the arguments which, I feel, might usefully and effectively be employed to Whitehall in order to make them revise their attitude. The Note deals with this important matter from three distinct angles, (1) the Strategic aspect of the case; (2) the Economic aspect; and (3) the Political aspect. One of my officers recently had the good fortune to meet Sir Harold Sanderson, who is responsible to the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations Organisation, for the procurement and disbursement of rice throughout the world. The importance of Pakistan to the British Commonwealth of Nations in particular, and to the Western Democracies in general, was explained to him, and he was fully in agreement with the general ideas propounded in this Note. Sir Harold is an important member of the World Food Organisation and can exert pressure on Governments which cannot be brought to bear from any other direction. The world is desperately short of cereals and any plan for an increased production will certainly meet with sympathy and encouragement from that powerful body—the Food and Agricultural Organisation.

The strategical aspect of the case is, perhaps, the strongest argument which can be advanced. It is a remarkable, but apparently true fact that only a few people seem to appreciate the vital importance of the strategic position which Pakistan occupies in the world. I do not know whether such a move would be irregular, but, I feel that, if a copy of the Note, on the lines of the one enclosed, were to be brought to the notice of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Viscount Montgomery, he might perhaps also use his great influence to force Whitehall to give serious consideration to your appeal.

As this matter has already been discussed informally by one of my officers with Sir Lawrence, I believe it might possibly encourage him to renew his approach to the Commonwealth Relations Office, if a copy of this Note were made available to him as well.

I hope you will not think that I have over-stepped the bounds of propriety by writing to you in this manner, but the problem was of such vital importance, in my opinion, that I felt that you would not mind my approaching you with the proposal.

I hope you are well and not overworking to the extent of affecting your health. If for no other reason, for the sake of Islam, and the newborn child, Pakistan, which needs most careful and expert nursing, it is of utmost and vital importance that you should remain in our midst, strong and in vigorous health, for many more years to come.

I will not bother you with my problems and affairs, except one minor matter, which one word from you will settle in two minutes. Shuab will speak to you about it.

With all my good wishes and respects,

Yours ever affectionately,
HAMIDULLAH

[1]Pakistan had appealed to Attlee and other Commonwealth leaders to intervene in order to save the catastrophic situation in East Punjab. See No. 225, Vol. V, 226-9. Later, Pakistan also proposed that India and Pakistan jointly move the UN to depute 12 neutral observers, six each from the two countries, to observe communal situation for six weeks and report to the UN. See the *Pakistan Times*, 30 September 1947.

[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 63
Note by Nawab of Bhopal

F.785/219-26

VERY SECRET

PAKISTAN AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Arguments in support of the Quaid-i-Azam's Appeal

THE STRATEGICAL ASPECT

It is not the intention of this note to examine the causes of the failure of the United Nations but the fact must be faced that far from bringing about a state of affairs in the field of international politics in which war as an instrument for the enforcement of national will has been eliminated, the fundamental differences between the ideologies of Russia and the Western Democracies, with the consequent grouping of the world powers into two mutually hostile bloc[s], has made a third, devastating atomic war almost inevitable. Can anything now be done to divert this disastrous current in world affairs from the rapids leading to the abyss?

2. No country embarks upon an aggressive war unless it is certain that it is going to win, and it should, therefore, be the determined policy of the Western Democracies that, by a combination of those countries which regard war with abhorrence, an alliance can be formed of sufficient strength to make it clear to any power harbouring aggressive ambitions that a resort to war can only result in the defeat of the aggressor.

3. In this global and international peace strategy, the Dominion of Pakistan occupies a unique and vital position. If one may describe the vast expanses of the Indian Ocean as an arch, then Pakistan and its port at Karachi can be rightly named the keystone of that arch. Were Pakistan, stretching from the Himalayas to the sea, forced to align itself, for any reason, with the powers hostile to the peace-loving nations, then the apex of the great arch of the Indian Ocean would be controlled by the enemies of the British Commonwealth, the resources of the Dominion of India would be at their disposal, and the whole strategic position in the Middle East would be out-flanked and turned. The oil resources at present available to the Western Democracies in Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, would fall under enemy control and air and sea fleets would then be free to attack the continent of Africa. In addition, the Dominion of Pakistan represents the only area on the face of the globe from which a counter-offensive, in sufficient strength,

against Russia could be mounted.

4. In any war of the future it is certain that no armies will move until the war in the air, complete with atomic and long range rocket weapons and possibly bacteriological weapons, has been decided, but it is equally true that, in order to subdue a country the size of Russia, the necessity for the occupation of the country by ground forces will remain. From which directions could such an invasion be made? The strategy of envelopment and the attack of the perimeter from several directions will probably still hold good but it is instructive to consider this problem.

5. To attack from the West would entail fighting through the satellite Russian buffer States of Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Baltic States, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. The last war demonstrated how the powerful German armies were weakened and dissipated to such an extent in this operation that they were finally unable to inflict any mortal injury on the Russian armies or on the supporting war industries which had been removed far to the East. An invasion from this direction would, therefore, seem to be doomed to failure. Similarly, an offensive by way of the difficult Northern route would be impracticable for a vulnerable L[ine] of C[ommunication] and adverse climatic conditions, combined with inadequate and ice-closed ports, would make it impossible to maintain the required weight and momentum. Turning to the extreme East, an offensive by way of the trans-Siberian Railway would entail some 3,500 miles advance across the limitless wastes of Siberia and Central Asia before any vital area could be reached and would require the diversion of large forces to protect the long and vulnerable L of C. Considering the southern approaches from West to East, the Dardanelles route is largely impracticable, for ships of any size sunk in the confined waters of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus would close this seaway and the ports in Southern Turkey would be of insufficient size to provide a temporary alternative. The approach through the Persian Gulf to Basra, Mohammerah, Bandar Shapur and Bandar Abbas, would entail a seaway parallel to the air bases in the Southern Socialist Soviet Republics. Moreover the lack of capacity of the ports and the inadequacy of the communications in the hinterland would make it improbable that this area could mount an offensive of sufficient size and weight to constitute any more than a diversionary operation. We are, therefore, left with the Indus Valley with its port at Karachi. Here would appear to be an area of sufficient size lying of [*sic* for at] the extreme Eastern flank of the strategic front against Russia with its own port open to the main ocean and capable of expansion and

modernisation to meet the requirements of a modern army of the necessary size.

6. In the analysis, therefore, not only is the survival of Pakistan vital to the interests of the Western Democracies and those other States willing to combine in an alliance to curb the aggressive ambitions of the Soviets, but its transformation into a base capable of maintaining a modern army is of equal importance.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

7. It may be argued that any plan for the transformation of Pakistan into a modern, highly fertile and industrialised State, would at once arouse the suspicions of the rulers of Russia, and might itself become one of the contributory factors leading up to an eventual conflict. The establishment of modern industries and a highly mechanised agriculture might possibly be looked upon by the Russians as a preparation for aggression. This suspicion might possibly be allayed by arguing the obvious necessity for an increase in world food production. Though the figures are not available, it is believed that the annual world deficit in the production of cereals amounts to some 40 million tons. The population of the Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan has been increasing at the rate of five million annually, and for years before the commencement of the last war, the subcontinent of India had been unable, with its present primitive agricultural methods, to support its own population. It is evident therefore that if this gigantic problem is to be tackled successfully, it will be necessary for every area capable of development and every desert capable of being brought into production and fertility to be so transformed by means of barrages and irrigation schemes. In Pakistan, the Sukkur Barrage cost something in the region of 140 million pounds and paid for itself in the course of twenty years.

8. Pakistan, like Egypt, has a 'river economy' and the Indus ought to be to Pakistan what the Nile is to Egypt, a life-giving and enriching blood stream for the whole State. At present the vital asset of the waters of the Indus is largely being allowed to go to waste. Though it will clearly require the most careful investigation on the part of experts, it would appear to the layman that there are four other possible sites for the erection of new barrages on the Indus. They are located at Attock below the confluence of the Indus and the Kabul Rivers, at Kalabagh some one hundred miles to the south where the Indus flows through a gorge, at Dera Ismail Khan, a further one hundred miles to the south and at Dera Ghazi Khan, one hundred and fifty miles south of Dera Ismail Khan. If suitable sites could be found at these localities

for the erection of barrages upon which new irrigation systems could be based and from which hydro-electric power for industry could be generated, then it would be possible not only to increase the productivity of the Indus Valley to at least three times its present capacity but also to provide the basic power upon which the industrial development of the new Dominion could have its foundations. The creation of a modern, fertile, and highly developed industrial area in Pakistan would greatly strengthen the defensive power of the peace-loving nations and would also provide the springboard from which a counter-offensive could, if necessary, be launched from an area capable of servicing and supporting a large modern army. Lying on the eastern flank of Iran, the Pakistan base would be suitably situated strategically to permit land and air forces to come to the assistance of that country in the event of aggression in that area on the part of Russia.

POLITICAL FACTORS

9. In making its appeal to the British Commonwealth, the Dominion of Pakistan has done nothing more than to ask her sister Dominions to help by offering suggestions for the settlement of what is essentially a family dispute. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah has not asked for military support for Pakistan. He has not even suggested political intervention. All he has asked for is that friendly and impartial observers should be sent to the Punjab by the sister Dominions to study the problem on the spot and to offer impartial suggestions and advice for ending the communal disorders. Mr. Jinnah is not seeking to condemn either community, nor is he asking the observers to embark upon the barren expedient of apportioning blame for what has occurred. All he is seeking is friendly assistance from the other Dominions.

10. This must surely be recognised by all to be a crucial test of the *bona fides* of the British Commonwealth. The older Dominions are at present endeavouring by the force of their example to demonstrate to the world the value of friendly association based on mutual trust. It has often been stated that in the British Commonwealth of Nations all members are equal. It follows, therefore, that all members can expect and be entitled to equal treatment.

11. Is it conceivable that, were a dispute to arise between the French Canadians and the British Canadians in Canada, or the British and the Dutch in South Africa, resulting in one or other of the two communities appealing to the Commonwealth as a whole, every endeavour would not at once be made to resolve the difficulty as quickly as possible within the family circle of the Commonwealth? Why then is it not possible to accord the same wholesome family outlook to the

trouble in the Punjab? Is it because Whitehall still vainly hopes to placate the implacable and is fearful of making any move which will precipitate the departure of the Dominion of India from the Commonwealth? Has not the Dominion of India repeatedly declared that it intends to leave the Commonwealth at the first favourable opportunity? Or is it possible that Whitehall is still intent on appeasing its enemies at the expense of its friends? Has the lesson of Munich still to be learnt and understood or will it be necessary for yet one more devastating war to be fought in order to sharpen the perception of those charged with the responsibility of government?

12. Perhaps, however, as in many other and apparently insoluble political problems, the process of drawing up the political balance sheet is being undertaken. What are the factors? On the one side it would seem that Whitehall considers it necessary to pander to the whims and feelings of the untried and intransigent rulers of the Dominion of India. Perhaps it is [the] considerations of commerce and industry, of markets for vital exports and of the necessity of acquiring much needed raw materials which are weighing heavily in the balance. Is this not a very short-sighted policy for, even if the Dominion of India carried out its intention of leaving the Commonwealth, her sterling credits will force her to continue to trade with the sterling area?

13. On the other hand, if the appeal from Pakistan is ignored, that Dominion will have every justification for declaring that the British Commonwealth is prepared to carry out its high principles only where Europeans are involved. What then is the advantage of other peoples remaining in this bogus confederation? Would it not be far better to align Pakistan with other Muslim nations and divorce itself from all further relations with the Commonwealth? If Pakistan's appeal is ignored what will be the effect of such a denial on the prestige of Britain in the Middle East and possibly even in the African colonies which are now so vital to the Pacific strategy of Britain and America? What use will Russia, who even now aspires to the leadership of Asia, make of such a policy of negation of the fundamental principles for which the British Commonwealth stands? Should Pakistan, in desperation and despairing of justice from the Commonwealth, align herself with Russia, where then would be the markets and raw materials of the Dominion of India and what effect would the control of the Indus Valley by Russia have upon the global strategy of the Western Democracies in the interest of the preservation of peace?

14. In renewing this appeal for a sane approach on the part of the Commonwealth in this inter-Dominion dispute in the Punjab, it would

be as well for those responsible for making the decisions to look at this problem from the lowest, and purely materialistic level of self-interest, and to face the facts and come to the assistance of the Dominion of Pakistan in this, the first desperate crisis which has over-shadowed the country at the very outset of its career as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth. This is the crucial test. Are the other Dominions capable of rising to the occasion?

64

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah[1]

NEW YORK,
14 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I thank you for your letters Nos. 1547-GG/47 and 1681-GG/47 dated October 1[2] and 7,[3] respectively, [and] also the picture of the Cadillac 60 Special. The automobile ordered for you is the Super Cadillac 75, the last word in Cadillac limousines. During the year 1947, only 41 cars of this model were assembled, yours being the 41st and the last. Right-hand drive cannot be substituted for the left-hand. This, however, should not make the slightest difference because today in our part of the world, there are as many left hand driven trucks and cars as there are right-hand. I had ordered your car to be painted deep green like my own Cadillac. However, if you would like a light blue, I am asking Mr. Shaffi to contact General Motors immediately and I sincerely hope that he will be in time to effect the change.

I have already written to you about the aeroplane and shall be writing very shortly about your second car, the Lincoln.

I can briefly tell you that the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations has acquitted itself more than well. Sir Zafrullah delivered one of the finest speeches[4] heard in the United Nations on the Palestine question. We are working as a perfect team and without boasting, have created an excellent impression. Pakistan is right on the map.

I am extremely short staffed and cannot possibly cope with the volume of work that showers on me every day. I have been calling for more staff ever since my arrival, but so far nothing has happened. Our Delegation is also short staffed. It is impossible to study papers and prepare cases without very efficient secretaries. We should have had at least three I.C.S. men with between ten and sixteen years of service.

The Indian Delegation comprises thirty. Some other delegations have brought as many as sixty and seventy. Even the smallest delegations, barring Afghanistan, have at least a dozen people.

The refugees relief campaign will be in full swing in forty-eight hours. Whether it will meet with success or not is more than I can tell you at this stage. We leave here at ten every morning and return not earlier than seven every evening. Lake Success is an hour's drive from New York. You will be glad to learn that Pakistan has been elected to the Greek Committee which will be proceeding to Greece very shortly on behalf of the United Nations.

There is very little news from home for the last three or four days in the columns of the New York Press. I hope unrest is subsiding and butchery in East Punjab and Delhi is at long last under control.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 535-6.
[2]No. 2.
[3]No. 32.
[4]See the *Pakistan Times*, 9 October 1947.

65

M.A. Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein

Telegram, F.102-GG/2

14 October 1947

I am extremely grateful for your message of sympathy and good-will of September 30th.[1] We are battling against many difficulties and doing everything in our power to restore peace and maintain law and order. I pray that we may succeed in rescuing our Muslim brethren from wanton destruction. Policy of Pakistan Government which we are pursuing with great determination is to protect non-Muslims and give them a fair deal. Thanking you once again,

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 335, Vol. V, 373.

66

Transvaal Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, FOA, 0/3/346

JOHANNESBURGH,
14 October 1947

Muslims of Transvaal elected new officials at [a] gigantic mass election meeting of Transvaal Muslim League, including Dr. Munshi as President, Advocate Ahmed Minty, Honorary Secretary, with Abdulhay Munshi, Honorary Secretary. [The] officials include Advocate Hazaree and prominent Muslims. They stand wholeheartedly behind Pakistan, its ideals and constitution, praying that it would culminate into a united, powerful and democratic state amongst the free nations of the world.

The newly elected officials and members representing 70 per cent of the total Indian population of Transvaal greet Your Excellency, All India Muslim League and Dominion of Pakistan and pledge their unflinching loyalty and support in men, money and merchandise, in response to your appeal for the relief of the distressed and for the succour of the wounded and maimed. We are cooperating and working in harmony with the recently formed most influential and trustworthy body under the direction of professional men and leading Muslim merchants called Pakistan Central Relief Com[m]itee for the purpose of sending all the assistance it can muster. Considerable [amount] already collected. May Almighty give you long life to guide and lead Pakistan to its ultimate goal.

TRANSVAAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

67

F. Amin to Altaf Husain

F. 129-GG/3

15 October 1947

My dear Altaf Husain,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated the 13th of October,[1] and to say that he

regrets he will not be able to 'open' the *Mushaira* on the 25th of October, as desired by you.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

Altaf Husain Esq.,
Dawn, Karachi

[1]No. 58.

68

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW YORK,
15 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday,[2] I have to inform you that the steering of the Cadillac cannot be changed. As for the colour, the factory at Detroit has been contacted telephonically and if the painting has not been finished, the change will be effected.

The Secretary of our Delegation to the United Nations sends to the Foreign Office summaries generally, and also full reports on questions in which we are interested or we figure.

Sir Zafrullah has made a big hit over the Palestine case and has put Pakistan in the front row. He is wanted back, to represent Pakistan before the Assets and Liabilities Tribunal. He shall have to leave long before the U.N. session ends. His work has just begun. We shall miss his company and his guidance. We are very short staffed both in the U.N. and in Washington. Unless proper provision is made soon for Washington and a proper secretariat is sent out with the next delegation, our work cannot but suffer. One Secretary is grossly inadequate.

Everyone is working himself to a standstill only to find that a large portion remains still unfinished.

The newspapers are not flashing for the last four days any "killing" news from East and West Pakistan and Delhi. Does silence mean good news? When I saw the President, I utilized my twelve minutes fully in giving him a picture of Pakistan. He wanted it. I told him how anxious we were to balance our economy, to industrialize our country, to improve our health and education and to raise the standard of living. He replied very sympathetically saying that it was the aim and desire of the United States to render every assistance possible to countries

who had noble aims like ours. The negotiations for which Laik Ali has come have advanced somewhat. They will, I hope, proceed further when he meets Mr. Clayton of the Finance Section of the State Department. We are hopeful of results.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 537-8.
[2]No. 64.

69

Minutes of the Meeting of Emergency Committee of the Cabinet

FOA, O/860
[Extract]

[KARACHI,]
15 October 1947

PRESENT

The Quaid-i-Azam
Minister for Finance
Minister for Communications
Minister for Interior, Information and Education
Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

Case No. E.C. 85/23/47

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION ABROAD

The Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, said that requests had been received from Italy[1] and Belgium[2] for the exchange of Ambassadors. Egypt had accepted[3] the Charge d'affaires whom we proposed to appoint there and had appointed their Consul-General in Bombay as their Charge d' affaires in Karachi.

The Quaid-i-Azam said that Pakistan, as the fifth largest State in the world, would have to exchange Ambassadors with important countries like the U.S.A.[4] In smaller places, however, it would suffice to put in Charge d'affaires to begin with. From our point of view, it was

important that we should establish diplomatic relations with Belgium and Czechoslovakia[5] and attempts should be made to find suitable representatives to be sent to those countries.

[1,2,3,4,5]Not traceable.

[4]Paul H. Alling was the first Ambassador of the USA to Pakistan. See F. 125 (6)-GG/4. Not printed.

70

Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 640/4-10

PERSONAL

ASHRAF MANZIL,
HUMAYUN NAGAR,
HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
15 October 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been thinking for a very long time to write to you on certain pressing and immediate problems. I was a bit reluctant as I am not still very sure whether the suggestions and proposals that I am going to put forward will carry due weight. Let me at the very outset express in unambiguous and clear terms my fidelity and loyalty to Pakistan. I am one of those who genuinely believe that having taken a solemn oath of loyalty to the League flag and having signed its pledge, knowing even then the implications and the result of the partition plan, one cannot for a moment entertain the idea of changing loyalty so soon and to believe in the pledges and declarations of the leaders of the Indian Dominion and to salute the Congress flag. I hope that you will fully appreciate these sentiments as they emanate from a heart that is still sound in spite of having suffered serious losses and unbearable grief owing to the deaths of many relatives who were the victims of barbarity of the Hindu criminals. I still believe that in case Pakistan would not have been established, the Muslims of India would have met with utter annihilation and degradation. Today we are at least fortunate in having an asylum, but I cannot help remarking the way in which the Congress propaganda is being carried out and which has certainly demoralised the morale of the Musalmans. We on this side feel that the Pakistan propaganda machine has not been put in full speed. *A time has come when we must openly advocate the principle of eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth. You may accuse me, as you*[1] have often done, of being hasty and irresponsible in utterances, but I cannot help feeling the

importance of an effective and aggressive propaganda, not to the detriment of our own nation but at least for keeping up the morale of our people. You have recently seen how some news agencies put words into the mouth of our High Commissioner in Delhi[2] and even had the audacity of quoting our Prime Minister.[3] In and out we read Hindu papers, in which it is invariably reported "that arms, ammunitions and other weapons were seized from the Muslims". This is not confined to one particular place but in every part of the country. While searches are being carried out in the Muslim homes and they are being deprived of everything, the Hindus, the Hindu Police and the Hindu Army is being fully armed. Why on earth I cannot understand [that] we can expose these machinations? How long are we going to sit on the fence and allow our enemies to resort to all mean and low tactics? I sincerely believe and, maybe, I may be wrong in my reading that even in our communiques, press notes and notifications we often use language which is not strong enough for replying to the Government of India's notes. At times we have to supply background material and it is necessary that Pakistan Dominion may be acknowledged and that has not yet been done. You must have seen the statements and the reported speeches of some of the Muslims. I am afraid that if efforts are not made immediately *to meet the situation in India, then the poor Muslims of the minority provinces, who did everything for the attainment of Pakistan, [will] be reduced to the position of Harijans.* You have seen that in spite of the professions of our leaders there is no change of heart on the part of the Congress. I can never for a minute believe that the leopard can change his spots and Mr. Gandhi all of a sudden has begun to entertain any love towards Muslims. If I had a position or the semblance of authority, I would have exposed him from his own writings and professions.

Recently the Parliamentary Secretary to the United Provinces Government has demanded the liquidation of the Muslim League in India as an assurance of our loyalty and now in your own speech[4] on the occasion of a gathering of the officers of the Armed Forces I find a hint for the creation of a new leadership as far as the minority provinces are concerned. Does that imply that the Muslim League organisation in the minority provinces is to be liquidated? I hope you will forgive me, my Quaid, if I dare to point out that it was a great mistake not to have convened a meeting of the Council before August 15th, and given a clear cut lead to the minorities. It will be a greater mistake now if the Muslim League organisation is disbanded. Has the Congress or any responsible spokesman ever hinted of such a possibility regarding their own organisation? Has not Mr. Gandhi and Kripalani openly

stated that the Congress in Pakistan will continue to function as it used to do before the establishment of Pakistan? These are grave questions and I cannot be so impudent as to say that they are not engaging your attention. I fully realize and feel your own unhappiness and the grave concern. My one object is that critical historians while exalting and narrating your own achievements and statesmanship may not at the same time say that the Muslims in the minority provinces were badly let down by you. The sinister propaganda is on. The designs of our enemies are carrying on relentless campaign. I take the liberty of suggesting that the Committee of Action should immediately be asked to tour the minority provinces with the ostensible object of collecting a full data of the hardships of the Muslims and also with the firm idea of restoring confidence. The Committee should meet the Provincial Governments, place those facts and publish them as widely as possible. Secondly, all that is happening is not a domestic matter between the two Dominions but has become an international question. Minority problem is not a new problem. The minority problem was actually discussed in the League of Nations and even on the occasion of the Treaty of Versailles. So, if we today draw world attention towards this great problem, it would not be considered a new departure. A pamphlet should properly be written and distributed throughout the capitals of various countries. Thirdly, the time has come when the Indian Dominion should be told in unmistakable terms that the minorities in Pakistan will receive the same treatment which will be given to the minorities in the Indian Dominion. We have given assurances more than once and the time for a strong and clear policy has come. International propaganda is the essence of time, and no money spent on such an organisation will be a waste, for if carried on proper lines, it will attract on the one hand international attention and on the other it has got its commercial value also. I still remember your speech in the Council meeting at Bombay when you said "today is the end of all constitutionalism". I do not say that we must do away with constitutions but we must certainly declare a reciprocal state [*sic*] where we will only respect and honour pledges when they are also honoured with the same spirit by the India Government. I hope you will forgive me for expressing my views candidly and frankly on the current political situation. Now I take up another important matter.

I have been lately studying the potential resources and the natural wealth of our Dominion. We are rich in sulphur, magnesium and salt. No country in the world has ever progressed unless it becomes an exporting country. Our trade is mostly confined to export of raw materials for the use of advanced countries which again dumps in the

country [*sic*].

Fortunately, I lately met a few Americans, who have come down to this country not on private visits or sight-seeing but to establish trade relations. Recently, a representative of Dow Chemical Company, which is one of the leading industrial concerns for preparing salts and alloys, met me. In the course of our talk, I sounded him for exploring the possibility of establishing a manufacturing firm at Karachi and persuade the Managing Directors to consider the proposals and to prepare a short scheme. He readily took the idea and seems prepared to persuade his Directors to agree to the establishment of the industry with a 50 per cent capital of the firm and the rest to be contributed by the Government and the public. It is obvious that the labour in the country is very cheap and things prepared in America can be manufactured on half the cost and in fact less than that, [and] exported to Far East and Middle East. I promised him also to convey to you his scheme and to ask for your blessings before taking up with the officials of the Dominion.

Apart from it, the other important question is the manufacturing of arms. About five years back in Hyderabad Deccan a few young Muslims undertook the adventure of establishing a first-class company for manufacturing tools. The Company is limited one and is run under the management of foreigners and is well-known for its precision and work. It is known throughout India and is called the Praga Tools. The Managing Director, Mr. Masud Hussain has lately visited the United States of America and England and has established good contacts there. With the help and guidance of some leading industrialists there, he has prepared a scheme for making aeroplanes and has assured me that the American businessmen are deeply interested in the promotion of such an adventure. He is very anxious to discuss the matter at the first opportunity with you and to lay his plans both for the manufacture of aeroplanes and ammunitions. I was surprised when he told me that with a small capital of round about Rs. 10 lakh a first-class factory capable of producing 500 Sten guns and Revolvers a day can be established. A Sten gun does not cost more than Rs. 30. These are not mere assertions but *based on well calculated data and figures. I hope you will kindly give me an opportunity of discussing the matter* personally with you if you are interested and see for yourself the plans and the schemes. I also propose to bring Mr. Masud along with me who is very anxious to discuss the whole matter with you first.

I hope you will forgive me for this long letter.

Let me assure you even now that my loyalty to you and to the Organisation is beyond reproach and doubt and I have not changed a

bit and feel very sorry for a misunderstanding that crept up, but still I am so certain and definite that if you will give me an opportunity and hear my own reasons, you will, as a fair-minded just man, appreciate my position. My services are still at your disposal and I will not shirk them. When you called me last it was a time when you were very much engrossed in the political problems and my mind was being constantly poisoned by some people for my future and I was actually persuaded to leave at the first moment. I realise my mistake and I hope you will accept it in all good faith.

With prayers for your long life,

Yours sincerely,
MOH[AMMA]D NOMAN

[1]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Zahid Husain.
[3]Liaquat Ali Khan.
[4]No. 51.

71

V. P. Saxena to M. A. Jinnah

F. 105-GG/2

PARK VIEW,
AMIN-UD-DAULA PARK,
LUCKNOW,
15 October 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be glad to learn that in order to maintain communal harmony and whip up the peace efforts of our province we are *holding a Provincial Peace Conference at Lucknow on the 18th and 19th of October 1947.*[1] *Her Excellency Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, the Governor of U.P., has been pleased to accept to inaugurate the Conference and Shriyut Acharya Narendra Deva has kindly consented to preside over the Conference.* The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier of Indian Union, and Mr. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President, I. N. C. [Indian National Congress] have expressed their willingness to address the Conference and guide its deliberations.

It is again a matter of great pleasure to inform you that almost all the political organisations have accorded us their full cooperation and with their active support we are confident of success.

We now need your patronage and solicit your support and goodwill for the success of our peace mission and the members of our committee request you to kindly grace the conference with your presence or message on the above dates.[2]

With our best wishes and hopes,

V. P. SAXENA
General Secretary Reception Committee,
U. P. Peace Conference

[1]Sidelined in the original.
[2]This letter was received on 8 November, after the conference had already been held. See F. 105-GG/5. Not printed.

72

M. A. Jinnah to Manager, Oriental Building & Furnishing Co., New Delhi

F. 85/36

16 October 1947

Dear Sir,

Since I was informed that your Mr. Mohan Singh has left Delhi for America and as there was a great deal of upheaval in Delhi, I did not like to trouble you. I wonder whether your Mr. Mohan Singh has returned from America, and I would like to know what is the position with regard to the library furniture which I had ordered[1] a long time ago. Has the tapestry that was selected by me, which was to arrive from Italy, reached you, and are you now in a position to complete the order? Please let me know as soon as you [can] as to how the matter stands, so that we make further progress.

Yours,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
The Oriental Building & Furnishing Co.,
Connaught Place, New Delhi

[1]Not traceable.

73

M. A. Jinnah to N. K. Petigara

Telegram, F. 80(6)-GG/2

EXPRESS *16 October 1947*

Following telegram[1] received from His Highness[2] ,second October:

> Am happy subscribe *Rupees five lakh*[3] on principal [*sic*]. Some technical difficulties about payment. My Agent Bombay coming Karachi to explain. Hope Your Excellency's Government will help remove same.

Please arrange come Karachi. Pakistan Government will help every way. Arrange securing payment handsome generous donation of His Highness. Money required urgently. Reply.[4]

M. A. JINNAH

Mr. N. K. Petigara,
C/o Mulla & Mulla,
Solicitors and Notaries Public,
Jehangir Wadia Building,
51 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay

[1]No. 3.
[2]The Aga Khan.
[3]Underlined in the original.
[4]Petigara informed Jinnah that a representative of Aga Khan was expected in Karachi the week after. See F. 80(6)-GG/3. Not printed.

74

S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 651/10

13 STARKY TOWN,
NAGPUR,
16 October 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me congratulate you for the achievement of Pakistan, which must grow from strength to strength under your able guidance and administration.

I am deputing Mr. Moh[amma]d Ibrahim, who had the opportunity of paying his respects to you last year at Delhi—when he had seen you in connection with the diplomatic service—now to seek your advice

and instructions as to the line of action the Muslims of the C.P. and Berar should follow under the circumstances obtaining which will be explained by Mr. Ibrahim personally. A line in reply[1] will be highly valued.

If circumstances allow, I will take an early opportunity of seeing you.

With best regards and good wishes to nation's sister Fatima,

Yours very sincerely,
S. A. RAUF SHAH
[*Member, AIML Working Committee*]

[1]Not traceable.

75

S. M. Yusuf to S. M. H. Ali

F. 38(2)-GG/28

16 October 1947

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter dated the 8th October 1947.[1] I am afraid the statement attributed to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, closing the doors of Pakistan to non-Punjabi Muslims is not correct. He has already issued a statement[2] to the press setting out the correct position.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF
Private Secretary to the Governor-General

S. Mahmood Hasan Ali, MLA,
Patna

[1]No. 36.
[2]Annex.

Annex to No. 75

PAKISTAN WILL NOT REFUSE SHELTER TO MUSLIMS[1]

Evacuation from India not to be Encouraged

Liaquat Contradicts Misleading Report

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, Pakistan, in a statement issued in Lahore on Thursday night, contradicts the misleading reports circulated by the Associated Press of India that the Pakistan Government have banned the entry into Pakistan of Muslim evacuees from all parts of the Indian Dominion, except East Punjab.

Clarifying his statement at the conference held in Lahore on October 5,

the Pakistan Premier says: "I made it clear that while Pakistan would not refuse shelter to any Muslim evacuee, it must refuse in any way to facilitate abandonment by Muslims of their homes and properties in India, outside East Punjab.

I emphasised that it was for the Government of India to implement their reiterated promises to give full protection to all their Muslim nationals; that if they did so honestly and truly, the question of evacuation of Muslims from Delhi and UP would not arise. The division of India into Pakistan and Indian Dominions was based on the principle that the minorities will stay where they were and the two States will afford all protection to them to live as citizens of the respective States.

A statement, dated New Delhi, October 7, 1947, emanating from Associated Press of India, has appeared in several newspapers which contained totally misleading suggestions as to what I said at Lahore on Sunday, October 5 last, in the Conference at the Residency between the Pakistan Government and the Government of India, whose chief representatives were the Hon'ble Mr. K.C. Neogy and the Hon'ble Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyengar. This statement implies that the Pakistan Government have banned the entry into Pakistan of Muslim evacuees from all parts of the Indian Dominion except East Punjab. It goes so far as to comment that a natural corollary of the stand taken by the Pakistan Government, it is interpreted in political circles here, is that Pakistan, for the establishment of which an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the Indian Dominion worked, is closed for them, and it ends by contrasting India's admission of non-Muslim refugees from Baluchistan and Sind with this alleged Pakistan policy.

NO DEPARTURE FROM DECLARED POLICY

I think it is necessary, therefore, so as to avoid all misunderstanding to make it clear that what I said in the conference was no departure from our declared policy, as stated in my own previous announcements and as repeatedly stressed in conference between the two Governments.

We have always recognized the dangers inherent in evacuation of Muslims from India and of non-Muslims from Pakistan. We had indeed hoped that the evacuation of Muslims from East Punjab would not be extended to the Ambala Division. We had never contemplated the mass eviction of Muslims from Delhi or other parts of India outside East Punjab.

When, however, in Sunday's conference, the discussion turned upon the number of Indian Muslims to be evacuated into [*sic*] Pakistan, the Indian Ministers blandly proposed to include Muslims from the Delhi

Province and the western districts of the U.P. in the evacuation programme. It was put to me that almost all Muslims in the Delhi Province and the western districts of U.P. desired to leave India and that Pakistan should facilitate their migration.

I made it clear that while Pakistan would not refuse shelter to any Muslim settler it must refuse in any way to facilitate abandonment by Muslims of their homes and properties in India outside East Punjab. I emphasize that it was for the Government of India to implement their reiterated promises to give full protection to all their Muslim nationals and that if they did so honestly and truly the question of evacuation of Muslims from Delhi and UP would not arise. The division of India into Pakistan and India Dominions was based on the principle [that] the minorites will stay where they were and the two states will afford all protection to them to live as citizens of the respective States.

REGRETTABLE DECISION

My attention has also been drawn to a certain passage in the Deputy Prime Minister of India's speech to the Hindus and Sikhs of Amritsar on September 30 last, in which he is reported to have said:

> India's interest lay in getting all her men and women across the border and sending out all Muslims from East Punjab.

If this report is correct it is most regrettable that the India Government should, as a matter of deliberate policy, be sending all Muslims out of East Punjab and trying to uproot non- Muslims out of Pakistan. On our side we are doing our best to reassure the minority communities and endeavouring to persuade them not to leave their ancestral homes in Pakistan.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 10 October 1947.

76

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 151-GG/9

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 23

NEW DELHI,
16 October 1947

Maqsood Raza of League Office sent detailed report ninth instant[1] for information of Quaid-i-Azam. League office has been unlawfully occupied by Sikhs. League staff ask for evacuation to Pakistan but not being Government servants I am unable to help without specific instructions.

Kindly obtain orders of Quaid-i-Azam and wire.

[ZAHID HUSAIN]

[1]No. 43.

77

R. K. Dalmia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 85/37

DALMIA JAIN NIVAS,
NEW DELHI,
17 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] together with a copy of the letter[2] addressed to my brother, which he has received. My purpose, known to you, has not been served and we have been put to great difficulty by purposely requisitioning of the house and my object is not served. Once I thought of writing to you that if a word was written to the Government here, they might not have requisitioned the house, but I did not like to trouble you in spite of the great inconvenience caused to us. Though it is difficult for us to register the house at present, yet I have to comply with your wishes. As such we are writing to the Chief Commissioner to give permission which is needed according to law here for transferring in our name the house as it is in New Delhi. [As soon] as it is received, I shall intimate to you and the [words missing,] would be made, and payment will be made immediately.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

With kind regards,

Yours,
R[AM KRISHNA] D[ALMIA]

[1]No. 48.
[2]No. 38.

78

Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/24-5

HABIB & SONS,
LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
17 October 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

ARMY

Hindustan's unholy desire is to tear apart Pakistan. Hindus have no originality. They are following the same tactics as Hitler. First they wanted to attack Junagadh, then Nizam's Hyderabad, then Eastern Pakistan and last Western Pakistan.

By God's grace and help, they shall miserably fail, for the Beneficient God has given us Pakistan and *Insha Allah* He will keep it by putting *barakat* in your efforts.

Switzerland's total population is 4,000,000 and it has an Army of 900,000 men, that is $22\frac{1}{2}$ % of its population is under arms.

In Pakistan, it is very urgent that we should have compulsory military training or conscription because it is the order of the *Qur'an*. Our immediate target should be 25,000,000 or 2 crore and 50 lakh men must be put under arms in 5 years.

For the first 5 years, the training in the army, navy and air force, should be a quick and short course of only six months, because we have no time. After 5 years, every man must be trained for at least 2 years.

I hear that owing to lack of transport, military personnel and stores cannot be moved from India to Pakistan. Delay diminishes stores. By God's grace, I can give the required steamers.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

79

Mukhtarullah to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 888/16
[Original in Urdu]

LAHORE,
17 October 1947

Your Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam,

I submit that your record as Governor-General does not seem as glorious as it was in the past; hence some people have started saying that whereas you had excelled in the legal profession, as the supreme national commander you failed to prevent the massacre of Muslims in East Punjab.

2. India already has a large army, enormous stockpiles of arms and ammunition, and the sinews of war. Additionally, the Indian States have a formidable potential. Pakistan, however, has a small army and there is poverty all around. In fact, you have done nothing much as far as defence is concerned. Except for children below 10 and old men above 75, every Muslim, man or woman, should be compulsorily required to (a) undergo military training, and (b) engage in commercial or industrial activity for at least two hours a day, whether or not he/she is employed.

3. Junagadh State has legally acceded to Pakistan but, regrettably, you have extended no help to it, and it appears that just as East Punjab remained under the illusion of your protection, and lakhs of Muslims there were killed or rendered homeless, Junagadh may meet with much the same fate and you would just issue a statement. As far as the Kashmir State is concerned, you are neutral but India is hell-bent on usurping it; your stance is right since Abdullah's National Conference is opposed to you, but what have you done about remedying the damage to Pakistan that the loss of Kashmir would result into? Sir, this negligence on your part is dangerous, improper, criminal and fatal. You cannot possibly remedy the situation, for you are a lawyer with principles, and this is war in which all is fair. Please appoint someone with a military background as Defence Minister. If the services of Amanullah Khan can be secured, well and good, otherwise appoint a Britisher or any other person who is an expert, a statesman, brave, and can play the role of a Churchill. As far as Liaquat is concerned, he is a "*pandaan* commander," a milksop, and a "general" of feudalism and

elitism, just as you are a lawyer. Neither you nor he can perform the duty of national defence. Kindly take pity on the surviving Muslims and do not prefer Liaquat's Ministry to their safety as you have enfeebled Punjab by installing the feudal government of Mamdot, thereby taking the blame for massacre of lakhs of Muslims on your shoulders. You may take charge of legal affairs and planning and let Liaquat be your deputy. The Defence portfolio should be held by someone else who, as well as being brave and gallant, is an eminent statesman and is ready to lay down his life for Pakistan.

MUKHTARULLAH

[1]The writer requested the PS to show the letter to Jinnah at an appropriate time.

80

S. J. Shah to K. H. Khurshid

F. 888/12-4
[Original in Urdu]

SIALKOT CITY,
17 October 1947

My dear and kind brother Khurshid,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I flew to Lahore from Delhi yesterday and then came over to Sialkot. The young Mr Tufail, who had met you in Karachi, conveyed to me your feelings of sympathy engendered by your concern over my stay in Delhi fraught with dangers. I am writing these few lines to thank you for your solicitude.

I compared the acts of violence and looting at Lahore and Sialkot that I had heard of and now witnessed with my own eyes with those in Delhi and had to hang my head in shame and shed tears of remorse over the shocking behaviour of my community who had lost all sense of direction. Officials and most local leaders and workers of the Muslim League, besides miscreants, were all actively engaged in looting and plundering. No one cared to try and stem the tide of disaster. Officials as well as local leaders were running after the spoils. I wish the Quaid, the founding father of the nation, could witness such ugly scenes with his own eyes. I am ready, if it meets with the approval of the Quaid, to bring to his notice, in writing, the authentic statistics of the share of the booty that each of the officials and leaders has grabbed.

I am prepared to do this during my stay in Lahore and Sialkot without any charge or recompense. Please do let me know after consulting the Quaid. The full and accurate description of the state of affairs will help build public confidence which is now in the doldrums. God willing, after my stay at Sialkot for a couple of days, I shall be going to Peshawar, Quetta or Karachi to establish business links there. One godown of mine at Shahdarah was looted and another at Saddar Bazar sealed by the government, which had been occupied by Hindu refugees. My only flat had been attacked by the Sikhs.

I hope you will let me know about your own as well as Mr. Mehboob's well-being on the address given herein.[1]

S. J. SHAH
Exporter

[1]Not printed.

81

S. M. Yusuf to Wazir Ali[1]

F. 109-GG/5

17 October 1947

My dear Wazir Ali,

Please see the enclosed copy of Mr. Rahimtoola's telegram No. 131 dated the 14th October 1947[2] and my reply to it.[3]

The Quaid-i-Azam would like the Prime Minister to examine the question of sending a present from Pakistan to Princess Elizabeth.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Wazir Ali, Esq.,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Pakistan

[1]Copies were sent to Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary.
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 81
Habib I. Rahimtoola to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 109-GG/3

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON,
No. 131 *14 October 1947*

Request information whether Governor-General or Prime Minister coming to Royal wedding. Presume present from Pakistan under consideration.

Enclosure 2 to No. 81
S. M. Yusuf to Habib I. Rahimtoola

Telegram, F. 109-GG/4

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE KARACHI,
No. 588 *17 October 1947*

Your telegram No. 131 dated 14th October.[1] Governor-General never received invitation to Princess Elizabeth's wedding. Prime Minister has already replied[2] that Begum Liaquat and he would attend if conditions in Pakistan improve to an extent that he can absent himself from the Dominion without undue anxiety. The question of sending a present is receiving consideration.

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]No. 321, Vol. V, 354-5.

82

Louis Mountbatten to H. L. Ismay

Mountbatten Papers, F. 150-A

GOVERNMENT·HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
17 October 1947

My dear Pug,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th October,[1] and interesting enclosures, with all of which I am in general agreement.

I felt certain that your visit would be providential, and from the account of meetings you are having, it is evident that this is so.

First of all, I have some rather good news. I took the Chair at the Emergency Committee meeting this morning on my return from a pleasant holiday in Mashobra, and found the whole atmosphere greatly improved. There were hardly any incidents worth recording, and the arrangement for transfer of refugees is going forward better than could have been expected.

Not only is the target date for the completion of all refugee movements by air, train, truck and foot, the 15th November, but in fact it looks as though this may actually be accomplished at all events some time during December [*sic*]; whereas hitherto, as you know, target dates bore no relation to reality.

In fact things are looking sufficiently bright for me to be pretty well certain of coming back for the wedding, but I do not feel that I should attend any official Cabinet meetings, or even Chiefs of Staff meetings which could possibly be reported, as this would be an improper action for a constitutional Governor-General.

In fact beyond seeing the Prime Minster, the new Secretary of State, Listowel, and perhaps Monty and the First Sea Lord,[2] I was going to steer clear of meeting people. You might however find out whether this policy will be generally agreed to in London.

I am afraid I made a very stupid error in dealing with Claude's paper[3] on the closing down of Supreme Headquarters. Having agreed with him that he should consult Mr. Jinnah before the paper was put in and having been informed by Claude that Jinnah had accepted it philosophically, the last thing I expected was that Liaquat would take a completely different line. So I did not bother to have a preliminary 'off the record' meeting with him to get this matter clear. The result was that at the Joint Defence Council [meeting], he sprang a bombshell by categorically and vehemently refusing to consider the closing down before the 1st April, and refusing to budge from this decision.

You can imagine how tricky the position was, because you and I had bullied poor Claude into putting in this paper, somewhat against his will, and I had personally brought pressure to bear to make him advance the date from the 31st December to the 30th November.

Now poor Claude was properly on the spot, since he was called upon to defend his paper by Liaquat, and I did not dare call on the Indian representatives for too much support, for I realised the danger of their saying such strong things that Claude would have blown up, with almost irretrievable results.

I enclose a copy of the minutes[4] dealing with this item which Vernon

[Erskine Crum] has kept in his usual brilliant way, and which indicates the course of events.

After the meeting was over, I got Liaquat aside, and had it out with him. He seemed to be under the illusion that a British Supreme Commander was in a position to ensure his getting stores which a Committee of the two Dominions Commanders-in-Chief could not achieve.

I pointed out to him that if he were right in his assumption that India did not intend to let Pakistan have any of their stores, that the Supreme Commander would be powerless to enforce this, since he owned neither the railways nor the personnel for moving the stores. He could only give orders which could be far more easily sabotaged than orders given by the Government of India or the India Defence authority themselves.

Then Liaquat said that though the two Indian Ministers at the meeting (Baldev[5] and Gopalaswami Ayyanger[6]) had pledged themselves to see the stores transferred, nothing would satisfy him unless the whole of the Cabinet endorsed this. I said I would try and get this done.

He next went on to protest that even if the whole Cabinet ordered it, the lower level Indian officers and officials would sabotage the orders of their own Government in order to defeat Pakistan. To meet this, I suggested that Claude should be called upon to provide lists in duplicate of all the stores held by him in both Dominions, and to give one copy of each list to each Government.

"Then" I said "Frank Messervy will be able to check up and see that the right number of stores are being transferred, and if this is not done, will be able to report it at the fortnightly Joint Defence Council meeting. In fact, the Government of India are so keen to close down Supreme Headquarters that they have now offered to pledge themselves to see that you get your stores, and to allow your own C-in-C to keep a check. Personally, I consider this a superior system as far as the movement of stores goes than using Supreme Headquarters."

Liaquat replied "If you can get your Cabinet to agree to these conditions, I shall not mind so much, though I shall not like it. In any case I shall let them force the issue and do not intend to agree" [*sic*].

I pointed out to him that there were three parties to this agreement, namely H.M.G. and the Governments of the two Dominions, and that if India and H.M.G. agreed, there was nothing more Pakistan could do about it. If H.M.G. agreed with Pakistan, I still doubted whether the Government of India would yield, and since they owned the Supreme Headquarters buildings, and were responsible for two-thirds of the Supreme [Headquarters] staff pay, it was clear that India's insistence on implementing Claude's own recommendation could not possibly

be resisted. He said he saw that and only hoped that the alternative I had suggested would work.

Immediately on my return, I had a meeting with Nehru, Patel, Baldev and Gopalaswami, at which I put up a draft telegram for them to take [up] at the Cabinet meeting on Saturday 18th, together with a paper which Baldev says he will prepare.

These four agreed provisionally to the telegram, but asked me to add a further paragraph to the effect that they preferred the British Cs-in-C of the Dominion Forces to be responsible to H.M.G. for their British officers, rather than to prolong any form of Supreme Headquarters, even if only to deal with the British. I persisted that I thought this was unreasonable and Baldev then let the cat out of the bag saying that he suspected that Claude wanted to appoint Arthur Smith in this job, and that Arthur Smith was more mistrusted than Claude, for he was regarded as being the pro-Pakistan evil genius who was mainly responsible for the present difficulties. He went so far as to say that they would sooner keep Auchinleck than Smith.

I suggested that H.M.G. might insist on a British Lieut.General being appointed, and asked whether they would accept anyone else like Reg Savory. The four Ministers, whilst unanimously preferring the complete closing down of Claude's headquarters, said that if H.M.G. really insisted, they would accept the Adjutant-General (Reg Savory). I have worded the telegram accordingly.

I am afraid this will mean another tussle with Claude and he is coming to see me this evening. You will note from the telegram that the four Ministers agreed that you should put Claude's paper before the British Chiefs of Staff together with a copy of the telegram as finally sent by them, and any reply which Liaquat agreed should be submitted.[7]

[*Last 2 paras omitted*]

Yours ever,
DICKIE

[1]*Mountbatten Papers*, F. 85/2. Not printed.
[2]Admiral John Cunningham.
[3]Enclosure 1.
[4]Enclosure 2.
[5]Defence Minister, India.
[6]Minister without Portfolio, India.
[7]Mountbatten added the following words in the margin: "I have since decided to send you a telegram immediately."

Enclosure 1 to No. 82

Note for Joint Defence Council by Supreme Commander
[Extract]

CLOSING DOWN OF SUPREME COMMANDER'S HEADQUARTERS

13 October 1947

1. The JDC was constituted by a Gazette of India Extraordinary dated 11 Aug 47 and the terms of reference of the AFRC [Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee] were promulgated by the Partition Council on 5 July 47. Both were set up in order to carry out the reconstitution of the Armed Forces of the former Empire of India, namely the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force, into separate forces to serve India and Pakistan.

On 12 July 1947, the then Viceroy of India made an announcement in which he said that he hoped British officers and other ranks would volunteer to serve on for a year to assist in this reconstitution.

2. About 2,700 of some 8,000 British officers of the Indian Army responded to this invitation and about 100 out of 200 or so British officers of the RIN also volunteered. There were no British officers in the RIAF, though there were numerous RAF officers attached to it. In addition to the British officers of the RIN and the Indian Army, there were also a number of British officers of the RN, British Army and RAF serving with the former Indian Armed Forces who agreed to stay on....

3. The Council will be aware that the situation existing today in the sub-continent differs radically from that which was confidently expected to result from Partition. The AFRC and the JDC, the two bodies charged with the task of making an equable and efficient division of the former Armed Forces of India, are both finding it increasingly hard to carry out their task, owing to the differences of opinion which have arisen between the two Governments which make it difficult for them to find common ground for cooperation in any joint activity. I am not concerned with the causes, or rights or wrongs of this situation, but in my capacity as Supreme Commander, I cannot ignore the fact as it vitally affects my capacity to discharge the responsibility laid upon me at the outset by the Partition Council....

5. After the most careful and anxious consideration of the present position, I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to recommend to the Joint Defence Council that Supreme Commander's Headquarters should be closed at the earliest possible date....

10. It would seem, then, that it would be possible for Supreme

Commander's Headquarters, in so far as its responsibilities in connection with the general reconstitution of the Armed Forces, are concerned to close down on 30th November 1947. Admittedly, on that date there would remain a large number of matters still to be finally disposed of. It has also been pointed out, however, that there is no likelihood of such tidying up being completed under the aegis of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters, unless it remained in being till April 1948; or thereabouts, as originally contemplated. It is agreed that in the present state of affairs, this is now impossible....

12. It would not be logical or justifiable, however, to keep the Supreme Commander and his present headquarters in existence solely to perform the task of looking after the British officers and other ranks and the British Forces in India and Pakistan. It is suggested that this could be done by a smaller and simpler organisation controlled by officers of less senior status....

It is suggested, however, that it would be in the interests of all parties, including the Armed Forces of the two Dominions, that it should continue to include the existing Directorate for the central control of military movement until it itself disappears on 31st December 1947. This is not absolutely essential but, in my opinion, highly desirable in view of the very large movement to ports of embarkation of British Forces and British personnel and their families which is certain to occur in December and would, I feel, be in the interests of both India and Pakistan....

CONCLUSION

15. My proposals may be summarised as follows:

a. That the Supreme Commander and his Headquarters should disappear on the 30th November, being replaced by a Commander, British Forces, India and Pakistan, who would be responsible only for the control and repatriation of the British Forces and individual British officers and other ranks and their families in India and Pakistan, excluding such officers and other ranks as may remain in the services of the two Dominions, under terms to be arranged.

b. That the existing Military Movement Control Directorate shall remain as part of the headquarters of the Commander British Forces in India and Pakistan until it closes down.

c. That the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee shall be dissolved on 30th November, 1947.

d. That Headquarters British Forces in India and Pakistan shall cease to exist on 31st December 1947.

e. That as soon as possible after the 31st December 1947, all British Forces and individual British officers and other ranks due for repatriation shall be concentrated at Deolali and Kalyan in India, or at Karachi in Pakistan, under the control of two British Commanders, who shall be responsible, respectively, in direct communication with HMG in the UK and the Defence Ministries of India and Pakistan as the case may be, for their welfare and embarkation in accordance with a pre-arranged programme.
f. That if it has not been possible to repatriate the Polish evacuees before 31st December 1947, this shall then become the responsibility of the India Government in direct communication with HMG in the UK.

CLAUDE AUCHINLECK
Supreme Commander

Enclosure 2 to No. 82
Extract from Minutes of the 12th Meeting of the Joint Defence Council held at Lahore on 16th October, 1947

ITEM 17. THE CLOSING DOWN OF SUPREME COMMANDER'S HEADQUARTERS

The main recommendation of the paper before the meeting, which had been prepared by the Supreme Commander, was that his Headquarters should close down on 30th November.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan said that he did not agree with this proposal. When the Joint Defence Council and Supreme Headquarters had been set up, it was intended that they should continue to function until the task which had been assigned to them was completed. He considered that it was quite clear from the paper under consideration that the task assigned to Supreme Commander's Headquarters would not be completed by 30th November. He therefore saw no reason why it should be closed down on that date. He proposed that it should only be closed down when its assigned task was done.

The Chairman pointed out that, with the exception of the distribution of stores, which could not possibly be completed for many months, the Supreme Commander's Headquarters' task had been completed to a very large extent. It was proposed in the paper that a much smaller Headquarters should take its place after 30th November to look after the interests of British officers and men. The question of what organization should be set up to deal with the few remaining reconstitution and division aspects, left over after 30th November, of the Supreme Commander's task, was for discussion. He suggested that besides the Commander, British Forces, the senior Commanders-in-Chief (i.e. the

Army Commanders-in-Chief) of the Armed Forces of the two Dominions should be members of the Joint Defence Council. These two Commanders-in-Chief would also set up inter-Dominion Committee of their own representatives, to implement the various matters on which instructions were given to them.

The Chairman emphasized that the proposals in the Supreme Commander's paper in no way envisage the early closing down of the Joint Defence Council. In his opinion, if the two Commanders-in-Chief became members of the Joint Defence Council, and formed suitable joint staffs or committees, and reported, at each Joint Defence Council meeting, the progress made on previous decisions and directions, a satisfactory alternative organisation to implement the few remaining matters would have been set up.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan did not agree. He pointed out that the two Commanders-in-Chief would continue each to be under his own Dominion Government, and to receive instructions from his own Defence Minister. He considered that a neutral machinery of some sort was essential.

The Chairman pointed out that the services or any person or body trying to work in a neutral capacity were extremely thankless at the present time. An example was the Punjab Boundary Force, to which one of the best of the Divisional Commanders (Major General Rees) and hand-picked British officers had been sent. They had all, however, because of their impartiality, been accused by both sides of partiality, and incurred the odium of both sides. He pointed out that the Pakistan representatives had readily agreed to, in fact urged, the closing down of the Punjab Boundary Force and its division into two separated Dominion forces. He suggested that the question of Supreme Commander's Headquarters was analogous. It was almost impossible, in the atmosphere now prevailing, to hold the balance. In his view, the two Governments themselves, acting together would do better.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan said that he did not consider that the analogy between the Punjab Boundary Force and Supreme Commander's Headquarters was a correct one. The Punjab Boundary Force had had to come into contact with the people of the two communities. He reiterated his view that some organization connected with neither India nor Pakistan was necessary to carry out impartially the rest of the task which had been laid upon Supreme Commander's Headquarters.

The Supreme Commander explained that the reasons why he had recommended that his Headquarters should close down on 30th November were mildly stated in paragraph 3 of the paper before the

meeting. He considered that, in the atmosphere at present existing, it had become practically impossible for him and his officers to carry on with their task after that date. He was not prepared to maintain his officers in an impossible situation. Continual innuendoes and accusations were being made against his Headquarters, and it was apparent that he and his officers could not continue, in these circumstances, to carry out a task for which co-operation was necessary. He was not making the proposal because of any desire to run away from the completion of his responsibilities; but because he would not be able to discharge these responsibilities much longer on account of the situation.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan suggested that the remedy was for the two Governments to give full co-operation to the Supreme Commander and his Headquarters, not that the machinery should be wound up. He pointed out that, so far as the Joint Defence Council itself was concerned, there had been very little difficulty. Except for the division of certain types of stores, and the question of ordnance factories, practically all decisions had been unanimous. He considered that the Supreme Commander's Headquarters should continue to function unless one Government or the other was able to prove concrete instances of the Supreme Commander having given instructions in contravention of a decision of the Joint Defence Council; and therefore having shown himself unfit to be in a neutral position [in] carrying out his assigned task.

The Chairman stated that he considered that the original decision to set up Supreme Commander's Headquarters had been right, for he could see no other organization which could have carried out the remarkable operation of partitioning and reconstituting an Army of 400 thousand in the midst of unprecedented riots at such a speed. However, the very reason why it was now in so difficult a position was because it had been inserted as a neutral agent between and (in the sense of ordering the decisions of the Joint Defence Council to be carried out) above the Armed Forces of the two Dominions. In his view, the circumstances were now such that it was unfair to ask the Supreme Commander, (who had probably the most distinguished career of any Commander-in-Chief in India), and his staff to carry on beyond the end of November when, except for the movement of stores, their task of partitioning would be virtually finished.

The Defence Minister of India said that he entirely appreciated and agreed with this. He fully realised the difficulties explained by the Supreme Commander and was of opinion that the alternative organisaton, suggested by the Chairman, should be brought into force.

He had consulted his colleagues in the India Cabinet, who fully agreed with the proposal in the Supreme Commander's paper.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger said that, in his view, the question should be considered on the grounds of whether there was sufficient justification for the continuance of Supreme Commander's Headquarters after 30th November. His opinion was that the paper before the meeting did not justify (nor even try to justify) the conclusion that it was necessary for the present organisation to continue. The Supreme Commander stated, "I am afraid I have nothing to add to my paper.[1]" Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger said that, in that case, he was very strongly in favour of accepting the recommendations in the paper. If it was intended to deal with this question on the basis of having to make out a case one way or the other, he would find his argument on the fact that the major part of the assigned task had been done. He considered that these grounds alone were sufficient. While fully agreeing that some such organisation as Supreme Commander's Headquarters had originally been necessary, he did not consider that it was either necessary or desirable now to continue a special set-up of this nature in substitution for the normal procedure whereby any difficulties arising between two Governments were discussed and dealt with between representatives of those Governments themselves.

The Supreme Commander made it clear that he did not consider that he had completed the task which he had set out to do. However, the reconstitution of administrative units, though it would require a good deal of careful work, was not a very difficult process, and not a major matter. He emphasised that he had nothing to add to what he had stated in his paper, which fully represented his considered views. He also confirmed that he had, during his recent visit to Karachi, informed the Governor-General of Pakistan of his intention to put in this paper.

The Chairman said that he believed that, if the recent riots and massacres had not taken place, and produced the atmosphere of suspicion and even hostility, it would have been possible for Supreme Commander's Headquarters to have carried on. He pointed out that, whereas in Karachi there had been few incidents, in Delhi there had been almost complete dislocation. The atmosphere there was therefore far more highly charged than Karachi, and it made it very difficult for Supreme Commander's Headquarters to function.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan said that he would have been able to have appreciated this if the officers of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters had been Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs. But he did not understand how the killings could have affected the British officers in the Headquarters. Anyway, the logical conclusion surely was for the

Supreme Commander's Headquarters to move to Karachi.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger pointed out that this would not improve the Delhi atmosphere.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan went on to say that, in his considered view, reconstitution had not yet been completed to such an extent [as] to make unnecessary the present organisation. To his mind, the question of the division of stores was not a minor, but a major matter. An Army without equipment was [of] as much use as tin soldiers. There was also the question of the reconstitution of administrative units. He suggested that Supreme Commander's Headquarters should continue until its assigned task was done.

The Chairman reiterated that he would have considered it feasible for Supreme Commander's Headquarters to carry on if there had not been the present atmosphere between the two Dominions. He pointed out that the division of stores would take very many months to complete, and, in any case, the previously decided date for the closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters had been 31st March, 1948, by which time the physical transfer of stores could not be completed. He stated that he had, on numerous occasions, had to stand up for and defend Supreme Commander's Headquarters. There had been many attacks on it. (Incidentally, the new machinery which he had suggested could not be attacked in this way). To make an organisation like Supreme Commander's Headquarters work satisfactorily, the willing active co-operation of both Governments was necessary.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan said that Pakistan had, to the best of his knowledge, given all co-operation to Supreme Commander's Headquarters, and was certainly willing to do so in future. Presumably the Government of India was not ready to give co-operation to the Supreme Commander and his organisation. He pointed out, further, that the stores to be divided were under the Supreme Commander's charge.

The Supreme Commander explained that these would, after the dissolution of his Headquarters, be handed over to the care of the Armed Forces of the Dominion in which they were situated.

The Defence Minister of India said that he pledged himself on behalf of his Government, to take upon himself full responsibility to deliver to Pakistan her share of stores in accordance with the decisions of the Joint Defence Council or the Arbitral Tribunal.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyanger associated himself with this statement, which he was sure would be endorsed by the Government of India.

The Chairman said that, before coming to the present meeting, he had not visualized that the impasse, which had arisen, would take

place since Mr. Jinnah had accepted Field Marshal Auchinleck's statement so philosophically.[2] He felt that the Joint Defence Council was not, in fact, competent to solve this impasse. Therefore, the question should be referred back to the Cabinets of the two Dominions for a decision, and to His Majesty's Government who were also involved from the point of view of British officers. He suggested that the proviso should be added that, if the Supreme Commander's proposals were accepted, a necessary corollary would be that the senior Commanders-in-Chief of each Dominion should become members of the Joint Defence Council and set up an inter-Dominion military organisation to complete reconstitution and division. The only alternative was the Supreme Commander's Headquarters should continue until Ist April. However, this obviously could not be made to work without the agreement of both Governments.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan emphasised that, once an agreement had been made between the two Governments, one of those Governments should not break that agreement.

The Council invited the Governments of India and Pakistan further to consider, in Cabinet, the future of Supreme Commander's Headquarters, in the light of the recorded discussion at this meeting, the minutes of which would be made available to them, and noted that H.M. Government would have to be consulted as well.

[1]This sentence was added subsequently. See *Mountbatten Papers*, F. 87/9. Not printed.
[2]Auchinleck visited Jinnah on 9 October 1947 and informed him of his note proposing closure of Supreme Commander's HQ on 30 November 1947. Jinnah replied "*kismet;* I do not like it but we must bow to the inevitable." See *Mountbatten Papers*, F. 150-A.

83

Louis Mountbatten to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 114-GG/5

SECRET/IMMEDIATE *18 October 1947*

No. 8714

Since His Majesty's Government are closely concerned with future of Supreme Headquarters in view of its responsibilities in respect of British Officers and Other Ranks serving with armed forces of India and Pakistan and British forces located in the two Dominions they must approve of any proposals for discharge of these responsibilities when Supreme Commander goes.

As Chairman of Joint Defence Council I have therefore sent by air mail a copy of Supreme Commander's paper[1] proposing closing down

of his H.Q. by November 30th to Lord Ismay together with a copy of Provisional Minutes of discussion[2] on this paper at [a] meeting of Joint Defence Council in Lahore on October 16th with instructions to submit them to His Majetsy's Government.

This is to put His Majesty's Government into the picture so that they may be able to understand any further communications on the subject.

[1]Enclosure 1 to No. 82.
[2]Enclosure 2 to No. 82.

84

Earl of Scarborough[1] to M. A. Jinnah[2]

F. 120(Vol. III)-GG/22

18 October 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for inviting me to dinner yesterday and for sending an ADC to the aerodrome. It was a great disappointment to me, that our plane was several hours late and we had only about an hour on the ground—which prevented me from coming up to pay my respects to you even though it was long past dinner time.

I expect to be returning by the same route in the second week of December and I shall make another attempt to see vou then, which I hope will be more successful.

Yours sincerely,
EARL OF SCARBOROUGH

[1]Ex-Governor of Bombay. He had earlier expressed a desire to call on Jinnah during a stop-over at Karachi. See *FOA*, IU-28/20. Not printed.
[2]The letter was written by Earl of Scarborough during his flight between Karachi and Singapore.

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A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 80(Part II)-GG/28

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
18 October 1947

A copy of the undermentioned paper[1] is forwarded to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General for the Quaid-i-Azam's information.

A. HILALY
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Pakistan

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 85
J. A. Rahim to Foreign, Karachi

Telegram, F. 80(Part II)-GG/29

ALEXANDRIA,
No. PK-36 *8 October 1947*

Refugee Relief. We are forming relief organisation under high patronage. This is necessary to overcome currency and other difficulties and make appeal success. Appeal will be published at proper moment in few days. Am moving to Cairo on Friday. Please address all communications care British Embassy.

RAHIM
Representative of Pakistan

86

Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan

F. 1026/37-8

No. 2353 *18 October 1947*

My dear Excellency,

In reply to Your Excellency's letter No. P/2/47 dated the 14th October,

1947,[1] I am writing to state that on the basis of the usual diplomatic practice and the discussions held with His Excellency Sir Giles Squire, His Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary (at Kabul) at the time of the constitutional changes in India and the establishment of the Dominions of Pakistan and India, my Government were of the opinion that until the termination of the political negotiations and the conclusion of Treaties between Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as between Afghanistan and India, and until the setting up of diplomatic missions between Afghanistan and the above-mentioned Governments, the routine matters connected with Pakistan and India will continue to be conducted between the diplomatic representation of His Britannic Majesty's Government at Kabul and the official quarters of Afghanistan.

But, under cover of your letter No. P/3/47, dated the 4th October 1947,[2] Your Excellency stated that visa and passport matters, etc., connected with Pakistan are to be referred to the "Office of the Personal Representative of His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan".

Despite the fact that this proposal was of unusual character—especially when made before the holding of political negotiations and the conclusion of fresh Treaties and Agreements—my Government agreed to it vide my letter No. 2258, dated the 14th *Mizan* 1326 (8th October 1947)[3] just for the sake of avoiding non-compliance with the wishes of the Pakistan Government.

My Government thought it fit that until the execution of the fresh Treaties with the Pakistan Government, visa, passport and commercial matters which are regarded as falling within the purview of consular matters should continue to be conducted according to the previous practice.

In view of the fact that Your Excellency wanted some more elucidation, I quoted certain Articles relating to these matters, in my letter No. 2304, dated the 19th *Mizan* 1326 (13th October 1947).[4] Incidentally, I pointed out the necessity for executing the Treaties.

Your Excellency is aware that the (Anglo-Afghan) Treaty of 1921 was conducted between the Afghan Government and His Britannic Majesty's Government and that the signatory Parties of this Treaty were other than the Pakistan Government; because otherwise any claim in regard to the very independence of Pakistan would be a travesty of facts. Therefore, in order to ensure that the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan should be in consonance with the "International Law", it is essential that fresh treaties should be executed and discussions should be held for this matter.

Therefore, I do not consider the Anglo-Afghan Treaties as being valid between Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand, these

Treaties were executed with England and still hold good. According to the "International Law" a part of the Article will cease to operate in view of the transfer of affairs to Pakistan. The discussion and decision about these Articles, their abrogation or their revision, will devolve on Afghanistan and Great Britain.

At any rate, I want to impress on Your Excellency once again that by citing the Articles embodied in my letter, I did not mean that these Articles represent and constitute a formal Treaty between Afghanistan and Pakistan. As stated already, my object, however, was that in the event of the "Office of the Personal Representative of the Pakistan Governor-General" taking in hand the visa, passport and commercial work, all matters covered by the Articles in question and forming daily routine work should continue to be conducted as usual, until the execution of fresh Agreements and Treaties.

As regards the consular matters, it may be pointed out that until the termination of the necessary political discussions and the execution of the Consular Agreements between Afghanistan [and] Pakistan, the present Consuls at Kandahar, Jalalabad and Karachi and the Afghan Visa Officers at Peshawar and Chaman, shall continue to discharge their functions in conformity with the previous practice—in order to ensure that there is no pause in the discharge of the daily routine work.

Besides, I am to inform you that through an inadvertant oversight, the "year 1922" came to be written for the "year 1921" in my Note No. 2304, dated the 19th *Mizan* 1326 (13th October 1947). I request that the year under reference may be corrected and read as "1921".

I thank Your Excellency for the welcome accorded by Your Excellency in introducing the "Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan" (to your Government). I look forward to the receipt of a reply on behalf of the Pakistan Government, as regards the arrangements connected with the acceptance of his appointment. I hope that the Extraordinary Representative of the Royal Afghan Government will succeed in representing the good wishes and views of Afghanistan, with a view to arriving at a decision regarding the important matters and the establishment of brotherly relations with Your Excellency's Government.

With the assurance of my distinguished considerations.

[ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN]

[1]No. 61.
[2]No. 20.
[3]No. 40.
[4]No. 60.

87

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/39-51

No. P/2/47 KABUL,
19 October 1947

Monsieur le Ministre,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. 2353 dated 24th *Mizan* 1326 (18th October 1947).[1]

2. The necessary correction as desired in penultimate paragraph of Your Excellency's letter under reference has been effected.

3. It would perhaps be more convenient if the contents of Your Excellency's letter are divided into different points and dealt with seriatim.

i. "I am writing to state that on the basis of the usual diplomatic practice and the discussions held with His Excellency Sir Giles Squire, His Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary (at Kabul) at the time of the constitutional changes in India and the establishment of the Dominions of Pakistan and India, my Government were of the opinion that until the termination of the political negotiations and the conclusion of treaties between Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as between Afghanistan and India, and until the setting up of diplomatic missions between Afghanistan and the above mentioned Governments, the routine matters connected with Pakistan and India will continue to be conducted between the diplomatic Representatives of His Britannic Majesty's Government at Kabul and the official quarters of Afghanistan".

The reply is not far to seek. It was, as far as I am aware, neither the intention nor the desire of Sir Giles Squire—after the complete change-over of power from His Majesty's Government to Pakistan (in the territories within the jurisdiction of Pakistan Government)—to give an undertaking to the Royal Afghan Government of the nature set forth in Your Excellency's letter. My this contention finds support from the fact that with the arrival of the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam, Sir Giles Squire, the British Minister, under *definite instructions*[2] from His Majesty's Government, severed off *complete diplomatic relations* relating to the affairs of Pakistan. Evidence both oral and in writing exist[s] in this behalf and according to my information the same [has] also been communicated to Your Excellency by the British

Minister. It would, therefore, under the circumstances be idle to suppose that Sir Giles Squire could or should continue dealing with any matter of daily routine, or otherwise pending the termination of political negotiations and the conclusion of treaties between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Any such act on the part of an official in authority would be in clear contravention of the orders and instructions of H.M.G.

With the complete transfer, therefore, of power from H.M.G. to Pakistan, both in the external and internal affairs, the responsibility which previously under the various treaties and conventions, etc., were the concern of H.M.G., automatically shifted to Pakistan, the legal heir and successor of British Government. I am, therefore, correct in saying that from the date of transfer of such power they (the British Government) are *absolved of all the responsibilities* which hitherto rested on them under the treaties etc., in questions relating to Pakistan.

I hope Giles Squire will bear me out in the above statement.

ii. "Under cover of your letter No. P/3/47, dated the 4th October 1947, Your Excellency stated that visa and passport matters, etc. connected with Pakistan are to be referred to the Office of the Personal Representative of H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan".

With regard to this, I would draw Your Excellency's attention to my letter referred to above (paragraph 6) wherein it is clearly specified that the suggestion of the gradual transfer of all work including passport, visa etc. emanated from Giles Squire, which was accepted by me, keeping in view his convenience and the wishes of the R.A.G. [Royal Afghan Government] in the matter. On re-examining the contents of my letter, referred to above, Your Excellency will perhaps agree with me that it did not in any [*sic*] convey the impression that I stated therein that only visa and passport matters etc., connected with Pakistan, were to be referred to the office of the Personal Representative of H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan. The gradual taking over of all the *diplomatic functions* from His Majesty's Minister in Kabul, which incidentally was completed on the 14th October 1947, should not, therefore, imply in any way that the location of this office (Pakistan Office) was for the purpose of executing limited functions only, and not for the discharge of *all* the functions as required by the rules and diplomatic practice. There cannot therefore, to my mind, be any two opinions on the subject and we shall have to act accordingly.

iii. "Despite the fact that the proposal was of unusual character, especially when made before the holding of political negotiations and the conclusion of fresh treaties and agreements, my Government agreed to it vide my letter No. 2258, dated the 14th *Mizan* 1326 (8th October 1947) just for the sake of avoiding non-compliance

with the wishes of the Pakistan Government".

Your Excellency with your vast experience of such matters is in a better position to judge the significance of the installation of such offices in a foreign country and the functions with which they are charged. The position and status, therefore, of such an office must obviously be at par with other diplomatic missions in Kabul. I, however, feel most grateful for the accommodating attitude and regard that Your Excellency and the Royal Afghan Government have for Pakistan.

iv. "My Government thought it fit that until the execution of the fresh treaties, the Pakistan Government visa, passport and commercial matters which are regarded as falling within the purview of consular matters should continue to be conducted according to the previous practice".

In view of what I have stated in paragraphs 4-6 of my letter No. P/2/47, dated 14th October,[3] it is incumbent on the Pakistan Government to shoulder all the responsibilities and obligations which devolve upon them under the various treaties and pacts, and I find myself in entire agreement with the views expressed by Your Excellency that it would be in the fitness of things that, inter alia, the various items specified in the quotation above should be conducted by the Pakistan Government in accordance with the previous practice, and till the execution of fresh agreements. It may, however, be pointed out here that it will be almost impossible for the Pakistan Government to discharge their responsibilities and obligations that have devolved upon them in the absence of any valid agreement or treaty for which resort can only be had to the treaties and pacts of November 22, 1921, and 5th June 1923. I must, therefore, point out candidly that for the fulfilment of Your Excellency's desire in the matter, it is extremely desirable that the terms of the existing treaties and pacts should be respected till they are revised, abrogated or modified vide Article XIV of the Treaty, or a fresh treaty executed. It will be possible for the Pakistan Government in these circumstances alone to retain an office in Kabul which should cater primarily for the needs and requirements of the Royal Afghan Government and thereby fulfil its obligations.

v. "Your Excellency is aware that the (Anglo-Afghan) Treaty of 1921 was concluded between the Afghan Government and His Britannic Majesty's Government and that the signatories to this treaty were other than the Pakistan Government because otherwise any claim in regard to the very independence of Pakistan would be a travesty of facts. Therefore, in order to ensure that the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan should be in consonance with

International Law, it is essential that fresh treaties should be executed and discussions should be held for the matter".

It cannot be denied, as has already been pointed out in my previous letters, that the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 was concluded between the Royal Afghan Government and His Britannic Majesty's Government and that the Pakistan Government, as now constituted, was not a signatory to it. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the Pakistan Government, as legal heir and successor of the British Government, in that part of British India now known as Pakistan, has stepped into the shoes of His Majesty's Government and that this change has automatically placed Pakistan in a position to negotiate with the Royal Afghan Government on any matter on which the British Government were formerly competent to do, till the existing treaties and pacts of 1921 and 1923 are abrogated, revised or modified vide Article XIV of the Treaty. This issue takes me back again to the Laws of Succession as laid down in the International Law which is to the effect that "when in consequence of war or otherwise one State cedes a part of its territory to another or when a part of the territory breaks off and becomes a State and an International Person itself, succession takes place with regard to such international rights and duties of the predecessor as locally connected with the part of the territory ceded or broken off, and with regard to the fiscal property found on that part of the territory". There is thus no denying the fact that it is Britannic Majesty's Government [which] parted with power and the new Pakistan Government, through lawful and constitutional means, inherited the responsibilities and obligations that previously rested with the British Government. For the continuance of diplomatic relations, therefore, there can and should be no hesitation as contemplated by [the] International Law; otherwise a vacuum will be caused which both the Governments will be anxious to avoid.

vi. "Therefore, I do not consider the Anglo-Afghan Treaties as being valid between Afghanistan and Pakistan. On the other hand, these Treaties were executed with England and still hold good. According to International Law, a part of the Articles of these Treaties will remain valid whilst a part of the Articles will cease to operate, in view of the transfer of affairs to Pakistan. The discussion and decision about these Articles, their abrogation or their revision will devolve on Afghanistan and Great Britain".

If the intention of the Royal Afghan Government is as would appear from the above extract, then all the duties, responsibilities and obligations covered by the treaties and pacts of 1921 and 1923 would lie entirely with His Britannic Majesty's Government and not on any

other Government and consequently the question of the fulfilment of any obligations, referred to in Your Excellency's letter, by the Pakistan Government will not arise. It, therefore, implies that the Pakistan Government do not come anywhere in the picture and the demand of the Royal Afghan Government for various matters specified in Your Excellency's letter lie with His Majesty's Government and not with the Government of Pakistan. Am I, therefore, right in assuming that the representatives of Pakistan Government have no locus standi in Kabul and as such their retention in Kabul cannot be justified? If this is so, please confirm. In this connection, however, I may invite Your Excellency's attention to the relevant paragraph of the International Law, viz. "By a treaty the contracting parties in the first place are concerned. The effect of the treaty upon them is that they are bound by its stipulations, and that they must execute it in all its parts. No distinction should be made between more and less important parts of a treaty as regards its execution. Whatever may be the importance or the significance of a part of a treaty, it must be executed in good faith, for the binding force of treaty covers all its parts and stipulations equally". In a further paragraph of the International Law it is laid down that "As treaties are binding upon the contracting States, changes in the Government, or even in the form of Government, of one of the parties can, as a rule, have no influence whatever upon the binding force of treaties. Thus, for instance, a treaty of alliance concluded by a State with a constitutional government remains valid, although the ministry may change. And no head of a State can shirk the obligations of a treaty concluded by his State under the government of his predecessor"

The above observations leave no shadow of doubt that the Pakistan Government having succeeded the British Government is the rightful heir and as such enjoys the same rights and privileges, and is under the same obligations etc. as were enjoyed or discharged by its predecessor with regard to the treaties and pacts etc. (International Law). It may, therefore, not be correct to assume that with the transfer of power by His Britannic Majesty's Government to Pakistan Government, His Majesty's Government would still stand responsible for the treaties and pacts executed with any country relating to Pakistan. I would, therefore, most submissively but nonetheless emphatically urge the Royal Afghan Government to give the entire matter the consideration that it deserves.

vii. "At any rate, I want to impress on Your Excellency once again that by citing the articles embodied in my letter I did not mean that these Articles represent and constitute a formal treaty between Afghanistan and Pakistan. As stated already my object,

however, was that in the event of the 'Office of the Personal Representative of the Pakistan Governor-General', taking in hand the visa, passport and commercial work, all matters covered by the Articles in question and forming daily routine work should continue to be conducted as usual until the execution of fresh agreements and treaties".

In view of what has been stated in sub para vi I do not propose to deal with it at length except to point out that Your Excellency's letter No. 2258, dated the 14 *Mizan* 1326 (8th October, 1947) gave the impression that the Royal Afghan Government relied on treaties for performance of consular, commercial and other work by my Government until a fresh treaty had been entered into between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In order to find out the details of the treaties which the Royal Afghan Government had in mind, I wrote to Your Excellency for elucidation. In reply you asked me to observe and give effect to the provisions in Articles 6-10 [vi-x] of the Treaty of 1921. As it was difficult to follow only a few Articles and to ignore the remaining ones I invited your attention to the well established principle of International Law that a Treaty or an agreement must stand or fall in toto and thereupon I have now been informed to my surprise that the Royal Afghan Government do not consider the Treaty of 1921 to constitute a formal Treaty between Pakistan and Afghanistan. I did not realise that the suggestion to act on Articles 6-10 [vi-x] was more or less informal in character—a position to which no Government is likely to subscribe.

viii. "As regards the consular matters it may be pointed out that until the termination of necessary political discussions and the execution of consular agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the present Consulates at Kandhar, Jalalabad and Karachi and the Afghan Visa Offices at Peshawar and Chaman shall continue to discharge their functions in conformity with the previous practice in order to ensure that there is no pause in the discharge of the daily routine work."

In view of the remarks contained in sub paras v-vii, I entertain grave doubts if it will be possible to give any undertaking for the performance of routine matters so long as the Royal Afghan Government do not clarify the precise status of the diplomatic officers of the Pakistan Government to whom this duty will be entrusted. This question would not have arisen if the Treaty of 1921 had been accepted as valid between Afghanistan and Pakistan as in that case its provisions would have defined their position.

4. Your Excellency's letter has given rise to the following questions, the answer to which by the Royal Afghan Government will enable me

to place the entire case before my Government for their consideration:

1. Now that the British Minister has ceased to function on behalf of Pakistan Government, which agency, if any, should be employed in Kabul to serve as a channel of communication between the two Governments, after the departure of the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam from Kabul.

2. The person or persons and their status who will be competent to transact business on behalf of the two Governments in the absence of any agreement between them?

3. Am I to understand that the Royal Afghan Government is under the impression that the treaty and agreements etc. referred to in Your Excellency's letter were and still are in existence between His Majesty's Government and the Royal Afghan Government in regard to Pakistan dominion and as such binding on them till they are revised, abrogated or modified (Article 14 [xiv] of the treaty)?

4. If the reply to question No. 3 is in the affirmative, how can Pakistan Government be expected to discharge any of these obligations and what will be the authority for the performance of the functions specified in our letter in regard to consular and commercial work?

5. The appropriate name which the Royal Afghan Government would like to assign to the Office of the Pakistan Government in terms of the International Law after the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam has left Kabul on the termination of his negotiations?

6. Whether the Royal Afghan Government wish to have further negotiations with me here for the establishment of a Pakistan Embassy in Kabul or to defer them until the conclusion of a new Treaty between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In the former case, I am prepared to stay on here.

Please accept, *Monsieur le Ministre,* the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]No. 86.

[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

[3]No. 61.

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S. Faizul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 38(2)-GG/30-1

9 KALAVANTI MANSION,
GRIEG ROAD,
KARACHI 3,
19 October 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

The Muslims of the minority provinces were under an impression that with the establishment of Pakistan there would be a distinct improvement in their lot. With this idea in view they were the first to take up the agitation for Pakistan and by their acts and deeds contributed very largely towards its establishment. The present final shape of things has disillusioned them completely. Their lot instead of being improved has become worst. For leading the agitation for Pakistan they are being dubbed now, by the members of the majority community as disloyal and fifth-columnist, and consequently are being subjected to every sort of indignity, humiliation, insult and annoyance. In fact they are afraid of extermination at every moment. The Pakistan authorities are quite indifferent about their lot.

The central Pakistan administration is dominated by the Punjabis, who are unsympathetic, selfish, rude and extremely parochial. Knowing the nature of these Punjabis, the Muslims of the minority provinces turned their eyes towards Sindh. Here, to their misfortune, they found the Punjabis occupying dominating positions. In Government offices also clannish and provincial considerations prevail to the great disadvantage of the Muslim employees who opted for Pakistan from the minority provinces. Neglecting the scope for them in Western Punjab by the evacuation of the Hindus and Sikhs, they are swarming into Sindh, one should think at the instance and encouragement which they get from high Punjabi officials in the central secretariat. This has created a bitterness against them both amongst the Sindhi Muslims as well as those of the minority provinces. The result would be a serious agitation against them from both these quarters joining hands together in a common cause. During the war these Punjabis amassed huge amount of money which they are spending like anything in purchasing the property of out-going Hindu[s] and in securing every position of vantage in every walk of life. When being thus checkmated the Muslims of the minority provinces will perhaps be asked to go and

settle in Western Punjab. That would be a very sad day for us. We expected that Sindh would be left free for us to settle in but this expectation has been falsified. What a Pakistan for us!

Yours obediently,
S. FAIZUL HASAN
B. A., LL.B.
Pleader

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Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 114-GG/1-3

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE [NEW DELHI,]
No. 358/Primin 178 *19 October 1947*

The Chairman[1] of Joint Defence Council reports that at the meeting[2] held on October 16th when Supreme Commander's paper proposing closing down of his Headquarters on November 30th was taken, a complete impasse was reached, the India representatives supporting Supreme Cammander's proposals and Pakistan representatives opposing it. The Chairman informed me that Council had invited India Cabinet to consider situation raised by this impasse and accordingly a meeting was held at which minutes of J.D.C. meeting of October 16th were considered. Sardar Baldev Singh and Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar gave us a firsthand report of the meeting. From this it is clear that your objections to Supreme Commander's Headquarters being closed down by November 30th were two-fold:

a. That a system which had been agreed between the two Governments before transfer of power to enable partition of armed forces to be fully carried out was being unilaterally abandoned before completion of task.
b. That consequence of abandonment would be that neither Government could be sure of obtaining their fair share of stores held in other Dominion.

The feeling of my Cabinet as regards (a) was that Supreme Commander must be the best judge as to whether system could be usefully maintained to original date once the major tasks of partition and reconstitution of armed forces had been completed. The India Cabinet

feel strongly that Supreme Commander is right in wishing to close down Headquarters which includes a Field Marshal, a Supreme Commander, a Lieut-General, an Air Marshal and Vice-Admiral as Deputy Supreme Commander as well as a number of other general officers, once the move of all major units had been completed, otherwise we should be faced with anomalous position of having more senior officers to look after stores of the two Dominions and interests of British officers than there would be in Headquarters of armed forces of the two Dominions combined.

As regards (b) it was the opinion of India Cabinet that your objections could be completely met by devising a system which would ensure that both Dominions would definitely receive full quota of stores allotted by Joint Defence Council. The Cabinet noted that the two Ministers representing them at [the] meeting of J.D.C. on October 16th had given assurance that Pakistan's allotted share from stores held in India would be sent over to you. The India Cabinet unanimously endorsed this assurance. We have no doubt that a similar assurance will be given by your Cabinet. The India Cabinet further suggested that Supreme Commander should be asked to supply duplicate lists of all stores at present held by him in both Dominions. One copy being given to each Dominion Government before he [*sic*] or his Headquarters closed down.

Finally the Cabinet endorsed proposal of Chairman of J.D.C. that Army Commander-in-Chief of each Dominion should become full members of J.D.C. and that they set up an Inter-Dominion Committee to take place [of] AFRC[3] and arrange for transfer of appropriate stores and the finishing off of any other matters concerned with partition and reconstitution of armed forces. They would report progress at each fortnightly meeting of J.D.C.

The Government of India are of opinion that in the circumstances outlined in Supreme Commander's paper the Inter-Dominion Committee is the right solution for finish off process of partition.

Subject to United Kingdom Government agreeing to proposed arrangements for looking after British personnel the Government of India therefore intend to inform the Supreme Commander that they accept his proposal and will implement them.

A copy of this telegram has been sent to Supreme Commander and will be sent on Monday to Lord Ismay.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]Louis Mountbatten.
[2]See Enclosure 2 to No. 82.
[3]Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW YORK,
20 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Dr. W. Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit and Chairman of Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, is proceeding to Pakistan and India for the purpose of making a preliminary survey and study of current conditions preparatory to inaugurating a programme of regional studies in that University. Dr. Brown will be interested in the political and economic as well as the social, educational and cultural aspects.

Dr. Brown feels that it would be pointless for him to make the trip without meeting you, the creator of Pakistan. I should, therefore, be most obliged if you would give him a few minutes of your time. As you know there is all too little information available in this country on Pakistan and I believe that Dr. Brown will do much to make good this deficiency on his return.

I am also giving Dr. Brown letters of introduction to Ghulam Mohammed[2] and Fazlur Rahman[3] requesting them to afford him every possible assistance and guidance in his mission.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 539-40.
[2]Minister for Finance.
[3]Minister for Interior, Information & Education.

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A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 11-GG/11

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
20 October 1947

My dear Yusuf,

We have just received information from the Afghan Consul (Tel. No. 5077) that His Royal Highness Sardar Mohammad Naeem Khan of the Afghan Royal family is arriving from Bombay by the S. S. *Sherala* on the 24th October and will be staying here till the 26th October. As at present arranged he will leave for Quetta on the 27th on his way to Afghanistan. Under the instructions of this Ministry it appears he is to be treated as a Government guest during his stay and we have to provide him with all possible facilities including free railway accommodation. I am writing this to inform you about his arrival as you would perhaps like to mention it to the Quaid-i-Azam in case he would like to put him up or to invite him to a meal during his stay here or to give him an interview. *Sardar Naeem Khan is a nephew of the Prime Minister of Afghanistan and cousin of the King. He was once Afghanistan's Ambassador to Italy and was reported at one time to be groomed as the next Prime Minister. He will be accompanied by Princess Naeem and three children.*[1]

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY
Deputy Secretary

[1]Sidelined in the original.

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A. Hilaly to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 11-GG/13

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
20 October 1947

My dear Col[onel],

We have just been informed that Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, accompanied by U Tin Tut and Mahn Win Mg, Industries and Labour Minister, are passing through Karachi on the 22nd October by B.O.A.C. Flying Boat [at] Korangi Creek. The Prime Minister and his party are expected to arrive here by 3 p.m. and will leave for Rangoon early the next morning. We have been informed by the Burmese High Commissioner to Pakistan, who arrived here yesterday, that Thakin Nu has expressed a desire to meet the Quaid-i-Azam. Would you kindly ascertain and let us know whether His Excellency would like to put the party up or ask them over to a meal or an interview on the evening of the 22nd October. If so, kindly let us know and we will inform the Premier and his party.[1] In all probability, as it is almost impossible to get accommodation in the Palace Hotel, they will have to stay in the B.O.A.C. Rest House at Korangi Creek.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]S. M. Yusuf informed A. Hilaly that Jinnah would like the PM of Burma and his party to stay at Govt. House. See F. 11-GG/4. Not printed.

93

Duncan Hooper to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/165

20 October 1947

Your Excellency,

Would it be possible for you to grant me an interview at any time to suit your convenience between now and Wednesday evening?[1]

You may remember that you gave me an interview for the record in Bombay some eighteen months ago and since then we have met on

several occasions, the last being in Bombay in the spring of this year when you promised me another interview for the record at a favourable opportunity.

I have now come here [Karachi] from Bombay on a short visit and I am scheduled to leave on Thursday morning.

I enclose a brief list of questions.[2]

Yours faithfully,
DUNCAN HOOPER
News Editor, Reuters

[1]See Annex I.
[2]See F. 773/166. Not printed.

Annex I to No. 93

Interview of M. A. Jinnah by Duncan Hooper[1]

[KARACHI,
22 October 1947]

Question: How do you view the latest developments regarding Palestine? What would be the attitude of Pakistan if the partition plan resulted in a conflict between the Arabs and Jews?

Answer: The leader of our delegation to the UNO, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, has clearly defined our position[2] regarding the latest developments in Palestine and I do still hope that the partition plan will be rejected, otherwise there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent what, in my opinion, is an outrage.

RESPONSE TO PAKISTAN'S APPEAL

Question: What response has been received from the other Dominions to Pakistan's appeal for help in solving the communal problem?

Answer: So far, nothing definite, but I believe that this matter is under the earnest consideration of the Prime Minister of England and of the other Dominions.

Question: What, in your view, is the best basis for firm and friendly relations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan?

Answer: First and the foremost, both Dominions must make all out efforts to restore peace and maintain law and order in their respective States—that is fundamental. I have repeatedly said that now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions.

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. It is very unfortunate that vigorous propaganda has been going on from the moment that the division was agreed upon and the two States were created that Pakistan is only a truncated Pakistan, that it is merely a temporary madness on the part of the Muslim League that has brought about this "secession", that Pakistan will have to come into the Union as a penitent, repentant, erring son and that the "two-nation theory" is responsible for all that has taken place.

It is also very unfortunate that the Muslims in Hindustan are told threateningly that they must abjure the leadership of the League and declare their "folly" in having supported Pakistan and in believing in this "fantastic two-nation theory". Also that certain tests and standards of loyalty are demanded from them and unless they satisfy those tests, it is said they have no place in Hindustan.

NO UNION BETWEEN TWO STATES

I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common centre.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay.[3] But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation. But all this propaganda and agitation, all the threats that are held out even by prominent Congress speakers, against our fully independent sovereign State are not likely to restore goodwill and friendly relations between the two States.

We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions. The methods advocated for the achievement of this end are:

1. Bring about a revolt by Muslims against the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government.
2. Failing that making the leaders of Pakistan realize the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and force them once again to agree to join the Union and thereby create a single India by war.

INDIA IS A HINDU STATE

If firm and friendly relations are to be established between the two Dominions, this sort of propaganda must stop. As for the two-nation theory, it is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact and what is more, that fact has been proved beyond doubt by the ugly and deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the Dominion of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as their nationals. How then can it be said that there is one nation? I do not wish to dwell upon this further. There are many other events that are taking place which go to show the reality which is that the Dominion of Indian is a Hindu State.

Even a great Professor Dr. Gadgil, in his statement of October 9,[4] says that a "Hindu State or more fully a federation of Hindu national States" is the only proper description of the new Indian Union. And he says that to describe the Indian Union as a Hindu State is to bring out its dominant and most significant characteristic and he further proceeds to say that this does not mean that the territories of the Indian Union have no place for those who do not belong to the Hindu tradition and that others will be discriminated against.

MINORITIES DO NOT CEASE TO BE CITIZENS

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech[5] to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.

Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the State and to owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person or section or body of people that is disloyal to the State. We do not, however, prescribe any school boy tests of their loyalty. We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan "if there was war, would you shoot a Hindu?"

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India, I have already conferred advice that they must reorganize themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many millions. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.

In spite of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. Nobody visualized that a powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the India Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government.

I, therefore, while deeply and fully sympathizing with their sufferings, urge upon Muslims in India to bear their trial with courage and fortitude and not get panicky and play into the hands of our enemies by hasty decisions or actions. They should not in their adversity be led away by mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leadership responsible for all their tribulations. They must hold on to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be a mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.

STRIKE AT THE ROOTS OF CONSPIRACY

Question: Do you consider that Pakistan and India have now passed through the worst of the communal troubles following the transfer of power?

Answer: You can hardly call this communal trouble, although I know it has been very loosely described as that. It is now clear beyond doubt that it was well-planned, well-organised and well-directed and the object of it all, it seems to me, was to paralyse the new-born Dominion of Pakistan, which obviously was starting from scratch. There is only one remedy now left—that is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate, I say

extirpate, the roots of the plot and the powerful men who are behind the organization. It is no use dealing with symptoms. You must strike at the root.

FUNCTIONS OF MUSLIM [LEAGUE]

Question: What do you consider are now the proper functions of the Muslim League outside Pakistan?

Answer: The Muslim League has already achieved its mission—its fundamental object—which was to establish the independent State of Pakistan.

The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general. I quote: "to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans and other communities of India, and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of [*sic*] other communities."

I wanted to call a meeting of the Working Committee[6] and of the Council of the All-India Muslim League[7] at an early date because it is obvious that we have to reorient the Muslim League organization in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place. But, unfortunately, owing to the grave situation that was created, we were so fully absorbed that we had no time to attend to this or many other matters which are facing us and which still require our urgent consideration.

FAIR DEAL FOR INDIAN MUSLIMS

The main objective of Muslims in India is to play their part in ensuring that they get a fair deal. But, with the establishment of the two Dominions, this is also a matter which can be handled effectively on a Governmental level.

The Plan of June 3 was accepted by the two major nations as successor authorities and now in accordance with that plan and under the terms of Indian Independence Act of 1947,[8] there have emerged two independent sovereign States. In accepting the Plan, even before then, solemn declarations were made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both States would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person.

TERRIFIC BLOODSHED

The birth of the two Dominions was, I am glad to say, celebrated everywhere as the day of the attainment of freedom and independence, not only for these two major nations but for all the inhabitants of this

great subcontinent—yet immediately thereafter there came this terrific bloodshed which was undoubtedly intended to eliminate the Muslim minorities from Hindustan.

Lastly, I must emphasize that the Congress and the Indian Dominion Government must put down the leadership of those who planned this ruthless killing and also those elements which are collaborating with them to defy law and order.

NO RETALIATION, NO REVENGE

I have refrained as far as possible from apportioning blame between the Hindus as a community or the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reserve the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.

I have done my utmost, and I am glad to say, not without considerable success, to impress upon the Muslims that whatever the provocation, there shall be no retaliation, no revenge. On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honour—and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them—that there shall be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizens."—API.

[1]The *Pakistan Times,* 25 October 1947.
[2]See the *Civil & Military Gazette,* 9 October 1947.
[3]See Annex II.
[4]The *Hindustan Times,* 12 October 1947.
[5]Appendix IX. 2, Vol. IV, item 4, 535-8.
[6]The Working Committee of AIML met at the Governor-General's House, Karachi, on 13 December. See the *Pakistan Times,* 14 December 1947.
[7]The first session of AIML Council after the partition of India was held at Karachi on 14 December. See the *Pakistan Times,* 16 December 1947.
[8]No. 164, *TP,* XII, 233-49.

Annex II to No. 93

REUNION NEVER[1]

[*Extract*]

Pakistan has come to stay and nothing can undo it. This has been the Quaid-i-Azam's firm and final answer to enemies without the disruptionists within who have launched a campaign for the "reunion" of the Dominions. The Quaid-i-Azam's words fully represent the determined attitude of every loyal citizen of Pakistan, and let it be known to all whom it may concern, friend, foe, or neutral, that the very idea of Pakistan reuniting with Hindustan in any shape or form is utterly hateful to the Muslim nation, one-half of which has achieved its emancipation from

political bondage, religious disabilities and economic strangulation through the establishment of the sovereign State of Pakistan ....

From this determination to remain sovereign, to preserve Pakistan's absolute independence, and not to tolerate even indirect arrangements whereby that sovereignty would be circumscribed and limited in any manner and to any extent, the true Pakistani will never deviate...

The campaign (for reunion) is being carried on through various ways and various channels. First, there are those associated with the Government of Hindustan who are talking of the possibility of re-union on economic and other grounds; second, the Hindu press throughout the Indian Union is supporting the campaign, some from seemingly objective stand-points and others, less ashamed of naked communalism, on the ground that the whole sub-continent belongs to Hindus and all of it should be ruled by Hindus; third, life-long Muslim quislings who have always been in the pay of the Congress are being encouraged to give open support to the idea; fourth, some of the Muslim League leaders in Hindustan are being persuaded by direct or indirect coercion to issue public statements in favor of reunion; fifth, the services of Hindu journalists within Pakistan itself are being utilized for the purpose of carrying the campaign right into the heart of Pakistan....

[1]Editorial, the *Dawn*, 1 November 1947.

94

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/29

DEMI-OFFICIAL *20 October 1947*

No. P/2/47

My dear Minister,

In continuation of my letter No. P/2/47 dated the 19th October 1947,[1] I have to say that after the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. 2353 dated 18th October 1947,[2] I have again ascertained the views of Sir Giles Squire with regard to paragraph 1 thereof, and have been informed that he (Sir Giles Squire) had explained the "position perfectly well" to Your Excellency, as stated in para 3(1) of my letter No. P/2/47 of 19th October, and that if need be he is prepared even now to come over to Your Excellency and explain it again at your convenience.

2. I am, however, coming over to see Your Excellency tomorrow, Tuesday the 21st at 10 a.m., as arranged.

Please accept, my dear Minister, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

His Excellency Sardar-i-Ala Ali Muhammad Khan,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kabul

[1]No. 87.
[2]No. 86.

95

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 117-GG/37

20 October 1947

Dear Khwaja Nazimuddin,

I have received your letter of the 29th September[1] and given it my most careful consideration. What is really needed is the formation of a responsible committee with a chairman who will devote his time earnestly to the matter of relief of the Bihar refugees. If such a committee is set up and submits a practical scheme which will satisfy me and will be in accordance with the purpose for which this fund was raised, I will give it my immediate attention. You have in your letter given various proposals of a tentative character but it will be far more satisfactory if the course I have suggested is adopted so that some concrete and constructive work is taken in hand for the relief of these sufferers without further loss of time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin,
Premier of East Bengal,
Burdwan House, Dacca

[1]No. 315, Vol. V, 344-6.

96

Note by Saidullah Khan

F. 788/20-5

21 October 1947

INTERVIEW WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF AFGHANISTAN

After the despatch of my letter No. P/2/47, dated the 19th October 1947,[1] I went over to see the Foreign Minister at 10 a.m. on Tuesday the 21st October 1947, and told him that with the despatch of my letter referred to above the negotiations have presumably terminated unless he wished to inquire about any other matter which I would be only too glad to reply before leaving Kabul. He told me that my letter was a lengthy document which required careful consideration and final decision by the R.A.G. which, when obtained, will be communicated to me as quickly as possible. I told him that although I had made an honest attempt to bring home to the R.A.G. that the intention and desire of the Pakistan Government, particularly of the Quaid-i-Azam, was in no way to get any undue advantage of any Government, much less of the Royal Afghan Government in the achievement of its object, which in the present case was a very simple one, namely the establishment of diplomatic relations so as to be able to understand each other better than before. The Foreign Minister while appreciating the point of view set forth by me, told me that it was equally the desire of the R.A.G. to create that atmosphere of goodwill which is so very essential for the two brotherly and neighbouring countries, viz. Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the sooner the diplomatic relations were established, the better. But having regard to the lawful and legitimate demands which need discussions before arriving at some solution, it was essential that those issues should be determined before an Embassy could be set up. I told the Foreign Minister that it was with that object in view that the Quaid-i-Azam [had] sent me to Kabul and, as already pointed out on several occasions, for no other object. I told him that my position which I had made abundantly clear during the course of the negotiations was:

1. Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam,
2. The representative of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province, and
3. By reason of my personal status as one of the leading chiefs of the Yusafzai tribe.

Having regard for the above, I hoped that my representative character

was fully evident and that this would be borne in mind while taking a final decision. I told him that I was most grateful to the R.A.G. for having taken up our cause (cause of the Pathans) at the instance, presumably of some of my own people who may have visited Afghanistan from time to time. But as the majority of the Pathans were not satisfied with the negotiations of these persons, so they approached the Quaid-i-Azam for the selection of a true representative of their Province in whom they might have implicit faith and who might wield considerable influence among the Pathans and whose word might count with them. The Quaid-i-Azam, therefore, agreeing with the majority view, selected me for this mission. I told the Foreign Minister that as I had arrived in Kabul our case should be pursued in accordance with the feeling and desire of the majority of the Pathans whose spokesman I was and that henceafter directions in this behalf should be taken from me. To begin with, I had to thank the R.A.G. on behalf of my people for having taken up our cause, and then to suggest that consistent with the views of my people on the subject, the Royal Afghan Government should conduct our case by the establishment of diplomatic relations between two countries (Pakistan and Afghanistan) so as to create harmonious relations and thereby obtain the fulfilment of their objective (upliftment of the Pathans). Now having conveyed the message of my people to the R.A.G. through Your Excellency, which you assure me is receiving their consideration, I hoped they would not do anything which would prejudice our cause because it would be just as the proverb goes *muddai sust wa gawah chust* so that I might be able to tell my people on return that I had faithfully conveyed their message to the R.A.G. through the Minister for Foreign Affairs and obtained a reply which Your Excellency says is being communicated to me shortly. I told him that I might also be permitted to point out that the reply, as contained in his letter No. 2353, dated the 18th October 1947,[2] fell extremely short of the requirements in so far that it gave one the impression that the Royal Afghan Government, as an advocate of the Pathan cause, were exercising their power far in excess of the actual requirements. I was, therefore, confident that the R.A.G. would weigh these facts carefully before arriving at any decision. I, therefore, wished to make my position clear once again and if need be to cite Your Excellency as a witness in order to clear my position before my people that I had actually conveyed their message and obtained a decision which, as you say, will be communicated to me shortly. I impressed on His Excellency that he should realise the significance of my mission and convey to his colleagues too the object of my visit to Kabul in the light of the message of my people so that there should be no misunderstanding between us on the subject. I asked the Foreign Minister to ask me any questions if he so desired, so that he might be in a

position to discuss it thoroughly with his colleagues. The Foreign Minister told me that I had made the position perfectly clear and that there was absolutely no need for further clarification or elucidation on the subject. He agreed with me that the case of the Pathans would have to be taken up as they (the Pathans) desire and that he would certainly convey this message in the proper quarters. He proceeded to say that it was neither the intention nor the desire of the Afghan Government to take away any part of the North-West Frontier Province, but all that they desired was that the Pathans (Afghans) on the other hand [*sic*] of the Durand Line and this side of the Indus should be properly treated and uplifted in a manner which improved their lot so that they might feel happy and contented. I told the Foreign Minister that the reply to our advocate, viz. the R.A.G., was very simple and I as representative of the Pathans could say with authority that charity begins at home. It was very nice of the R.A.G. to have shown so much consideration and regard for their Muslim brothers on the other side of the Durand Line and they in turn would equally be happy to see the Pathans on this side of the Durand Line happy and prosperous. I told the Foreign Minister that all the Pathans who had sent me here were anxiously awaiting the outcome of my mission. I pointed out to him in this connection that the R.A.G.'s decision would have a far reaching effect, and that God forbid, if unfavourable, will have serious repercussions, the responsibility for which will not lie on the Pakistan Government.

The Foreign Minister told me that he would congratulate me on having put their (Pathans') case so clearly and precisely which he, in spite of experience, would not have done as efficiently. He promised that he would lay the case before the Cabinet, obtain their orders and communicate the same to me as soon as possible. He also told me that His Majesty the King [Muhammad Zahir Shah] would be pleased to see me at 11 a.m. on the 22nd October 1947.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]No. 87.

[2]No. 86.

97

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 114-GG/4

SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE *21 October 1947*

No. 621

Thank you for the information you have given me in your telegram

No. 8714 date[d] 18th October[1] regarding the future of Supreme Commander's headquarters. I am sure, you will understand that I can express no opinion on the subject as I have not seen either the minutes of the Joint Defence Council or other relevant papers. I understand, however, that my Government are dealing with the matter.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 83.

98

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (2)-GG/18-9

35-A FEROZEPORE ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is long since I had the opportunity of paying my respects to you. For the most part of the past two years I have been abroad. Twice I went to the United States and once to Europe and Germany as an industrial delegation of the Government of India. I write these few lines to send my respectful congratulations to you on your historic achievement. I hope under your guidance the nation will successfully pull through the present crises which our enemies have forced on us. But let me unfold my heart to you. I regret that the economic condition of the country should be deteriorating day by day and I am afraid that the economic structure will crumble down unless immediate steps are taken to improve banking facilities, restore the transport system, and produce a substitute of coal. I would suggest that the Government of Pakistan may start an Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation on the lines of similar organizations in the United States to afford assistance to bona fide businessmen.

The refugee problem, which has no parallel in history, is taxing our resources to the utmost. The Provincial Ministry is faced with a gigantic task and no doubt they are doing all it can to cope with the situation but it is a pity that there is none among them who can appreciate the viewpoint of a businessman or industrialist who with his initiative, enterprise and imagination may take up the reorganisation of the old abandoned factories and formulate new schemes to restore the economic life of the province.

People are fed up with the way in which matters concerning industry and commerce are being handled. Unemployment is growing, causing widespread discontent, and if the situation is not controlled immediately worse days may be in store for us. At a time like this, in my humble opinion, we should not hestitate to seek expert *foreign advice and assistance*[1] to overcome the economic crises.

During my long stay in the United States I have established valuable contacts with important businessmen and industrialists in that country. My dear Quaid-i-Azam if you feel that I can make a useful contribution to the restoration of the economic life of the nation by drawing on my contacts in the United States I am prepared to go to U.S.A. at your command but *at my expense* to assist Ispahani in the economic field for a year or so, and I do feel with confidence of useful and good results. My services are completely at your disposal.[2]

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]F. Amin asked him to call on Jinnah on 28 October. See F. 25 (2)-GG/17. Not printed.

99

Saidullah Khan to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, I.77/X

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 10

KABUL,
21 October 1947

My telegram No. 1[1].I understand Afghan Government through Representative U.N.O. have withdrawn statement he made. If so please confirm.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]No. 35.

100

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 604/1-4

15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE,
FORT, BOMBAY,
22 *October 1947*

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I duly received your letter of the 15th inst[ant] on the 18th[1] *idem*. I also received a telephone message from Mr. Wajid Ali on Saturday the 18th inst[ant] when I went and saw him at his bungalow at Napean Sea Road, when he also said to me that you desired to get your furniture from your bungalow in Bombay. On the last occasion when your furniture was removed from Bombay to London, the packing was done by Mr. Gulamhusein Haji Ahmed Dewji and so I phoned to him and went with him and the Secretary of Mr. Wajid Ali to your bungalow as Mr. Gulamhusein wanted an idea about the furniture lying in your bungalow. After inspecting the same he wanted a couple of days time to take his head workman to get an idea about the space which will be required for freight to book the same by steamer to Karachi. After the Secretary has got an idea he would approach the Steamer Company for the necessary freight. So the work has already been taken in hand and the packing will commence as soon as possible. Mr. Gulamhusein gave an idea that if separate space for storing your furniture on board was arranged, there would be no need of packing the furniture in full cases as was done when your furniture was sent to London, but the furniture would be put in crates which would save expenses in these hard days as the wages of workmen as well as dealwood is very expensive. Each case is likely to cost about Rs. 60 while the crates would cost only half of that. In view of this suggestion, we are awaiting the arrangement about the freight as well as the allotment of space on the ship. This work would take about a month's time.

On my last visit to your bungalow on Saturday, I found that in some of the cupboards in the library room there are a large number of books—some of them are law books which are very old edition and others are miscellaneous books. I would like to know whether you desire that these books also should be sent to you at Karachi as they will have to be put into about 20 boxes which would cost about Rs. 400. So I would like to have your instructions in the matter.

I have now received a rough idea from Mr. Gulamhusein that some furniture can easily be covered by grass and gunny packing and dealwood timber crates can be put thereon while others put in complete cases. Total number of crates will be about 150 while cases will be about 117. Herewith a copy of estimate of Rs. 12,864 given by him.[2]

As I found the estimate rather exhorbitant I approached another furniture merchant by name Ebrahim Jaffer who advised that almost all furniture should be crated and there was no need for cases except a few miscellaneous pieces with glass which will have to be put in cases (about 25) and rough idea given by him is that it will cost about Rs. 4,000. In view of this, I have written to you for your instructions in the matter.

Besides I was informed that in a secret room opposite the lift there is a big safe. The keys of the room is [*sic* for are] not with me and if you desire that the same should be opened I would require the keys.

As the furniture is to be removed, there will be no need to keep the two *hammals* any longer in service and if you so desire I can give them one month's notice to discharge their services.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA

[1&2]Not traceable.

101

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

22 October 1947

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of October 14,[2] and two letters of the 15th[3] and thank you very much for them.

With reference to your letter of the 14th, I do not mind the left-hand drive, but please try as to the colour and get me the sample I have sent you, namely the picture of the Cadillac 60 Special.

I note that you are pursuing your efforts about the aeroplane and Lincoln.

I was really very happy to hear from you, although I had very good reports of the way in which our delegation not only acquitted itself, but distinguished itself.

I have noted your difficulties about the staff, and I can quite understand how hard you must all be pressed, but I hope that you do realize that we are starting from scratch. I will, however, forward your request to the Foreign Office.

I am very glad that you are making effort to help us in our refugee relief fund. That is an enormous problem and we need all the help that is possible for us to get.

As regards Zafrullah, we do not mean that he should leave his work so long as it is necessary for him to stay there, and I think he has already been informed to that effect, but naturally we are very short here of capable men, and especially of his calibre, and every now and then our eyes naturally turn to him for various problems that we have to solve.

With regard to the situation in India, there is a lull but we are not out of the woods yet.

I have noted what you say about Laik Ali. He is keeping us in touch with his activities.

I was very pleased indeed to read your speech and the reply of Truman, when you presented your credentials to him as the Ambassador of Pakistan. So far so good, but the real thing is how America will, in fact, react for the benefit and the mutual advantage of both.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 540-1.
[2]No. 64.
[3]No. 68. The other letter is not traceable.

102

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/24-5

IMMEDIATE *22 October 1947*
No. P/2/47
My dear Minister,

Will you be so kind as to refer to paragraph 5 of Your Excellency's letter No. 2258 dated the 14th *Mizan* 1326 (8th October 1947)[1] regarding the selection and appointment by the Royal Afghan Government of His Excellency Najibullah Khan, the acting Minister of Education, to proceed to Karachi as an Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan with the Governor-General of Pakistan for the purpose of discussing such matters as are worthy of discussion. I am desired to say that the Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister of Pakistan will be delighted to receive His Excellency Najibullah Khan for the purpose set forth in

Your Excellency's letter referred to above.

2. I may be permitted to point out here that my telegram dated the 11th October 1947,[2] issued both to Karachi and Lahore (where the Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister has shifted his headquarters temporarily) simultaneously was "received by him at Lahore on the 17th of October 1947" and the delay thus caused is therefore extremely regretted. The reply to my this telegram was received late last night and I am accordingly informing Your Excellency of the message received by me today.

3. I may point out here for Your Excellency's information, as explained verbally yesterday, that due to the recent indisposition of my Prime Minster and the uncertainty of his programme on account of recent happenings in the East Punjab and elsewhere in Hindu India, I would suggest Monday the 17th November 1947 for the commencement of His Excellency Najibullah Khan's talks in Karachi, subject of course to confirmation by the Royal Afghan Government, and would inform my Government accordingly. May I, therefore, request the favour of an early reply to this letter for communication to my Government in good time.

4. Necessary arrangements connected with the visit of His Excellency Najibullah Khan and his staff to Karachi will be made as desired.

Please accept, my dear Minister, the assurance of my highest consideration.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

[1]No. 40.
[2]Not traceable.

103

Note by Saidullah Khan

F. 788/26-30

22 October 1947

AUDIENCE WITH HIS MAJESTY THE KING [OF AFGHANISTAN]

I went to the Palace at 11 a.m. today—the time fixed up for my audience with His Majesty the King—and had about an hour's interview with His Majesty in the presence of:

i. the Afghan Foreign Minister, and
ii. the Afghan Court Minister (H.H. Sardar Ahmad Shah Khan, father-in-law of His Majesty the King).

2. I started my conversation in Persian and told His Majesty that

having studied Persian in College I could read and write Persian but could not speak fluently, but could pick it up with a little practice. I therefore told His Majesty that with his permission I would speak in Urdu or in English, as desired, and the one of the two Ministers would act as interpreter. I purposely avoided speaking in Pushtu, as according to my information, His Majesty had pointed out repeatedly that I was rubbing in the question of Pushtu in every quarter so forcefully that all his Ministers "were ashamed of themselves" while speaking to a Pathan (Afghan) in a foreign language, and that sometimes P.R.Q. [Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam] started off in Urdu or in English but again during the course of conversation reverted to Pushtu when his Ministers were totally lost, and that P.R.Q. had got at the weak point of the Afghans and was taking the maximum advantage out of it. Having regard to these observations of His Majesty I thought it would not be proper to begin my conversation with him in Pushtu.

3. I told His Majesty that as I had already informed the Foreign Minister, the object of my mission was not to observe the formalities customary on these occasions, i.e. merely to say that I have come for the purpose of creating harmonious and friendly relations: the relationship between the two countries (Afghanistan and Pakistan) had already been so well defined in the holy *Qur'an* where the Almighty God says that the Muslims are all brothers. I therefore started by saying that the Quaid-i-Azam had asked me to go as quickly as I possibly could to Kabul and tell His Majesty, after paying compliments, through the Foreign Minister that now that the Britishers had parted with power, I was to see that the Afghan Government were not inconvenienced in any way by this change. I was further directed by the Quaid-i-Azam to afford all possible facilities to the Afghan Government so that they might feel that the change was decidedly for the better.

4. His Majesty thereupon wished me to convey his compliments to Quaid-i-Azam and to thank him very much indeed for sending out one of his representatives who fortunately happens to be "one of our own brothers" being a Pathan (Afghan) himself. His Majesty proceeded to say that no one could be more happy than him to see that these brotherly relations are not only established but strengthened to an extent which might be a source of envy to others.

5. I told His Majesty that as a Pathan I must thank him from the bottom of my heart for having extended his hospitality to me on my arrival and by putting me up in the Royal Afghan Government Guest House for so many days where I was quite at home and conducted the negotiations in a most congenial atmosphere. I also told His Majesty

that being a Pathan and having tasted his salt I would do all that is humanly possible to strengthen the ties of brotherly relationship between the two countries (Pakistan and Afghanistan) and would see that no misunderstanding whatsoever arises between the two countries. I added that time will prove it better than mere words. On this, His Majesty told me that he expected all this from a 'noble soul' and in the presence of such people there cannot be a chance of any misunderstanding between the two great countries (Afghanistan and Pakistan), and that if there be any petty differences those could surely be made up by mutual discussions. His Majesty went on to say that now that the Embassies are being set up, the question of brotherly relationship is settled. As regards discussions on various matters, political or otherwise, the usual channels could be employed and a settlement effected.

6. During the course of conversation His Majesty told me that being a brother I should not hesitate in seeing him more often than other heads of diplomatic missions as he would always be pleased to see me at any time that suited my convenience. I told His Majesty that as he had given me so much latitutde I am afraid he will forget his own Ministers and find me looking after the work of both the Governments (Pakistan and Afghanistan) which he appreciated immensely and told the Afghan Foreign Minister that this was the only appropriate reply which he expected from a Pathan.

7. His Majesty repeatedly said "I am happy to see our own brother (P.R.Q.) among us and I do hope that you will be returning to Kabul soon". I told His Majesty that with the establishment of diplomatic relations and the setting up of Embassies in Kabul and Karachi my mission has, by *Allah's* Grace, terminated successfully and it will now be for the Pakistan Government to send out their Ambassador whosoever he might be. I had come here for preliminary negotiations and God be thanked that "with the co-operation of Your Majesty's Ministers" these concluded successfully. With the permission of the Royal Afghan Government I would leave Kabul for Karachi shortly.

8. Before parting, His Majesty wished me the best of luck and told me again that he was delighted to receive the Personal Representative of Quaid-i-Azam at a time when his presence here was so much needed and that he was glad that the doubts or misunderstandings, if any, were thoroughly removed.

[SAIDULLAH KHAN]

104

Erskine Crum to Zahid Husain

Mountbatten Papers, F. 87

SECRET NEW DELHI,
22 October 1947

The thirteenth meeting of the Joint Defence Council will be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, 30th October 1947, at Government House, New Delhi.

2. Attached is a note,[1] by the Chairman of the Joint Defence Council, for consideration at that meeting.

3. Other papers and the Agenda will be issued in due course.

ERSKINE CRUM
Conference Secretary

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 104
Mountbatten Papers, F. 87

Note by the Chairman of the Joint Defence Council

The composition of the Joint Defence Council after the closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters

1. In paragraph 14 of the Supreme Commander's Paper[1] entitled "Closing-Down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters" which was considered under item 17 of the Joint Defence Council meeting held at Lahore on Thursday, 16th October 1947,[2] it was suggested that the Commander, British Forces in India and Pakistan, should become a member of the Joint Defence Council....

2. At that meeting, I put forward the suggestion that the senior (i.e. the Army) Commander-in-Chief in each Dominion should become member of the Joint Defence Council after the closing-down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters.

3. I now wish to put up firm recommendations as to the composition of the Joint Defence Council after Supreme Commander's Headquarters has disappeared. I recommend:

a. that the senior Commander-in-Chief of each Dominion should become a full member of the Council;
b. that the Commander, British Forces in India and Pakistan, should not be a member of the Joint Defence Council. He may, however,

request the Chairman to be allowed to attend any particular meeting of the Council should he think it desirable and necessary that the Council should be informed of his views on any matter affecting the welfare of the forces under his command, which concern both India and Pakistan. The Chairman of the Joint Defence Council may also invite him to attend if there are any matters which the Council wish to discuss with him. In matters of this kind, in which India only or Pakistan only is concerned, he should approach the appropriate Defence Department directly.

4. These recommendations are for the consideration of the Council at its next meeting. I have ascertained that the Supreme Commander is in full agreement with the proposal in paragraph 3(b).

[1]Enclosure 1 to No. 82.
[2]Enclosure 2 to No. 82.

105

M. Ayub to Mohammad Zafrullah Khan
FOA, I. 77
[Extract]

22 October 1947

There was one curious episode which will be of interest to you. The delegate for Afghanistan came to the rostrum and made the following announcement:

> According to instructions which the delegation of Afghanistan has received from its Government, the discussion with regard to our north western frontier is being continued by diplomatic means between the Governments concerned, and hope is held that an agreement will be reached. It is in this hope that the delegation of Afghanistan wishes to withdraw the negative vote which it cast at the meeting of the General Assembly on 30th September, 1947.
>
> The delegation of Afghanistan takes this opportunity to congratulate Pakistan on its admission to the United Nations.

We were somewhat taken by surprise and decided not to make any formal statement before the Assembly. Mr. Ispahani, however, gave the following statement to the press:

> The Pakistan delegation were glad to hear the delegate for Afghanistan this morning withdraw the vote that he cast against the admission of Pakistan to membership in the United Nations. We could not appreciate the reasons that prompted him to record his dissent in the first instance and we hope that this latest statement reflects most accurately the feeling of friendship and good neighbourliness which exist between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

[M. AYUB]

106

Ali Muhammad Khan to Saidullah Khan

F. 1026/26-7

KABUL,
D.O. No. 2420 *23 October 1947*

My dear Excellency,

With due deference I am writing to refer to my discussion held with Your Excellency at the Foreign Ministry of the 27th *Mizan* 1326 (21st October 1947), and to elucidate the following points, as desired by Your Excellency:

1. Like the Government of Pakistan, the Royal Afghan Govt. is sincerely desirous of the fact that an Afghan Embassy should be set up at Karachi and that a Pakistan Embassy should be established at Kabul.

2. At the same time, the Royal Afghan Govt. demand that the negotiations relating to the Afghans living between the Durand Line and River Indus—which have indeed been going on for some time past between Afghanistan and Great Britain, in the form of correspondence and discussions—should also be opened between the Afghan Govt. and the Pakistan Govt. and that these negotiations should continue until a satisfactory decision is arrived at.

With this object in view the name of His Excellency Najibullah Khan has, as already intimated in writing, been introduced to you as an Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan, and it is hoped that he will leave for Karachi soon to negotiate the issues there.

3. The issues scheduled to be negotiated by the Extraordinary Representative of Afghanistan are stated below, so as to enable Your Excellency to bring the same to the notice of your Government on your arrival (at headquarters):

a. The view point of the Royal Afghan Govt. in regard to the nature of the Afghans settled between Durand Line and River Indus—as per discussions carried out with the British Govt. vide previous correspondence of which Your Excellency is aware and the elucidations furnished by me in the course of our discussion of the 27th *Mizan* 1326 (21st October 1947).[1]

b. The execution of fresh political and commercial treaties with the Pakistan Govt. and such matters as may be of mutual interest and conducive to the benefits of both the parties and the friendly policy of co-operation and good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

Whilst elucidating the above facts, I am awaiting a reply indicating Your Excellency's concurrence to this letter.

I offer and renew an assurance of my distinguished considerations.

[ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN]

[1]No. 96.

107

Saidullah Khan to Ali Muhammad Khan

F. 1026/28

No. P/2/47 *23 October 1947*

My dear Excellency,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. 2429 [2420] of the 29th of *Mizan* 1326 (23rd October 1947).[1]

2. Before leaving Kabul I feel that I must thank Your Excellency and the Royal Afghan Government for the courtesy, friendliness and brotherly regard shown to me which has in a large measure contributed to the successful conclusion of our negotiations. I have no doubt the agreement of the Royal Afghan Government to the exchange of Embassies will give satisfaction to the peoples of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. It will be my pleasant duty to communicate this decision to my Government. I shall also, as desired, inform them of the points which His Excellency Najibullah Khan wishes to talk about during his stay in Karachi, as specified in your letter under reference.

3. I shall be grateful if you will kindly convey my heartfelt thanks to His Majesty the King for his kind and affectionate treatment, and to Their Royal Highnesses Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan and Sardar Shah Wali Khan for the encouragement and sympathetic consideration I received at their hands throughout my stay here.

Please accept, my dear Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

SAIDULLAH KHAN

His Excellency Sardar-i-A'la, Ali Muhammad Khan,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Kabul

[1]No. 106.

108

G. M. Baltistani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 118/2(Vol. II)-GG/9

7/18 JACOB LINES,
KARACHI,
23 October 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

Your Excellency's humble servant Ghulam Mohammad Baltistani as ex-representative for Frontier District (Kashmir) respectfully showeth:

Your Excellency's humble servant has read in papers about the grave situation of Muslims of Kashmir and Jammu, but he is rather surprised to know as to what will be the fate of his community, Baltistanis, in the North-Western Frontier District where about two lakh of Muslims are located in 7 zones, viz:

i. Skardu ii. Khaploo iii. Shigar iv. Kharmang
v. Rondu vi. Tolti vii. Keres

2. Your Excellency's humble servant represented the rights of his community, Baltistanis, in the legislature of Kashmir Government in 1933.

3. Your Excellency's humble servant desires that the rights of his community, Baltistanis, may be preserved by Pakistan Government if Kashmir joins Pakistan.

4. Your Excellency's humble servant offers his services in Pakistan Government so far Baltistan area is concerned and that his request to serve the Muslim nation may not be ignored when necessity arises.

Meanwhile Your Excellency's humble servant appends herewith a brief history of Baltistanis[1] for Your Excellency's kind perusal.

Your Excellency's humble servant,
GHULAM MOHAMMAD BALTISTANI
ex-Representative for Frontier District (Kashmir)

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 108

F. 118/2 (Vol. II)-GG/10

WESTERN COURT, NEW DELHI,
20 January 1941

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BALTISTANIS[1]

The necessity in writing the history of our nation is due to the fact that there was a grave misapprehension prevailing in the minds of the public throughout Simla that Baltistanis residing at Laddakhi Mohalla, Simla, are Laddakhis.

Considerable references were made to the Punjab Govt. and local authorities to change the name of the said locality as Baltistani *Mohalla* with a view to remove this misapprehension.

I am thankful to Khan Sahib Sayed Mehdi Ali Shah, Senior Vice-President of the Simla Municipality who moved a motion in the Committee that the name of the *Mohalla* be changed to Baltistani Mohalla. The Simla Municipality after due consideration accepted this motion and changed the name of the said locality to Baltistani Mohalla through Resolution No. LXII dated the 16th December 1940.

Baltistanis are the inhabitants of Baltistan Province which is situated in the North-Western Frontier range covering an area of 45,672 sq. miles with a population of 1,53,000 Muslims out of which 4,266 adult males are literate. Owing to a large majority of the male population being illiterate, election of members for the newly constituted Legislative Assembly, Kashmir, could not be held in 1934. Two Muslim Members (Baltistanis), are nominated after 3 years by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu & Kashmir to represent Baltistan Province from Skardu, and Kargil Tehsils.

Baltistan has 7 tributaries, viz (1) Skardu (2) Khaploo (3) Shigar (4) Kharmang (5) Rondu (6) Tolti (7) Keres, where seven Baltistani Rajas are ruling under His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir.

Baltistanis are generally residing in Murree, Kashmir, Jammu, Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Mandi, Kulu, Chamba, Mussorie, Nainital, Chakrata and Simla.

GHULAM MOHAMMAD BALTISTANI
ex-Representative for Frontier District (Kashmir)

[1]The *Statesman,* 16 January 1941.

109

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Amb

F. 7-GG/14

No. D. 183-GG/47 *23 October 1947*

Dear Nawab Sahib,

[*Portion missing*]

With regard to your last paragraph of your letter, yes I have received your letter of the 15th of August,[1] and I thank you much for it. I shall be very glad indeed to meet you and welcome you at Karachi. As regards the time convenient to me, it is not very easy for me to say definitely as I am working all the time, but that cannot come in the way of my meeting you and welcoming you. I shall be delighted to receive you if you will only give me 48 hours notice before your arrival.

My provisional programme just now is that I am leaving for Lahore on the 26th, and then after a few days of my return I propose to go to Baluchistan on the 6th of November. Thereafter I shall be in Karachi for some time, I hope.

With very kind regards and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Nawab of Amb State,
Shergarh, P. O. Oghi,
District Hazara, NWFP

[1]Appendix V. 6, Vol. V, 541-2.

110

M. A. Jinnah to R. K. Dalmia

F. 85/21-2

23 October 1947

Dear Mr. Ram Krishna Dalmia,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th of October.[1] I am sending you herewith a copy of rough draft of the previous Sale Deed[2] giving the necessary description and particulars to enable your legal adviser to draw up the Sale Deed[3] between you and me. Please send it to me as

soon as it is ready. I shall no doubt have to make arrangements for the execution of the document by me, and I may have to give the Power of Attorney to somebody in Delhi about which there will be no difficulty.

[*Para 2 omitted being incomplete*]

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ram Krishna Dalmia, Esq.,
Dalmia Jain Nivas,
New Delhi

[1]No. 77.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]About 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

111

Sultan Ahmad Khan to F. Amin

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/152-3

BALOCH BUILDING,
OPP[OSITE] LEA MARKET,
KARACHI,
23 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. D 26-GG/47, dated 6 October 1947,[1] and thank you for it.

In my confidential letter dated the 7th October 1947,[2] addressed to the Quaid-i-Azam, I have, I think, indicated the subject which I am so anxious to discuss with him. On consideration of that you will, no doubt, agree that the matter is of an extremely delicate nature. It is also, I may add, necessarily rather complicated. Its detailed discussion, at this stage in writing therefore appears to me rather inadvisable. Moreover, and this aspect of the matter weighs much with me, the facts which I want to place before the Quaid-i-Azam have so far remained a closely-guarded secret of my mind and I request you therefore not to misunderstand me when I say that I would like to reveal them personally to the Quaid-i-Azam only.

However, it seems to me that I have to give some further notification for my request for an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam whose time is, necessarily, so very precious. I will therefore throw some further light on the matter, to enable the consideration of my request.

As is well-known, the unfriendly attitude of the Afghan Govt. towards Pakistan and the anti-national activities of the Khan Brothers and their henchmen in the North-West Frontier tribal areas, backed up by all the resources of Hindu finances and propaganda machinery, constitute a threat to our State. In fact, no effort is being spared by the Hindu-cum-Sikh axis, to strangle our new State in its very infancy. In these critical days, I consider it my most imperative and sacred duty, as a Pakistani and a Muslim, to do all I can to confound our enemies, even at the cost of the supreme sacrifice. As I have stated in my previous letter, I know Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier tribal areas and their people very well. I also possess influence in these areas because of my ancestral position and the high esteem in which the people still hold the memory of my grandfather the late Amir Sher Ali Khan of Afghanistan. I have also personal acquaintance with many of the influential *Mullas* and *Maliks,* both in Afghanistan and the tribal areas. All this I could utilize to the considerable advantage of Pakistan and for confounding our enemies and putting all their evil designs to naught. This being the position, it would be criminal and sinful on my part to remain inactive at this period of grave crisis in our national life. But, as a Muslim, I also know the meaning of discipline and the supreme duty of obedience to the *Amir*. I therefore desire to place my views and services before the Quaid-i-Azam and, after a personal discussion with him, to abide by his orders. It is for this reason and in this context that I request the favour of an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. I again, most earnestly, repeat the request and pray that he will be graciously pleased to grant it.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad! Pakistan Paindabad!

Yours faithfully,
SULTAN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 33.

112

Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf

F. 167(2)-GG/9

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
23 October 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

Received your letter No. 1691-GG/47, dated the 4th instant,[1] regarding factions in the local Muslim League in Chittagong.

For the last year and a half the President of the Muslim League and the Secretary (Fazlul Quadir Chowdhury) have been fighting one another. From time to time complaints against Fazlul Quadir were made before the Provincial and All-India Muslim League. About six months ago, there were serious allegations of *goondaism,* wanton destruction of property, and assault by the National Guards under the orders of Fazlul Quadir Chowdhury on the men belonging to the party of the President who happened to be big merchants and the stable elements in Chittagong. Recently the matter came to a head and it looked as if there may be serious rioting between the two sides. Unfortunately the District Magistrate, it was alleged, was supporting Fazlul Quadir Chowdhury and his party. At the same time it was reported that some of the National Guards were secretly armed with American weapons, such as bren guns, tommy guns, etc. The situation had to be handled tactfully. Before any action could be taken, troops and armed police had to be sent there and the District Magistrate transferred. The new District Magistrate is going to take over charge from the 2nd of November. He has been instructed to deal severely with both sides if they give any trouble and, at the same time, to try and see that the dispute between the office-bearers of the District Muslim League is amicably settled.

Yours sincerely,

KH[WAJA] NAZIMUDDIN

[1]No. 25.

113

Note by Francis Mudie

F. 803/24-30

LAHORE,
23 October 1947

REHABILITATION

Excluding those who may come from places outside East Punjab—and their number may be considerable—and including those from East Punjab that may go to Bahawalpur or Sind, we will have to absorb 21 lakh people more than we lose. The sudden absorption of this number in a population of 172 lakh would in itself be a sufficiently difficult problem. But the problem with which we are faced is far worse. We have to receive, find work and to some extent finance a population of 59 lakh who have left practically all they had behind them, many of whom are ill and all to some extent demoralised. At the same time our economy has been thoroughly disorganised by the departure of 38 lakh people.

2. Taking first agriculturists. Our present agricultural population of 58 lakh will be increased to 71 lakh. This will undoubtedly lead to pressure on the soil, from which the West Punjab has so far, I understand, been comparatively free. We are likely therefore to have tenancy agitation. We will also have to take steps to finance the new cultivators. Some lowering of the standard of life of the cultivators seems in any case to be inevitable.

3. Merely on the figures, all that is required to rehabilitate the agriculturists who come from the East Punjab is for each of the existing cultivators to surrender 1/5th of his present holding and be content with 4/5ths. But this will not readily happen in practice. Although most tenants have no legal right of occupancy, many must have cultivated the same land for generations and will resent any attempt to deprive them of it. The united opposition of a village to the forcing on them of unwanted strangers would be very difficult, if not impossible, to overcome. Also there would be no houses for the newcomers. Peasant proprietors who have small holdings will also undoubtedly refuse to give up any portion of their holdings. Refugee agriculturists might crowd into villages that had been wholly or largely abandoned and some landowners might persuade their tenants to sacrifice some of their land to refugees, but elsewhere refugees would

probably be driven back to the towns or to the camps from which they came.

4. We will, therefore, in my opinion very soon be faced with the problem of a large number of unemployed agriculturists. To these, we will have to add a number of unemployed non-agriculturists. We will lose 27 lakh of non-agriculturists and obtain 35 lakh non-agriculturists from the East. Our non-agriculturist population will increase by 8 lakh, i.e. from 114 lakh to 122 lakh and just at a time when our economy has been shattered by the flight of capitalists, technical experts, clerks, etc., who have been replaced, if at all, only to a very small extent by new-comers from the East.

5. I do not know whether it is worthwhile trying to form an estimate of the unemployment problem with which we have to deal. Things may not turn out as badly in practice as they look on paper. Unemployed in this country often just go home and live in their villages doing odd jobs. But the people that we will be dealing with will mostly have no home and no village to go to. They will hang about the streets of the larger towns or live and have to be fed in camps. So I think that some sort of estimate is worth attempting. We start off with the 8 lakh non-agriculturists that we are getting in excess of those that we are losing. We need not, I think, take the whole of the 13 lakh excess agriculturists. We might take 8 lakh, which would leave 16 lakh new-comers to squeeze into the holdings of 11 lakh Hindu and Sikh cultivators that have left and into anywhere else that they may be allowed to go. Owing to the economic dislocation, perhaps 10% of the Muslim non-agriculturists who were in the Province before the migration may be thrown out of employment. This gives another 9 lakh. On these assumptions the number of unemployed would amount to 25 lakh. I give this figure for what it is worth. But there can be no doubt that we will be faced with a very large unemployment problem.

6. Our problem is not only an unemployment problem; it is a housing problem as well. Not only are we faced with 22 lakh people for whom there will be no houses after all the houses of the evacuees have been occupied, but a large number of the houses previously occupied by evacuees have been totally or partially destroyed. In particular many are roofless. I do not know what the number of houses that have been rendered uninhabitable in this way is, but perhaps it is 10% of the number previously occupied by evacuees. If this assumption is correct, we will have to find houses for another 4 lakh of people, and the total that will be without houses, provided that they do not double up, is again 25 lakh.

7. Our problem, therefore, is what to do with about 25 lakh people who are homeless and out of work, and it must be faced at once. There are already indications that districts are becoming "full up" of refugees and that D.Cs. are reluctant to take more. Figures will soon, I hope, be ready giving an estimate of the number of refugees that each district should take on certain assumptions. The first point that I would make is that decentralisation is essential. A quota of refugees must be fixed for each district and each D.C. must be told that the care and rehabilitation of this number of refugees is his responsibility. The alternative of having lakhs of homeless unemployed in each of the few large towns of this province, particularly Lahore, is to my mind impossible. Administratively it would be impossible and politically it would be very dangerous. It appears to be almost inevitable that camps giving protection from the weather will have to be set up in each district. In some districts there will have to be several such camps. I make no attempt to discuss the principles on which district quotas should be allotted or which should govern the size of the camp. I merely note the point that all D.Cs. will have to accommodate many more refugees than they can at first find work for and that standing camps will be essential in all, or nearly all, districts. Special welfare arrangements will be required for these camps.

8. The first problem seems to me to be the housing problem, particularly as the repair of old houses or building new ones will provide employment. The capital expenditure involved will have to fall very largely on Government and there will be a danger of inflation. This may be reduced by the sale of houses as soon as they are repaired or constructed as far as this is possible. In villages I imagine people will be prepared to repair or even build houses simply for the right to occupy them, but this would need to be organised. As a start I suggest that it is essential to get ahead with the repair or demolition of damaged houses (and shops) in the large towns, particularly Lahore. A special organisation will be required for this.

9. Public works, too, will have to be carried out on an increased scale. There are a number of roads which the partition has made important, particularly along the new frontiers. There is also work in connection with the Thal area. There are probably many other schemes. It should be possible to use refugee labour, almost entirely, to build the camps that will be required for refugees who cannot be provided with houses. This, I suggest, should be done wherever there is a concentration of refugees in camps, from which it appears unlikely that they will be able to move for some time. Proper P.W.D. supervision

will be necessary and materials will have to be provided, preferably from local sources.

10. Apart from these special measures, the principal things to do will be to get the economic life of the Province restarted. All orders by D. Cs., which place unnecessary restrictions on trade and which appear to have been passed either through panic or uncertainty as to the policy to be pursued, must be cancelled at once. Shops that have been sealed must be re-opened if the owner is prepared to run them either himself or through an agent. Evacuees must be allowed freely to sell their businesses; preference, but not monopoly, being given to refugees. The dangers of the present situation must be impressed on D.Cs. and they must be told that the re-establishment of the economic life of the Province is a paramount necessity and overrides every other consideration except the maintenance of law and order. They must do nothing to undermine confidence in the commercial future of Pakistan.

11. I am apprehensive too of a shortage of consumer goods. It is no use allotting a shop to a refugee unless he can replenish the stock that he finds in it. This means transport. We must, as soon as possible, restore rail transport of goods from Karachi. We must also provide finance.

12. Special arrangements are being made to finance the cotton crop, but there is a great deal of other finance to be done, including the financing of the small shopkeeper and trader and the owner of a small manufacturing business. Banking must be set on its feet again, including exchange banking. There is also the difficult problem of what to do about Hindu banks which may be considered as closed for good as far as the West Punjab is concerned. It seems to me to be absolutely necessary that we should have in the West Punjab an expert practical banker to go into all these problems and see what can be done and do it.

13. All these various measures will either only have a temporary effect or do no more than restore the status quo ante migration when our population was 22 lakh less than it will be. Even if we allow for any new land that can be brought under cultivation on the completion of the Thal Project or otherwise, we must industrialise rapidly and on a large scale if we are to avoid a permanent fall in the standard of living, particularly in the rural area. We must in this matter seek freely the help of foreign capital, and foreign capitalists must be given every encouragement to set up business in Pakistan. Cotton spinning and weaving is a case in which large scale development is obviously possible. There must be other cases. We want to develop smaller industries as well. We might set up trading estates as was done in the U.K. during the slump in the thirties and is being done now in Sind.

14. Whatever we do we will, I fear, be faced with the problem of the "dole". It may be necessary to get an expert on unemployment from the U.K.

15. For all this work too we should have a first class economic adviser, with adequate staff, to guide us and prevent our rehabilitation work becoming unbalanced. Whatever we paid him in reason would in the end be an economy.

16. To sum up, the action which it appears to me should be taken at once is as follows:[1]

a. The question of tenancy reform to forestall agitation that may arise owing to pressure on the land should be examined by the Revenue Department of the Govt. of West Punjab and proposals put up.
b. The Refugees and Rehabilitation Dept. should fix quotas of refugees to be taken by each district.
c. That Department should submit proposals for the repair (or demolition and in suitable cases reconstruction) of damaged houses and shops (a) in towns and (b) in villages.
d. That Department should submit proposals for the erection, preferably by the refugees themselves, of standing camps where unemployed refugees may live through the winter.
e. The P.W.D. of the West Punjab Govt. should examine the question of expediting public works to give maximum employment to refugees.
f. The Refugees and Rehabilitation Dept. should issue orders to D.Cs. to cancel all orders hampering economic reconstruction of the Province and directing their attention to increasing confidence in its industrial future.
g. That Department should take up with the Communications Dept. of the Central Government the question of running more goods trains, particularly to and from Karachi.
h. That Department should ask the Finance Dept. of the Central Government to depute to the West Punjab a banking expert.
i. The Industries Dept. of the West Punjab Govt. should be asked to submit a report on the possibilities of industrial development of the Province and the Refugees and Rehabilitation Dept. should examine the question of the employment of foreign capital and of the setting up of trading estates.
j. The Refugees and Rehabilitation Department should hold a preliminary inquiry into the possibility and necessity of engaging an

expert on unemployment problems and a high grade Economic Adviser.

FRANCIS MUDIE

[1]The suggestions made in para 16 above were accepted in the meeting of Pakistan-Punjab Refugee Council, held at Lahore on 31 October 1947, under the chairmanship of Jinnah. See F. 803/20. Not printed.

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Claude Auchinleck to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1024/32-3

JAIPUR,
24 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have to thank you yet again for your hospitality and kindness.

I am most grateful to you and I do hope that we are not too great an infliction upon you. I can only say that to stay in your house is a real rest and a relief.

I enjoyed greatly the privilege of my personal talks with you and they are most valuable to me.

With all good wishes,

Yours most sincerely,
C. J. E. AUCHINLECK
[*Supreme Commander of H. M. Forces in India & Pakistan*]

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Message by M. A. Jinnah on 'Id al-Azha

F. 188-GG/6-7

24 October 1947

God often tests and tries those whom He loves. He called upon Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice the object he loved most. Prophet Ibrahim answered the call and offered to sacrifice his son. Today too, God is testing and trying the Muslims of Pakistan and India. He has demanded great sacrifices from us. Our new-born State is bleeding from wounds inflicted by our enemies. Our Muslim brethren in India are being victimised and oppressed as Muslims for their help and sympathy for the

establishment of Pakistan. Dark clouds surround us on all sides for the moment but we are not daunted, for I am sure, if we show the same spirit of sacrifice as was shown by [Prophet] Ibrahim, God would rend the clouds and shower on us His blessings as He did on [Prophet] Ibrahim. Let us, therefore, on the day of *'Id al-Azha* which symbolises the spirit of sacrifice enjoined by Islam, resolve that we shall not be deterred from our objective of creating a State of our own concept by any amount of sacrifice, trials or tribulations which may lie ahead of us and that we shall bend all our energies and resources to achieve our goal. I am confident that in spite of its magnitude, we shall overcome this grave crisis as we have in our long history surmounted many others and notwithstanding the efforts of our enemies, we shall emerge triumphant and strong from the dark night of suffering and show to the world that the State exists not for life but for good life.

On this sacred day, I send greetings to our Muslim brethren all over the world both on behalf of myself and the people of Pakistan. For us in Pakistan, this day of thanksgiving and rejoicing has been overshadowed by the suffering and sorrow of 5 million Muslims in East Punjab and its neighbourhood. I hope that, wherever Muslim men and women forgather on this solemn day, they will remember in their prayers these unfortunate men, women and children who have lost their dear ones, hearths and homes and are undergoing an agony and suffering as great and cruel as any yet inflicted on humanity. In the name of this mass of suffering humanity I renew my appeal to Muslims wherever they may be, to extend to us in this hour of our danger and need, their hand of brotherly sympathy, support and co-operation. Nothing on earth now can undo Pakistan.

The greater the sacrifices we are made to undergo, the purer and more chastened shall we emerge like gold from fire.

So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilise all our resources in a systematic and organised way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation.

Pakistan Zindabad!

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Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru[1]

Telegram, F. 114-GG/11-4

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 351-G

LAHORE,
24 October 1947

We have received your telegram No. 358/Primin/178, dated October 19th,[2] regarding closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters by November 30th, 1947 but provisional minutes of Joint Defence Council meeting held on October 16th have not yet reached us. The Pakistan Government have given careful consideration to this question in the light of your telegram and a verbal report of the proceedings of Joint Defence Council.

2. Your telegram gives an incorrect and misleading impression of reasons for which Supreme Commander has recommended the closing down of his Headquarters and consequently of the objection of Pakistan Government to it. The Supreme Commander indicated in his note for Joint Defence Council and stated more categorically in the meeting of Joint Defence Council held on October 16th that the reasons for which he was recommending closing down of his Headquarters was that the hostile atmosphere in Delhi made it impossible for him and his officers to discharge their responsibility. He added that he could not claim to have completed his task and that if he could be assured of cooperation his recommendation would be to continue his Headquarters until the task was completed as originally agreed upon. The Chairman of Joint Defence Council[3] also laid the blame on the atmosphere in Delhi for difficulties which have confronted Supreme Commander. The Defence Minister of Pakistan[4] gave an assurance of full cooperation but no such definite assurance was forthcoming from representatives of India Government. It is clear therefore that the sole reason for recommendation by Supreme Commander for closing down of his Headquarters by November 30th is lack of co-operation by India Government and not the fact that task of reconstituting armed forces has been largely completed. A great deal remains to be done yet.

3. Under Article 10 of Joint Defence Council Order 1947,[5] the Supreme Commander is responsible for giving effect to discussions of Joint Defence Council and is to act in conformity with such directions as may be given to him in that behalf by Joint Defence Council. The Defence Minister of Pakistan asked in Joint Defence Council meeting

whether Supreme Commander had in any instance failed to give effect to decisions of Joint Defence Council or had favoured one Dominion at expense of other. The representatives of India Government could not quote a single instance of such action on the part of Supreme Commander. The inference can only be that Supreme Commander has been carrying out his duties in an entirely impartial manner. In the light of attitude of India Government towards Supreme Commander's Organisation and of discussions that have taken place in Joint Defence Council it seems that India Government do not favour continuance of an impartial authority for carrying out fully the reconstitution of armed forces including the allocation, transfer and movement of plant, machinery, equipment and stores.

4. The Pakistan Government maintain that although it is hoped that movement of major units will be over before November 30th, the task of reconstitution including the Armed Forces will take considerable time to complete (2 groups omitted) finally. The reconstitution of administrative units which are an essential part of Armed Forces has yet to be concluded and division and transfer of equipment and stores have hardly begun. A decision regarding division of plant and machinery in Ordnance Factories has not yet been taken. It is obvious, therefore, that vital principle of reconstitution of Armed Forces, namely their proper equipment, has yet to be undertaken.

5. Pakistan Government noted the assurance given by the Government of India that Pakistan's allotted share of stores held in India—and bulk of the stores are held in India—would be sent over to Pakistan. There can be no question that Pakistan Government will not be handing over to India their share of small categories of stores which are held in Pakistan. These assurances are however not a new factor in situation since under Article 9 of Joint Defence Council Order the executive authority each of two Dominions shall be so exercised as to give full effect to decision of Joint Defence Council. The necessity for continuance of Supreme Commander is therefore as great now as it was when Joint Defence Council Order was passed and will remain so until tasks which, by agreement, were placed on shoulders of an impartial and neutral authority namely the Supreme Commander have been fully completed.

6. Reference has been made in your telegram to number of senior officers in Supreme Commander Organisation. This is an entirely separate matter which should be considered on its merit.

7. The proposal of Chairman of Joint Defence Council that Army Commander-in-Chief of each Dominion should become full members

of Joint Defence Council and that they should set up an Inter-Dominion Committee to take the place of A.F.R.C. and to arrange for transfer of appropriate stores and for other matters concerning reconstitution of Armed Forces will not serve the purpose, for which advisedly the Supreme Commander's Organisation was set up. The Supreme Commander's Organisation took order from Joint Defence Council Organisation collectively which is essential for the purpose in view. The Committee of the two Commanders-in-Chief who will be under orders of their respective Governments might lead to undesirable conflict and will not serve basic object to achieve which it was agreed that there should be an authority like Supreme Commander who would not be directly under control of either Government. Continuance of this Organisation is absolutely essential to complete the task allotted to Joint Defence Council.

8. Government of Pakistan are firmly of opinion that the only proper decision is for Government of India to extend to Supreme Commander sincere cooperation to which he is entitled and which the Pakistan Government have accorded to him in fullest measure and will continue to do so.

9. The conclusion reached by Pakistan Government is that it is absolutely essential that Organisation of Supreme Commander should be continued as originally contemplated until April 1st, 1948 by which time it is reasonably hoped that reconstitution of Armed Froces would be completed, the British Officers and other ranks would have been repatriated and division and delivery to Dominion concerned of stores and equipment in, at any rate, the more important categories would have been effected.

10. A copy of this telegram has been sent to Supreme Commander and United Kingdom Government.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Copies to H. L. Ismay and Claude Auchinleck.
[2]No. 89.
[3]Louis Mountbatten.
[4]Liaquat Ali Khan.
[5]Annex.

Annex to No. 116

NEW DELHI,
11 August 1947

SECRETARIAT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL (REFORMS)

NOTIFICATION

No. G.G.O. 2.—The following Order made by the Governor-General is published for general information:

THE JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL ORDER, 1947[1]

In the exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (I) of section 9 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and in pursuance of sub-section (I) of section II thereof, the Governor-General is pleased to make the following Order:

1. 1. This Order may be cited as the Joint Defence Council Order, 1947.
   2. It shall come into force at once.
   3. It shall cease to have effect on the first day of April, 1948:

Provided that the Governor-General of India and the Governor-General of Pakistan, acting jointly, may direct that this Order shall remain in force for such further period as may be specified in the direction.

2. 1. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.
   2. In this Order,

"Indian forces" has the same meaning as in the Indian Independence Act 1947; "Dominion forces" means the armed forces of the Dominion of India or of Pakistan.

3. 1. As from the 15th day of August, 1947, there shall be set up a Council known as the Joint Defence Council for India and Pakistan.
   2. The said Council, hereinafter referred to as the Joint Defence Council, shall consist of:
      i. the Governor-General of India,
      ii. the Defence Minister of India,
      iii. the Defence Minister of Pakistan, and
      iv. the Supreme Commander of His Majesty's Forces in India and Pakistan (hereinafter referred to as the Supreme Commander).

4. The Governor-General of India shall be the independent Chairman of the Joint Defence Council.

5. The person who at the date of the commencement of this Order is

the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in India shall be the Supreme Commander.

6. 1. If a Defence Minister is for any reason unable to attend any meeting of the Joint Defence Council, he shall be entitled to depute another Minister or the High Commissioner for the Dominion concerned to attend the meeting in his place, and such other Minister or High Commissioner shall have for the purposes of that meeting all the powers of the Defence Minister.

2. If the Supreme Commander is for any reason unable to attend any meeting of the Joint Defence Council, he shall be entitled to depute a member of his "Chiefs of Staff" committee to attend the meeting in his place, and such member shall have for the purposes of that meeting all the powers of the Supreme Commander.

7. At any meeting of the Joint Defence Council,—

a. a Defence Minister may be accompanied by another Minister;

b. a Defence Minister or the Supreme Commander may call in to assist him at the meeting in an advisory capacity one or more experts.

8. The Joint Defence Council shall be in exclusive control of—

a. the division of the Indian forces between the Dominions and their reconstitution as two separate Dominion forces;

b. the allocation, transfer and movement of officers and men belonging to the Indian forces for the purposes of such reconstitution;

c. the allocation, transfer and movement for the purposes of such reconstitution of plant, machinery, equipment and stores held by the Governor-General in Council immediately before the 15th day of August, 1947, for the purposes of the Indian forces;

d. such naval, military and air force establishments as the Joint Defence Council may specify, for such temporary period as that Council may consider necessary or expedient;

e. the general administration of naval, military and air force law, and the maintenance of discipline, in the armed forces of each of the two Dominions;

f. the general arrangements for the payment, food, clothing, medical attendance and equipment of the armed forces of each of the two dominions;

g. any armed force which may be operating, or may hereafter be sent to operate, under joint command in such areas near the boundaries between the two Dominions as are for the time

being declared by or under a Provincial law to be disturbed areas;

h. any Indian forces which are for the time being overseas;

Provided that the control of the Joint Defence Council shall not extend,—

i. except in relation to the forces mentioned in paragraphs (g) and (h) of this Article, to the disposition and operational control within the Dominion, and the local administration, of the armed forces of either Dominion, or

ii. to the selection and recruitment of officers and men for the armed forces of either Dominion and their training, when such training takes place elsewhere than in training establishment specified by the Joint Defence Council under paragraph (d) of this Article;

Provided further that the Joint Defence Council shall cause such measures to be taken as will enable them gradually to withdraw their control in respect of all or any of the matters mentioned in paragraphs (d), (e) and (f) of this Article with a view to the cessation of control as early as may be practicable and in any event before the 1st day of April 1948.

9. The executive authority of each of the two Dominions shall be so exercised as to give full effect to any orders or directions that may be made or given by the Joint Defence Council in the exercise of the powers conferred on them by this Order.

10. The Supreme Commander shall be responsible for giving effect to the decisions of the Joint Defence Council and shall act in conformity with such directions as may be given to him in that behalf by the Joint Defence Council.

11. The posting and promotion of any officer of His Majesty's forces who is not a member of, but is attached to or serving with, any of the Dominion forces, shall be made only in consultation with the Supreme Commander.

12. Where by virtue of the provisions of this Order any members of the Indian Forces are for the time being subject to the command or control of the Supreme Commander, the Supreme Commander shall exercise—

a. in the case of such members as are subject to the Indian Army Act, 1911, the powers of the Commander-in-Chief under that Act; and

b. in the case of such members as are subject to the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, the powers of the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief under that Act; and when any such powers are so exercised by the Supreme Commander, the powers of the Central Government under the Indian Army Act, 1911, or as the case may be, the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, shall be exercisable by the Joint Defence Council.

13. There shall be two Joint Secretaries of the Joint Defence Council nominated, respectively, by the Governor-General of India and the Governor-General of Pakistan, and such other secretarial staff as may be appointed by or under the authority of the Joint Defence Council.

14. There shall be set up by order of the Joint Defence Council a financial and accounting organisation charged with the duty of scrutinising and advising on proposals involving expenditure, giving financial sanction thereto and accounting for all the expenses referred to in the next succeeding Article.

15. All expenses incurred by or under authority derived from the Joint Defence Council or the Supreme Commander for carrying into effect the purposes of this Order shall be borne by the Dominions of India and Pakistan in such proportion as may be determined by the Joint Defence Council.

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA
Governor-General
K. V. K. SUNDARAM
Officer on Special Duty

[1]Reprinted as item 6 in *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary,* 13 September 1947, which was subsequently amended. See ibid., 1 December 1947. Not printed.

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A. D. F. Dundas to M.A. Jinnah

F. 142/53-4

SECRET

QUETTA,
24 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have today sent Birnie a draft programme[1] for Your Excellency's visit. I hope it is not too strenuous, and if you feel it necessary to cut it down, of course you must do so, but Baluchistan is a very out-of-the-way corner and we naturally want to make the most of the visit.

2. You have allotted us four days, but there is a possible complication about Kalat, which has induced me to leave Sunday almost blank. Fell,[2] who has some idea which way His Highness' mind is working, thinks it quite possible that it might turn matters in favour of speedy accession if Your Excellency went to pay a visit to Kalat State, say for lunch at Mastung (fifty minutes drive from Quetta), and if His Highness were able to take and announce the decision then on his own territory. I do not know what Your Excellency's reactions would be to this, but I told Fell that at least I

would be no subscriber to it unless I had a genuine assurance that it was His Highness' intention to accede and that he wanted to make the best of the occasion of doing so; I would not agree if I felt that His Highness wanted to get Your Excellency out for lunch, then think about it and either do nothing or try and bargain.

3. About an Advisory Council, I have had a close discussion with the Political Agents and others whom I can trust to advise me. On the whole I am still of the opinion that an Advisory Council of three is the best course. Some have suggested one, an Adviser in the constitutional sense of the word, and for this they have in mind the Jogezai Nawab. I am not in favour of this. You cannot make one man as Adviser without giving him executive power, which at this stage we do not want to do. Others suggest a larger Council, of five, ten or even twenty. I do not like this either at this stage. Such a Council would look too much like a Legislative Assembly, which also we do not want at this stage, or, failing that it would be merely a reduced *Shahi Jirga* and would detract from the authority and prestige of the *Shahi Jirga* itself, which at this stage we cannot do without.

4. Next, there is the thorny question of who the three are to be. Everyone whom I have consulted says at once that the Jogezai Nawab is in a class by himself; no one else has the same character, influence or position. Since he is a Pathan, the other Sardar should be a Baluchi, though as Your Excellency says there must be no question of one member to represent Pathans and another to represent Baluchis. The strongest man among the Baluchis is probably Mir Doda Khan, the Marri *Sarbarah* (the actual Marri chief is a minor aged eighteen). I do not think that a Marri or a Bugti should be appointed, since these two tribal areas have never been administered like the rest of Baluchistan but have been treated throughout as semi-independent. My own choice, if there were no complications, would be for the Raisani Nawab, Sir Asadullah Khan, who seems universally respected and trusted, but there are difficulties. The foremost is that he is a Kalat Sardar, although he is also a Sind Sardar and a property owner of Quetta. This might be an advantage, in that it would show Kalat's association with the administration, but the one thing certain is that the Raisani Nawab could not be appointed without the Khan's agreement. There is also the difficulty of the Nawab's knighthood. I do not know at all whether he would accept appointment if it were offered to him, and I have not attempted to sound him, but I am told that he did say that if there were to be elections in Baluchistan he would stand as a candidate, which looks rather as if he would.

5. If both the Raisani Nawab and the Marri *Sarbarah* are ruled out,

the next most suitable seems to be Rustom Khan Jamali of Nasirabad Tahsil. I have not met him yet, but all the Political Agents were agreed that if the Raisani Nawab and Mir Doda Khan are not appointed, and I personally feel fairly certain that the latter should not be, then Rustom Khan is the next most influential. The truth of the matter is that there are no all-Baluchistan figures except the Jogezai Nawab and the Raisani Nawab.

6. For non-Sardars, we are all agreed that the Vice-President of the Quetta Municipality is the only possible choice. This brings in the elective element. The Vice-President is doubly elected, first by his ward to be a member of the Committee and then by the Committee to be Vice-President. The holder of the office at the moment is Seth Fida Ali Alibhoy, a Bohra Musalman. He is an important merchant with interests outside as well as inside Quetta and a respected and influential man.

6A. The suggestion was discussed that instead of accepting official recommendations Your Excellency might ask the *Shahi Jirga* to submit two names for nomination. There might be something in this idea and I am not entirely opposed to it. All the same, I do not think it really accords with an Advisory Council which is to have no executive authority. I think we should not admit the principle of election until we are ready to accord power. It has never worked happily in the past, as experience of District Boards, Legislative Assemblies, Councils, etc., in which there was a nominated majority, showed. The appointment of the Vice-President of the Municipality to the Advisory Council would not be contrary to this principle; although he has been elected, he has not been elected to this particular body.

7. To sum up, my recommendations are for a Council of three consisting of the following:

1. The Jogezai Nawab
2. The Raisani Nawab, Mir Doda Khan Marri or Rustom Khan Jamali
3. Seth Fida Ali Alibhoy, Vice-President, Quetta Municipal Committee (described thus in full, not merely by name nor merely ex-officio)

8. I am sorry not to be able to submit more names for Your Excellency's choice, but as I have said there are really no all-Baluchistan figures except the first two mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,
A. D. F. DUNDAS
[*Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan*]

[1]Enclosure to No. 118.
[2]D. Y. Fell, Foreign Secretary, Kalat State.

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A. D. F. Dundas to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 216(VI)-GG/2-4

D. O. No. 239-P15/47

QUETTA,
25 October 1947

My dear Birnie,

I enclose a draft programme[1] for His Excellency's visit to Quetta. I trust that it is not too strenuous or that if it is too strenuous His Excellency will be able to allot another day so that we may space that programme out rather than cut it down.

2. I have not yet heard from you who will accompany His Excellency. If Miss Jinnah is coming, as we hope, I will make some suggestions for visits to and by her also. There is much here that would interest her.

3. The Baluch Regimental Centre propose to invite His Excellency to dinner one night, General Moh[amma]d Akbar having given me to understand that such an invitation would be acceptable.

4. We very much hope His Excellency will address Civil and Military Officers on the lines of his recent address to a similar audience in Karachi. I have tentatively proposed this for Sunday afternoon or evening.

5. I have made no allowance for either the Khan of Kalat or the Jam of Las Bela or the Chief of Kharan to be present, and feel quite unable to do so on my own in the present delicate state of negotiations between them. All three were to have been invited to dinner and to the garden party in 1944 when Lord Wavell was expected in Quetta. *I am inclined to think the best thing would be to assume that they will not be in Quetta, as none of them have yet acceded, and to issue no invitations. If they ask to see His Excellency here, that will be a different matter and I think they should be allowed to do so; then, if this brings them to Quetta, I could include them in an invitation to dinner.*[2] I feel pretty certain the Khan of Kalat will not come, but the other two might wish to do so. You might like to consult the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations before referring this point to His Excellency.

6. Please let me have telegraphic reply to points arising from this letter, as you will appreciate that we have very little time left.

Yours sincerely,
A. D. F. DUNDAS

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Underlined and sidelined in the original.

Enclosure to No. 118

Provisional Programme of Public Engagements of His Excellency the Governor-General on his Visit to Quetta, 6th to 10th November[1]

F. 216(VI)-GG/3-4

6th November

11.00 a.m.	Arrival at Samungli—Private His Excellency will be met by Agent to the Governor-General; Revenue Commissioner; Secretary; Political Agent, Quetta-Pishin; Deputy Inspector General, Frontier Corps; Senior Superintendent of Police; Sub-Area Commander and Staff Officer; President, Muslim League The Pishin Scouts will form a Guard of Honour
11.30 a.m.	Arrival at Residency Military Guard of Honour Mrs. Dundas will meet His Excellency and the Personal Indian Assistant will be introduced
1.30 p.m.	Lunch Political Agent, Quetta and Mrs. Khan, Secretary and Mrs. Bacon will be invited to lunch
Afternoon 3.00 p.m.	Drive round city with Agent to the Governor-General and Political Agent, visiting Civil Hospital, Sandeman College, Mission Hospital, etc.
4.00 p.m.	Return to Residency
8.30 p.m.	Dinner Revenue Commissioner; Senior Superintendent of Police; Brig. Lindsay and Mrs. Lindsay will be invited to dinner

7th November

10.00—11.00 a.m.	Interviews—Superintending Engineer, Irrigation; Superintendent of Education and Director of Agriculture

11.30 a.m.	Drive to Town Hall for address by Municipal Committee Police Guard of Honour
1.00 p.m.	Lunch Secretary, PWD, Chief Medical Officer and Deputy Inspector General, Frontier Corps will be invited to lunch
	Prayers at *Jum'a Masjid*
	Function arranged by Provincial Muslim League
8.30 p.m.	Dinner party of 24 (including house party)
8th November	
10.30—12.00	Interviews with representatives of each Agency and of Marri and Bugti Tribal areas— 7 interviews, each of from 1 to 4 persons. Interview with Sir Henry Holland
1.30 p.m.	Lunch Political Agents and Director of Food Supplies will be invited
3.30 p.m.	Address by *Shahi Jirga* in formal *Darbar* in Residency Garden, followed by Garden Party During tea, presentation of medals to three or four officers (O.B.E. and M.C.) and one lady (Kaisar-i-Hind bronze medal)
8.30 p.m.	Dinner —No guests
9th November	
	Programme[2] to be arranged later, including possible visit to Kalat State for lunch with the Khan at Mastung (50 minutes drive from Quetta) and address to Civil and Military Officers
8.30 p.m.	Dinner with Baluch Regimental Centre
10th November	Short interviews to thank officers on

whom burden of arrangements falls, e.g. Senior Superintendent of Police; Personal Indian Assistant; Secretary, Under Secretary
Departure.[3] No Guards of Honour. The same party will attend as on arrival

[1]See Nos. 121 and 125.
[2]Jinnah recorded, "To stand over till my arrival".
[3]Jinnah noted, "Don't fix date of departure. Will decide after my arrival".

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S. M. Rizwan Ullah to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 25(Part I)-GG/238

MUBARAK HAVELI,
LAHORE,
25 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I, along with other responsible members of the U. P. Muslim League, have come to the Western Punjab on a mission of peace and goodwill. We have done some spade work in the Western Punjab and we feel that the response has been sufficiently encouraging.

Before leaving for Western Pakistan, we decided to see you and place before you the present condition of U. P. and other minority provinces' Muslims. Now we also wish to place before you some important proposals for the consideration of the Pakistan Government in connection with the present situation relating to the minorities in Pakistan and Indian Union.

I, therefore, hope that you will be pleased to grant us an interview which we feel is absolutely necessary. I would further request you to give us sufficient time to place our point of view before you.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. RIZWAN ULLAH
Acting President,
U. P. Muslim League

[1]Rizwan Ullah sent a reminder on 29 October 1947. See F. 25 (Part I)-GG/239. Not printed.

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Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 151-GG/10

SECRET / IMMEDIATE

NEW DELHI,
25 October 1947

Central Muslim League Office wants to transfer all property records and staff to Karachi.[1] Kindly obtain instructions of Quaid-i-Azam.

[ZAHID HUSAIN]

[1]See No. 272, Vol. V, 267. Also see No. 43.

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E. St. J. Birnie to A.D.F. Dundas

Telegram, F. 216(VI)-GG/5

IMMEDIATE
No. 1461-P

KARACHI,
26 October 1947

Your D.O. 239-P15/47 of 25 Oct.[1] Quaid agrees whole programme for sixth, seventh and eighth November. Programme ninth November he wishes to stand over until he arrives except that he will repeat will dine with Baluch Regiment. Quaid also wants programme tenth November to pend as he does not want a date fixed yet for his departure. Miss Jinnah will accompany him.

[E. St. J. BIRNIE]

[1]No. 118.

122

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/353-62

7/2 A HAYAT KHAN LANE,
P.O. AMHERST STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

BIHAR REPORT

I am sending you copies of the *Bihar State Killing*[1] and invite your attention to page 19 wherein the Congress Government is definitely charged with genocide. I hope this report shall be of some use for our object and may be distributed among U.N.O. delegates.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

KEEP PAKISTAN'S NAME UNTARNISHED BY KEEPING LAW & ORDER

3. We are daily living in Hindustan under shadow of fear and insecurity. We appeal to you to maintain peace in Pakistan at any cost not so much for Muslim minorities in Hindustan but for keeping the good name of Pakistan untarnished all over the world. We are taking pride that there is law and order in Pakistan while Delhi is disturbed and there is a "Robber-State" in East Punjab. There should be no gangsterism and "Robber-Raj" in any part of Pakistan.

[*Para 4 omitted*]

I beg to offer the following suggestions for the well-being of Pakistan:

BUDDHIST MINORITY AND HOW TO UTILIZE THEIR SERVICES IN WINNING GOODWILL OF OUR BUDDHIST NEIGHBOURS

5. Pakistan is the only State in India [*sic*] which has got Buddhist population. There are no Buddhists in West Bengal or Bihar or India [*sic*] at all. But there are about three and half lakh of Buddhists in the District of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are the last relic and the only survival [*sic*] of the community of Buddhists who once ruled Bengal, Bihar and India. They were persecuted and destroyed by Shankra Acharya by genocide through mass murders and burning alive of Buddhists. History shows that in one day alone 28,000 Buddhists were burnt alive in Bihar.

INTERNATIONAL MAHA BODHI SOCIETY

The East Bengal Buddhists are highly organized and cultured. They

have their Maha Bodhi Society which is an international society of the Buddhists of East Bengal, Burma [now Myanmar], Arakan, Siam [now Thailand], Indo-China, Ceylon [now Sri Lanka], Tibet, China, etc. The President of this Maha Bodhi Society (the Great Buddhist Society) is a citizen of Pakistan and a native of Chittagong. He is Dr. Arabinda Barua, M. A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, ex-MLC (Bengal). He was a Govt. nominated Member of the Bengal Council and represented the Buddhist minority.

The East Pakistan on its north-eastern frontier is flanked by Buddhist neighbours, Arakan, Burma, Sikkim, Tibet, China, Indo-China, Siam and Ceylon. Our policy with regard to Buddhists in short should be to treat them with most generosity, tenderness and justice and to keep them contented. They shall prove of great value to Pakistan in cementing friendly alliances and good relations with the Buddhist countries.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING BUDDHIST RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN

For this purpose, the following measures may be taken:

a. Recognize Buddhists to be a recognized minority of Pakistan entitled to equal rights of citizenship.
b. Accord the Buddhists fair representation on the East Bengal Legislature and the services.
c. Nominate at least two Buddhists on the Minorities Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly—one Bengalee-speaking from the Chittagong District proper and the other from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
d. Agree to meet and grant interview to the Buddhist delegates of the Bengal Buddhist Association.

GOODWILL MISSION

e. Send a goodwill mission to Burma, Siam and Ceylon and in this mission select both Muslims and Buddhists as members.
f. Appoint a few Buddhists on your diplomatic service—as Trade Agents, Consuls, or Vice-Consuls, etc.

DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT OF MAHA BODHI SOCIETY

I had several meetings and discussions with Dr. Barua, the President of the International Buddhist Society, who is known all over the Buddhist cultural world. Dr. Barua told Mr. S. M. Usman, Secretary, Calcutta Muslim League, that he is [*sic* for was] ready to serve Pakistan and join Pakistan diplomatic service. He also told me that he is [*sic* for was] ready to be a member of Pakistan goodwill mission to Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Ceylon and that he will [*sic* for would] work to promote good friendly relations of Buddhist countries with Pakistan.

Dr. Barua (a citizen of Pakistan) is fit for such a mission. He shall be an acquisition to Pakistan Foreign Service Corps.

NEHRU REJECTS BUDDHIST DEMAND REGARDING BODH GAYA TEMPLE

Dr. Barua revealed to me that all the Buddhist delegates from Buddhist countries who attended the Inter-Asian Relations Conference last year at Delhi, in a memorandum presented to Pandit Nehru, unanimously demanded the possession of the great Buddhist temple at Bodh Gaya, which is in the possession of a Hindu *Mahant*. Pandit Nehru rejected this Buddhist demand to the chagrin of the Buddhists.

[*Para 6 omitted*]

PAKINA OR PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCY

7. The need for an official or semi-official reliable news agency for Pakistan is greatly felt all over the world. I suggest that Pakina—Pakistan International News Agency—should be the name of Pakistan semi-official news agency. Even Indonesia has its Antara—the Indonesian official news agency and the Anatolian news agency is the official news service of Turkey.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING FUTURE PROGRAMME OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

8. There is widespread depression and demoralization among the Muslims on account of the defection of such time-servers as Maharaj Kumar of Mahmudabad from the Muslim League. The statement of Mr B. T. Thakur, a businessman of Karachi, has been broadcast throughout India reporting that Quaid-i-Azam is contemplating to change the constitution and name of the Muslim League as Pakistan League and throw open its membership to all non-Muslims. This has produced great consternation in Muslim hearts. If true, it shall fulfil the very dreams of the enemy. It shall not gain anything but lose a lot for Pakistan.

NEVER THINK OF LIQUIDATING THE LEAGUE

The Muslim League is older than Pakistan. Nay it is older and greater and more permanent than Jinnah himself because it represents the Muslim *Millat* which is greater than all personalities, past, present and future. The Muslim League must be retained with its present name. It will be height of ingratitude and a great folly to liquidate the League and its international name and fame just at the time of its greatest triumph—the foundation of the greatest Muslim State in the world. The League has been your chief weapon in the battle for Pakistan. It should be your mainstay and the rallying point of Muslim nationalism

in face of Pathanistan and Bengalistan, etc.

Nay, never. We cannot and should not liquidate the League or its green crescent-star banner. The Muslim League, as you asserted before the meeting of the Muslim League Members of the Indian Constituent Assembly held at your house, 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, on the 27th July 1947, must and should continue to function in every part of India and Pakistan more vigorously.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING REORGANIZATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

My humble suggestions regarding the reorganization of the Muslim League are:

a. Organize four Muslim Leagues:
   1. The All India Muslim League for the Dominion of India
   2. The All Pakistan Muslim League for the Dominion of Pakistan
   3. The States Muslim League of the Dominion of India
   4. The States Muslim League of the Dominion of Pakistan

b. Form an overall Committee of Coordination for the four regional Muslim Leagues of (1) India (2) Pakistan (3) Pakistan States and (4) Indian States.

c. Form a constructive Programme Committee to draw up a new constructive programme for the Muslim League Organization. Take Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani[2] on this programme Committee. I shall be glad to serve on this Committee.

CALL WORLD MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE AT KARACHI

9. Form the Foundation Committee of the World Muslim League at Karachi and call the World Muslim League Conference in last week of December at Karachi. Invite Muslim political and cultural associations [from] all over the world from China, Malaya, Indonesia to Morocco and North and South America, to send delegates to the Conference.

SELECTIÓN OF WORLD MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE

The World Muslim League Conference should be divided into the following sections:

a. Political and International Relations Section
b. Education and Culture Section
c. Religious and Moral Section
d. *Tabligh* and Missionary Section
e. Economic Reform and Social Services Section
f. Public Health and Hygiene Section
g. Economic Section
h. Commerce, Trade and Industry Section
i. Science and Technology Section

OFFER TO SERVE AND ORGANIZE WORLD MUSLIM LEAGUE

I, along with my band of devoted experienced workers, offer to serve and organize the Foundation Committee of the World Muslim League Conference.

It is bound to electrify and galvanize the depressed spirits of the Muslims in India and Pakistan and make the League a world power to [*be*] *reckon*[*ed*] *with.*[3] In a moment it shall raise the morale of the Muslims.

By this way, Pakistan shall fulfil a world-felt want and assume the moral leadership of the Muslim world.

VISIT EAST PAKISTAN

10. Kindly pay a visit to East Pakistan and do not make it the Cinderella of Pakistan as the British made it the Cinderella of British India. Your visit is also essential to crush the growing menace of provincialism and Fazlul Huq's designs on Pakistan's integrity.

HIGH POWERED DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER FOR EAST PAKISTAN

11. Appoint a high-powered Commissioner of Development specially for East Pakistan and depute him at Chittagong. He should serve as a link between the East Pakistan and the Centre.

KILL CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES

12. Curb the centrifugal and disruptive tendencies. Pakistan Commonwealth [*sic*] must have a strong Centre. Kill tribalism and provincialism root and branch. Consolidate the unity and solidarity of Muslims on [the] basis of Islamic brotherhood.

NO TRIBALISM OR DOMINANCE OF ONE CLASS IN THE ARMY

13. Take special care to avoid the dominance of one tribe or class in the Pakistan Army. Curb growth of tribalism in the Army and make the Pakistan Army a well-balanced Army in respect of composition of the units. Any preponderance of one tribe or class will be fatal to the State as it proved fatal to the Roman Empire and the Abbaside Caliphate of Baghdad who had to depend upon the Turkish soldiery for their upkeep.

It is essential that the Muslims of Hindustan—Rampurias, Meos, and Moplahs, etc. should also be in the Pakistan Army.

CALCUTTA MUSLIM LEAGUER AS DY. HIGH COMMISSIONER

14. Appoint a Calcutta Muslim Leaguer as Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan at Calcutta.

EDUCATIONAL SUBSIDIES FOR WEST BENGAL MUSLIMS

15. Ask East Pakistan Government to maintain Calcutta Madrasah 'Aliya, Islamia College, and Islamia Schools at Howrah, Asansol and Barrackpore and to offer other subsidies for the poor Muslims of West Bengal.

IQBAL ACADEMY OF ISLAM AT KARACHI

16. Form Sir Muhammad Iqbal Academy of Islam at Karachi or Lahore, with yourself as Patron, H.E. the Aga Khan as President, and Dr Syed Zafrul Hasan of Aligarh as Chairman, to promote the culture of Islam in the world.

Personally invite H.E. the Aga Khan to take greater interest in the diffusion of Islamic education and culture and to serve as the President of the Academy. The wealth of the Aga Khan should be utilised for the nation. Few years ago, H.E. the Aga Khan declared that he will donote Rs. 50 lakh for building a great college of science at Karachi. Now is the time to fulfil his dreams.

Your personal letter to H.E. will greatly encourage him in investing his vast wealth in the building of Karachi, as the new Cordova or New Granada of Islamdom. After all Karachi is the birthplace of H.E. the Aga Khan. He must be made to contribute to its cultural reconstruction.

INDIA-PAKISTAN UNITY FRONT AND RAHIMTOOLA'S FOLLY

17. The India-Pakistan Unity Front, formed in London by Congressites, is just the move, which you have so vehemently condemned in your recent statement. But your High Commissioner Rahimtoola was foolish enough to bless it with his message.

You must pull up Rahimtoola for this impolitic action and declare that no Muslim of Pakistan or Hindustan should associate with this sinister move to sabotage Pakistan. Any citizen of Pakistan who is associated with this treason society shall forfeit the right of citizenship.

IS IT THE STATE OF ISPAHANIS LIKE THE HINDUSTAN OF BIRLAS?

18. The general complaint in India is that you are forgetting and ignoring seasoned and self-sacrificing Muslim Leaguers and promoting unknown men like Rahimtoolas and capitalists like the Ispahanis to big posts. It is said that very soon Pakistan shall become the State of Ispahanis and Abdoola Haroons like Hindustan which is the State of Birlas and Dalmias.

This general impression may be right or wrong but it is there. Please try to remove it and give the common man also [a] fair chance.

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

19. It is also regretted that the Central Pakistan Government is very very weak in talents. In reality, there is no Minister of National Defence, because Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan can hardly give whole time and energy to this vital subject. The essential thing is that full-time able Minister of National Defence should be appointed and he should not have any other portfolio.

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

20. A really first class man should be appointed as Minister of Education. Preferably he should be a Muslim from Hindustan.

MINISTER OF ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

21. A Minister of Islamic Affairs should be appointed to look after the Islamic interests in Pakistan.

DIRECTION TO MUSLIM I. C. S. [OFFICERS] TO BEHAVE LIKE MUSLIMS

There is great resentment in East Bengal (a deeply religious country [province]) against the outrageous conduct of the Muslim I.C.S [officers], who have scant respect for Islam and the *Shariat* and many of whom openly flout Islamic laws of decency. They have little contact with the masses. They have little sympathy with the Muslim masses.

Some of the Muslim I.C.S. [officers] regard themselves as superior to the general Muslims whom they despise as dogs. Some pass urine in the public standing. Some take food and water in *Ramazan* openly and without shame. Some resort to *Harams* openly.

Please issue a strict directive to all Muslim officers of Pakistan:

i. to conduct themselves as the servants of Islam and the people in general.
ii. to attend *Jum'a* prayers in mosques and to address the congregations on the civic and national duties of the people.
iii. to abstain from acts which outrage the religious feelings of the people.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, Council of the All India Muslim League

[1]Syed Badruddin Ahmad, *The Bihar State Killing, 1946*, Patna, *MFA/147*. Not printed.
[2]President, Jami'yyat al-Ulama-i-Islam; Member, Constituent Assembly, Pakistan.
[3]Underlined in the original.

123

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 167 (2)-GG/7

BURDWAN HOUSE, DACCA,
26 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When Jogen Mondal [Jogendra Nath Mandal] was here, there was a

general request from the leaders of the Scheduled Caste that he should come to East Bengal immediately for at least fifteen days for a tour of the districts for improving the Hindu-Muslim relationship and help in organizing the Schedule[d] Caste. By the grace of God, we have been able to keep peace during the *Pujas* and *Bakr 'Id* but there are some mischievous elements who are trying to utilize the Schedule[d] Caste for a conflict with the Muslims. Jogen's presence in East Bengal for a couple of weeks will be of very great help in counteracting the activities of the Mahasabha group who are at the back of this movement.

I, therefore, hope Your Excellency will kindly tell him to come to Bengal immediately.

Yours sincerely,
K[HWAJA] NAZIMUDDIN
Chief Minister of Bengal

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Riazuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/207-9

S.I.A. HAMDARD,
T.P.O. MET OFFICE,
KARACHI AIRPORT,
KARACHI,
26 October 1947

Long live Pakistan! Long live Quaid-i-Azam!

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have come to Karachi to have an opportunity to see my Quaid-i-Azam if he so grace [*sic*] with kindness. I am a resident of Nagpur and dare to remind the Quaid-i-Azam that I was fortunate to have an interview for about an hour at New Delhi, Aurangzeb Road, in connection with the organization of Muslim National Guards on all-India basis. There, I myself was dressed in Muslim National Guards' uniform and the Quaid-i-Azam had graced us with my sword's salute [*sic*]. This meeting of us [*sic*] had taken place before the Lahore Conference which was to be commenced after 3 days and where the historical [*sic*] resolution of Pakistan had [been] passed and by the grace of God we are seeing its fruits now.

Now I have to come to discuss some important matters as regards the future of the youth of the Muslim minorities of Indian provinces in general and C.P. and Berar in particular. The importancy [*sic*] is much greater of my province as this has only 5% [Muslim] population and moreover it is being nearer [*sic*] and adjacent to Hyderabad State. Much ruthless propaganda has been going on against Muslims. It is not the Government who has maintained law and order but the credit goes entirely to Muslims of C.P. & Berar who have abstained from all kinds of provocations and remained silent even at the time when their wives were dragged in the daylight. The Muslims of C.P. and Berar are still looking to the Quaid-i-Azam's advice. They are most desperate and not knowing their future whereabouts, running madly here and there in vain.

Will Your Excellency at this critical moment, for the 5% Muslims, grace [me] with an interview for the sake of clear advice. I hope I shall remain at Karachi for a week more.

God may bless [*sic*] long life to my Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours obediently,
RIAZUDDIN

125

E. St. J. Birnie to A. D. F. Dundas

F. 216 (VI)-GG/6

Do No. 1482-P

KARACHI,
27 October 1947

My dear Dundas,

Thank you very much for your D.O. 239-P15/47, dated 25th[1] of October. I hope you received my signal[2] sent yesterday. This is to confirm that Quaid-i-Azam has seen your proposed programme[3] of events for his tour in Quetta and he approves of all the arrangements you have made for the 6th, 7th and 8th of November. On the 9th of November he wishes you to make no arrangements until his arrival when he would like you to discuss with him the whole question of his meetings, if any, with the Khan of Kalat, the Jam [Sahib] of Las Bela and the Chief of Kharan. He however accepts the dinner that night with the Baluch Regimental Centre.

2. He also asks that interviews with officers on the 10th of November may not be made permanent as he does not want any date fixed

for his departure as he feels he will only know after getting to Quetta the date on which he will be able to leave for Karachi.

3. Miss Jinnah will be accompanying him to Quetta but it is possible that I may not come as without a Deputy here it is almost impossible for me to leave my office for so long. In this case it is likely that two A.D.Cs. will accompany him, and I hope therefore they will be able to help you with all your engagements.

Yours sincerely,
E. St. J. BIRNIE

A.D.F. Dundas, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Agent to the Governor-General [and Chief Commissioner]
in Baluchistan, Quetta

[1]No. 118.
[2]No. 121.
[3]Enclosure to No. 118.

126

J. Cordeiro to F. Amin

F. 788/47

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
27 October 1947

Dear Mr. Farrukh Amin,

I am desired by His Excellency to enclose a copy of a letter[1] from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce in connection with the situation in Karachi for the perusal of His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
J. CORDEIRO
Personal Secretary to the Governor of Sind

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 126
H. J. Martin to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Sind

F. 788/48-9

KARACHI 2,
23 October 1947

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to my letter No. J-1 dated 10th September 1947[1] in connection with the general situation in Karachi and the reassurance of [*sic* for to] minority staff and labour in particular.

My Committee is fully aware of the grave difficulties with which the Government of Sind is faced, and appreciates the action already taken. However, they desire to approach you again in the matter in the hope that their suggestions, based as they are on the actual experience of Members' staff, may prove of some little assistance to Government in their efforts to restore complete confidence in the city.

The most serious complaint received by Members from their staff is in connection with the insecurity of tenure of their living accommodation. It appears that small bands of *goondas* take possession of unoccupied or even occupied flats either by force or the use of threats and then hand over the flat, for a consideration of course, to another tenant. Should the remaining tenants of the building be of a minority community such action spreads the greatest alarm and despondency amongst them, and many who would otherwise stay in Karachi are thus persuaded to migrate. Moreover, such proceedings induce feelings of apprehension throughout the city for the safety of families during the enforced absence of the menfolk at work.

My Committee must view with grave concern any causes which threaten the prosperity of Karachi, built up as it has been through many years of patient endeavour, and it is considered an absolute necessity, in the interests both of Karachi and the future of Pakistan that every possible measure should be taken to ensure that no apparent necessity exists for further migration and that the foundations are laid for such securities that migrants may feel sufficient confidence to return to Karachi.

Members of this Chamber are far from being unsympathetic towards refugees in Karachi, and many have been employed by them, but it is a fact that refugees are available only for a few avenues of employment at present and it is necessary in order to avoid a serious crisis in commerce and industry, to take more positive steps to avoid

what is looked upon by the minorities as a cause for migration.

There is reason to believe that friction exists only between the minorities and refugees from other Provinces, and the Chamber takes this opportunity of repeating the recommendation made in my letter dated 10th September, i.e.

> refugees should be removed from Karachi and segregated in transit camps until suitable arrangements can be made for them. In particular, refugees should be evicted from houses illegally occupied by them, especially in minority areas where their presence is the occasion of considerable alarm and despondency.

My Committee, however, have been forced to the conclusion by the later experiences of Members that it is insufficient to merely evict trespassers: severe and deterrent sentences should be passed on them. Further, in cases where an occupied flat or tenement has been forcibly taken possession of, although immediate action may have been taken to evict the trespassers, the legal tenant is usually threatened with revenge and is, therefore, more than ever afraid to leave his family alone during his absence at work, and, therefore, often decides that only migration will assure him the ordinary amenities due to a peaceful citizen. It is, therefore, urged that in cases where a legal tenant has received aid in turning out illegal occupants of his house, he should be assured of protection at least for his family during the day.

Finally, as many citizens find some difficulty in contacting the Police or other authorities when he is in any such difficulty, my Committee suggests the setting up of a tribunal or committee which should work without form or ceremony and be easily accessible by every one, to which complaints could be made and which would ensure on behalf of complainants that necessary action was taken immediately.

Your obedient servant,

H. J. MARTIN

Secretary, Karachi Chamber of Commerce

[1]Not traceable.

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C. E. Gibbon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/242

CENTRAL COUNCIL,
13 JAIL ROAD,
LAHORE,
27 October 1947

Your Excellency,

On your last visit[1] to Lahore you were unable to meet my people and accept their felicitations as their Governor-General.

As the smallest minority in Pakistan their contribution towards relieving the distress of their fellow-countrymen, and in maintaining the essential services, particularly in the Department of Communications, deserves commendation.

In all the principal towns of Pakistan they have volunteered their services as doctors and nurses, and in Lahore are responsible for administering to the injured and dying in the Anglo-Pakistan R.J.F Hospital and lastly, have donated liberally to your Relief Fund.[2]

In the light of these observations, may I request you kindly to meet my people and let them feel that your assurances of just and equitable treatment of the minorities are living symbols of Pakistan.

C. E. GIBBON
Founder President,
The Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan

[1]Jinnah visited Lahore on 28 August 1947 to participate in a conference of Governors-General and Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to discuss the communal situation in the Punjab. See Nos. 158, 170, Vol. V, 152, 159, respectively.
[2]No. 223, Vol. V, 223-5.

128

Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 49-GG/20

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 361-G

LAHORE,
27 October 1947

I have not received either the minutes of the J.D.C. meeting of the

16th or the agenda of the next meeting of J.D.C. to be held on the 30th. It will not be possible for our Minister to attend the meeting on the 30th without receiving the minutes and agenda so far and I suggest meeting should be postponed so as to give sufficient time to us to consider the agenda after its receipt and to arrange to send a Minister for the meeting. I suggest alteration as I have done previously that minutes of previous meeting and the agenda of next meeting should in the case of all meetings be sent to the two Governments sufficiently in advance to enable them to give proper consideration to them.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

129

S. M. Yusuf to Lloyds Bank, Karachi

F. 757/191

27 October 1947

Dear Sir,

Reference the enclosed order[1] from the Nawab of Bhopal to the Chartered Bank, India, Australia and China, McLeod Road, Karachi.

Please arrange to collect the amount mentioned in the Order and credit it to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's account. Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
S. M. YUSUF

[1]No. 11.

130

M. Ikramullah to Zahid Husain

Telegram, F. 151-GG/11

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 680

[KARACHI,]
28 October 1947

Your telegram No. 23 dated 16th October 1947.[1]
Quaid-i-Azam as President of Muslim League deeply regrets unlawful

occupation of League Office by Sikhs. He would like you to make strong representation to India Government urging them to order Sikhs to vacate the League Office premises.

Evacuation to Pakistan of persons other than Government servants is undesirable. It is, however, under careful consideration of Pakistan Government.

[M. IKRAMULLAH]

[1]No. 76.

131

Vir Sen Sawhny to F. Amin

F. 25(Part I)-GG/156

16 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I am gratefully appreciative of the promptitude which bears testimony to your courtesy in acknowledging my letter of yester date on the same day but greatly regret that yours was not delivered to me till late this evening as it was only delivered at 6 p.m. today and then at the Cosmopolitan Club.

In writing to ask for the honour of being granted an interview by the Quaid-i-Azam I had no other specific object *except to be able to pay*[1] *my loyal homage to His Excellency in person.*[2] As however you have desired me to state in writing whatever I wished to convey personally I feel bound to do so.

As a non-Muslim who has irrevocably elected to stay in Pakistan I have been trying my best to convince other Hindus that they may return to West Punjab provided, however, that they can swear undying and enuring loyalty to this State and it was, therefore, my desire to acquaint His Excellency with what I believe would promote this end.

I am fully conscious of the great demands *on His Excellency's limited*

time and will content myself by asking you to convey my respectful and humble salaams.

Yours faithfully,
V. S. SAWHNY
Advocate,
Federal Court of India, New Delhi,
High Court of Judicature, Punjab, and
High Court of Jammu and Kashmir

[1]See F. 25(Pt. I)-GG/157-8. Not printed.
[2]Underlined here and sidelined subsequently in the original.

132

S. M. Sabzwaree to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25(2)-GG/58

83 RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 October 1947

Dear Sir,

The Punjabi Parsees are most anxious to serve their country—Pakistan, but so far they have received no call of action from any quarter. They are a business community and are very rich and wealthy. One of their members, Mr. Rustom Dinshaw, who is our client and an independent director of the Glamour—a well known and established firm dealing in silk cloth and jewellery, is a staunch Pakistani and a very enthusiastic worker. On our instigation he has persuaded his community to donate for the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund. We hope that by so doing we can secure about two lakhs of rupees for the fund at present. He has sent in a statement to this effect to the press also. *But at the same time he wishes to see the Quaid-i-Azam to lay before him all relating to his community and then to seek advice as to what they should do for the country at this crucial hour.*[1] Could the Quaid-i-Azam please find some time tomorrow to grant him an interview?[2] The undersigned would also accompany Mr. Dinshaw. This is a national cause and hence we have dared to take such a step please. Kindly convey Quaid-i-Azam's decision to us through a peon because that is the safest course.

We shall be highly obliged for this kindness please. Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
S. M. SABZWAREE
Managing Director,
Mofeed Advertisers

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]Jinnah had agreed to grant an interview on 5 November 1947. See F. 25 (2)-GG/59. Not printed.

133

Ghulamullah to J. B. Dalison[1]
(Copy to PS to Governor-General)

F. 118(2)(Vol. II)-GG/15-6

C/O LOCAL BOARD HIGH SCHOOL,
NAWABSHAH,
29 October 1947

Pakistan Zindabad

Sir,

As the news are pouring into Pakistan regarding the common slaughter of Kashmir State Muslims. These news have made us very anxious. I, therefore, request your honour to accept my services to help the State Muslims. I had been [an] N.C.O. in the World War II.

I hope my voluntary services will be accepted by the Pakistan Govt. at an early date. I want [to] leave Sind for N.W.F.P. before 1st of November 1947. Such permission may kindly be given at an early date so as to enable me to leave for the destination before 1st of November 1947. Now I am getting pension of Rs. 15 P.M. from the Govt. of Pakistan.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
GHULAMULLAH
ex-soldier (R.I.A.S.C.)

[1]Maj. Gen., Adjutant General, Pakistan Army.

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Muslims of Scotland to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 118(2)(Vol. II)-GG/17

GLASGOW,
29 October 1947

Muslims in Scotland feel like accepting Dominion of India's challenge in Kashmir. We shall always remain confident in your able and sagacious leadership. Every Muslim holds last penny no less than last drop of blood for holy service of Pakistan [*sic*].

[MUSLIMS OF SCOTLAND]

135

King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 102-GG/1

AMMAN,
30 October 1947

Disturbances between brothers in India bring grief to us in the Near East. May God establish peace and goodwill among them. Present and future generations hold worthy leaders responsible unless they call and halt for a period mutually accepted and renewable for the purpose of restoring brotherhood in India. Meanwhile exchange of nationals or peaceful residence of Muslims in Hindustan and Hindus in Pakistan could be effected in a manner which would remove the present estrangement and aggression sadly witnessed. We wait your response in a manner pleasing to the whole East.

ABDULLAH IBN ELHUSEIN

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William K. Du Val to M. A. Jinnah

F. 955/32-3

30 EAST 51ST STREET,
NEW YORK 22,
30 October 1947

Dear Sir,

Recently the Director-General[1] of the American Field Service wrote to your Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Asaf Ali,[2] regarding the desire of this organization to assist in the relief and rehabilitation of India and Pakistan.

We were informed that our offer had been communicated to the Government of India, and I would like to add further to this so that a more complete understanding of our aims may be realized.

The American Field Service operated, during the war, as a volunteer ambulance corps attached to the Indian and British Armies in India and Burma. As a result of this work a sincere understanding of India, her people, and her problems was acquired by many of the men who served in India. Consequently the recent news could not but fire an urge in these men to return to India and assist in whatever way they could.

The American Field Service is a non-profit organization, and as such has no funds to finance the operation of a relief unit in the field. We can supply experienced men, however, who could work in whatever capacities may be required along these lines.

The original thought was that an A[merican] F[ield] S[ervice] unit might be attached to the Pakistan/Indian Army. There would be no need for special rations, of course, and being attached to the Army the unit could be maintained with regulation Army food, clothing, and billeting, etc.

The size of the unit (or units), naturally, would depend upon whatever, and wherever the greatest need would be, and we are happy to say that there are many men here most anxious to return, to assist, and to serve your countries.

If they have not already done so, Mr. Ray Archer Hauserman Jr., and Mr. Norman D. Fenn, representatives of the American Field Service who are in India at the present time, will—if circumstances permit—see you personally to discuss this matter further.

We shall be anxiously awaiting your reply to our offer, and we sincerely hope you will concur with our thought that such a unit as this would be of great assistance to India and Pakistan and her peoples.

Most sincerely yours,
WILLIAM K. DU VAL
American Field Service

[1]Stephen Galatti.
[2]He was Ambassador for India. Pakistan Ambassador was M. A. H. Ispahani.

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Speech[1] by M. A. Jinnah at a Public Rally

F. 1020/62-5

LAHORE,
30 October 1947

We have achieved our cherished goal of freedom and have established Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State, fifth largest in the world. That freedom can never be attained by a nation without suffering and sacrifice, has been amply borne out by the recent tragic happenings in this sub-continent. We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings; we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish; but I can say with confidence that with courage and self-reliance and by the grace of God we shall emerge triumphant!

Some people might think that the acceptance of the June 3rd Plan[2] was a mistake on the part of the Muslim League. I would like to tell them that the consequences of any other alternative would have been too disastrous to imagine. On our side we proceeded to implement this Plan with a clean conscience and honest intentions. Time and history will prove that. On the other hand, history will also record its verdict on those whose treachery and machinations let loose forces of disorder and disruption in this sub-continent causing death of lakhs, enormous destruction of property, and bringing about suffering and misery to many millions by uprooting them from their hearths, homes and all that was dear to them. The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the

victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the holy *Qur'an*, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.

Do not for a moment imagine that your enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and see whether you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State.

Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the *Mujahids*.[3] You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of *glory*.

All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is *peace within and peace without*.[4] Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethren who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethren. No decent or sane person should consider that they are unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims.

Along with this, keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.

I would also impress upon every member of this State, particularly our youth, to show the right spirit of devotion, courage and fortitude, to give a lead to the others and to set a nobler and higher example for those who may follow us and the coming generations.

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the pre-requisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam

enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint, because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundations of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect.

Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay. Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic countries, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hand of help and friendliness.

In the end I once again appeal to the good sense of every subject and citizen of our State not to take law and order into his own hands but so to behave and act as to be a pillar of strength to his Government and leaders who are sincerely doing their best to put an end to the miseries and hardships of our unfortunate brethren seeking shelter with us, and battling against grave danger and menace which is facing us.

[1]Also see *Jinnah, Speeches & Statements,* 93-5.
[2]No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.
[3]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[4]Also see No. 1, Vol. V, 1-2.

138

E. St. J. Birnie to A. D. F. Dundas

F. 216(VI)-GG/7

SECRET *31 October 1947*

My dear [Dundas],

Your D. O. No. 307-Ray of 29th October 1947.[1]

I have discussed your letter with the Private Secretary[2] and, in the

absence of Quaid-i-Azam, we consider that the answers to your questions are as follows:

1. *Dress.*[3] Your proposals are suitable, though Services Staff of the Governor-General will wear uniform except for completely informal dinners.

2. The *Interviews* suggested are agreed to.

3. Your arrangements for Sunday will, I am sure, be agreed to by the Governor-General.

4. Seating arrangements are correct and it is quite in order for you to vary the seating if you wish Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Jinnah to have the opportunity of talking to more people.

5. As regards Miss Jinnah's programme,[4] I feel sure that your arrangements will suit her, but I will phone through to Lahore and will wire you if she wishes to make any changes.

6. The Private Secretary considers that Quaid-i-Azam would agree to make his address in Urdu and that in fact it is preferable that it should be in Urdu.

7. Presentation of medals could be at any function most suitable to you, but perhaps it would be best to have only one such occasion, that is to say, that all medals to be presented should be so presented on one occasion.

8. I will let you know definitely regarding the composition of the party as soon as I know it, perhaps if you have any urgent questions to ask you might telephone Mr. Farrukh Amin, the Assistant Private Secretary, direct at Government House, Lahore, as Quaid-i-Azam is not now leaving Lahore until Tuesday, November the 4th.

Yours,
E. St. J. BIRNIE
Military Secretary to the Governor-General

[1]Not traceable.
[2]S. M. Yusuf.
[3]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[4]See F. 216(VI)-GG/32. Not printed.

139

Message to Students by M. A. Jinnah[1]

31 October 1947

"Pakistan is proud of her youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need, "said Quaid-i-Azam

to a deputation of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in Lahore on Friday [31 October].

In his message to the students community he said: "You are the nation-builders of tomorrow and you must fully equip yourself by discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it." He said that "the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, would uphold its noble tradition of selfless devotion to national cause."

The Quaid-i-Azam told the deputation that he would ask the students to come forward in large numbers to help the refugees and afford them relief in every possible way as that was the immediate task confronting the nation at the moment.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 1 November 1947.

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H. J. Engineer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/23

GANNON DUNKERLEY & CO. LTD.,
CHARTERED BANK BUILDING,
FORT, BOMBAY,
31 October 1947

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to address these few lines to you which I trust will receive your kind consideration.

My firm has branches[1] in all the important provinces of the Indian Union and it is my firm's desire to open a branch in Karachi so that we may be in a position to serve the Pakistan areas. One of our Directors, Mr. Steffens, who is now on leave in England will be returning to India next month and will be posted in Karachi to run that office. May I request Your Excellency to give him all facilities for opening our Branch Office in Karachi?

Apart from our Civil Engineering Department, we have several other Departments, in particular the Mill Machinery Department and

the Refrigeration, Air Conditioning and Electric Lifts Departments.

I have the honour to remain,
Your most obedient servant,
H. J. ENGINEER

[1]At Calcutta, Madras, Ahmedabad, Coimbatore, Cawnpore, and Bangalore.

141

M. A. Jinnah to A. D. F. Dundas

F. 216 (VI)-GG/34

LAHORE,
31 October 1947

My dear Mr. Dundas,

I received your letter of the 24th of October[1] just on the eve of my departure for Lahore.

I have already settled the programme with Birnie and I hope that you have got it by now.[2]

As regards the rest of your letter I thank you very much for all the suggestions that you have made. We shall consider them when I am there. At present I am head over heels in my work, especially the serious complications that have been created by the Kashmir situation.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 117.
[2]No. 125.

142

Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 399/194

ANKARA PALAS HOTEL,
ANKARA,
31 October 1947

Your Excellency,

I had a two hours talk with the Secretary-General of the [Turkish]

Foreign Ministry today. He was most interested in our problems, but he was very keen that their Ambassador should start work in Karachi immediately. He told me that they had sent a request to this effect through their representative in Bombay. They have already selected their Ambassador for Pakistan. They say that it is not at all necessary for Pakistan to make reciprocal appointment immediately. If the Turkish Ambassador is accepted now Your Excellency can make your appointment later on at your leisure and convenience. As he seemed exceedingly keen on his Ambassador going to Karachi as soon as possible, I felt it my duty to inform Your Excellency of the situation.

I have sent you by post my diary of Istanbul. I hope it will get there safely. However, I am keeping a copy of it here and shall bring it back with me. I am having a very busy time here in Ankara and recording my notes daily for your information.

With kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

143

Ziaud-Din Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/71-3

LAHORE,
Undated [October 1947]

Sir,

May it please Your Excellency,

The recent disturbances[1] in the Eastern Punjab extending to U.P. and other parts of the non-Muslim States and Indian Union lands, resulting in the ruthless extermination and destruction of the Muslims inhabiting those lands has set thinking every well-wisher of Pakistan as to the safety of the Muslims in India. It is conceded that there may be standstill agreements between the two Dominions and must be binding on either side. To begin with, I may be permitted to submit that while the Indian Union has violated it, seeking shelter behind word quibbling, the Pakistan Government considered as a part of sacred creed to observe it in letter and spirit. Times ahead seem to be very hard and situation at home and abroad is fast developing, and we

should not find ourselves unprepared when the opportunity comes, as we did in the past. It will be negligence to be so and the generations would not forgive us. In the capacity of the humblest well-wisher of Pakistan, I beg leave to put forth a few humblest suggestions.

I. That even when we are bound by the so-called standstill agreement we can prepare our nation for the future struggle without violating the terms thereof:

a. Clubs be established all over the country where the training be given in the use of arms. Only a small allotment of fire-arms to each club will be best utilised.
b. The wearing of uniform and carrying of arms be encouraged as a fashion. In this connection, licenses of guns be issued in abundance. License fee be increased to improve the State finances.
c. The licenses of rifles (303) be issued and these can be collected from the people when they are needed for the use of the Army, thus securing immense quantity of rifles and ammunition without expense to State.
d. That people be encouraged to consider it as honour and privilege to carry arms.
e. Factories be started in suitable places in Pakistan to manufacture ammunition and arms and aeroplanes.
f. In the coming conflict, aeroplanes are likely to play greater part than heretofore. The nation having greater number will have a great advantage over the enemy. I wish I could have such a number so that its wings when together may afford shelter even from the rays of the sun.
g. The sugar factories be started in pretty large number to cope with the increasing demand.

II. *Foreign*

That steps be taken to secure friendly relations with all the people living on our borders—be the[y] Muslims or otherwise. The Muslim world is apparently facing with [*sic*] another drama of war—over the question of Palestine and Pakistan is likely to play an important role therein. Then let us be up and doing not only in preparation at home but in securing alliances abroad.

It is a piece of political creed with us to befriend all who extend friendly hands towards us. To be friend of those who lie on our borders. Under the present juncture we should win over even the most formidable enemies to our cause. The question arises how? A diplomat's job. Let the present world situation be so exploited to our ends. Russia,

America and British [Britain], the World Powers be in our mind. The British at present are playing the second fiddle so far America is concerned. So Russian[s] and Americans are left over in the field. America is determined to favour the Jews on the question of Palestine. If the Soviet [Union] is won over by the U.S.A., our odds will be immensely uphill task [*sic*]. So our efforts will be to win over Russia to our side through press and diplomatic channels. If a friendly hand is extended to Russia he [*sic*] will not be slow to pick it up.

Indian Union has sent the so-called sweet-voiced Lakshmi Pandit[2] to play the role but we have not apparently moved in this direction. We should placate Russia to our cause—noble as it is—there will be no difficulty. Russia has agreed to the partition of Palestine—between the Arabs and the Jews. Indian bards [*sic*] under the leadership of Tara Singh are on their march to their ancestral homelands in Central Asia (Russia). Who are those bards? Patel, Nehru, Baldev Singh, the Burmes[e], the Chinese and the Japanese will shortly follow, aiming at the cutting of Russia in two, i.e. East and West. It is a sin[i]ster move against Russia, sponsored and carefully considered plan to placate [*sic*] Russia. Thus Russian fear can be played upon to our common ends. Only an intelligent diplomat can move into it and the Soviet [Union] may withdraw from the position she has taken on the question of Palestine. It will have far reaching results and the next war may be averted for the present, giving us time to prepare more thoroughly. Strength at home will surely guarantee peace abroad.

These are the humblest suggestions from the humblest servant of Pakistan. Long Live Pakistan.

Yours most obediently,
ZIAUD-DIN SHEIKH
M. A., LL. B.
Advocate, Lahore High Court

[1]See Appendix III, Vol. V, 457-527.
[2]Indian Ambassador to USSR, 1947-9.

144

Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 664/26

LAXMI BUILDING,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
Undated [*October 1947*]

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

GOVERNMENT LOANS

Government loans or public debt is the discovery of modern finance and is the best blessing in the financial game for the people, commerce, industry and the State itself. Only it should be properly handled by a conservative experienced person who has the confidence of the financial circle. In finance, credit is the most important single item.

The most important and unbreakable principle of public debt is that a loan should never be raised for the sake of meeting the deficiency in the current expenses.

Loans may be raised to help build canals, hydroelectric works, railways, docks, steel and cement works, big and small industries; in fact for anything which produces money.

There is no limit to the raising of loans, for, bigger the public debt, the prosperer [*sic*] the State and people because these loans are employed in profitable business and are money-making machines.

Finance Minister of every country wants to raise a loan but his difficulty is that he cannot sell it. The art of loan is in its successful floation [*sic* for floatation].

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

145

Baron Nathan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 676/67

MINISTRY OF CIVIL AVIATION,
ARIEL HOUSE, STRAND, LONDON, W. C. 2.
Undated [*October 1947*]

My dear Governor-General,

It was a matter of great gratification to me to be received by you[1]

during my recent short stay at Karachi, and to have an opportunity of conversation with the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

I have borne well in mind what you said to me as to your difficulties and anxieties, which I trust may be resolved in a manner which will give general satisfaction, and that the time is not far distant when this new member of the Commonwealth may be able to settle down to working out solutions to the problems which must inevitably arise in these early stages and which will call for the highest qualities of ability and devotion. It is a matter of pride to me to recall that I was the first British Minister to meet you as Governor-General of the new Dominion.

Today I have received the autographed photograph, which I shall value greatly as a momento of what is in a sense an historic occasion.

Yours v[ery] sincerely,

NATHAN OF CHURT

[1]Jinnah met Nathan on 3 October. See No. 311, Vol. V, 339-40.

146

Ahmad bin Umar Renderozi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

FOA, O/346

[*Original in Arabic*]

DAMASCUS, SYRIA,

Undated [*October 1947*]

His Excellency Moham[m]ad Ali Jinnah

Ahmad bin Umar Renderozi, the chief of the Indian community in Damascus, has the honour to offer his felicitations and congratulations on the occasion of the independence of Pakistan, praying to God Almighty to make the reign of this State glorious and prosperous. All members of the Indian community in Damascus share with me and their brethren in Pakistan their good wishes and cherished aspirations.

Long live thee for the cause of the Indian people.

AHMAD BIN UMAR RENDEROZI
(of Baluchistan)
Chief of the Indian Community in Damascus

[1]Acknowledged by Foreign Office on 1 November 1947. See *FOA*, O/346. Not printed.

147

B. M. Bacon to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 216 (VI)-GG/8

BALUCHISTAN SECRETARIAT,
QUETTA,
1 November 1947

Dear Birnie,

I am desired to enclose the draft address[1] by the Shahi Jirga to be presented to His Excellency on November 8th[2]—one copy in Urdu and two copies in English. The English draft is sent in duplicate in case it may be desired to send a copy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for advice in drafting the reply. It would be appreciated if approval to the draft could be telegraphed and if an advance copy of His Excellency's reply could be supplied.

2. You would have received my telegram[3] stating that Friday prayers will be at 1.30 p.m. and last for one hour. Mr. Dundas regrets the inconvenience of the time proposed and wishes me to say that every endeavour was made to have the time changed, but the *Imam* of the *Jami'a Masjid* and the Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Islamia both maintain that an alteration in the time for prayers would be construed badly by the public. Mr. Dundas has already informed you that there will be no formal lunch party on that day, but I am to ask for the earliest possible instructions regarding His Excellency's attendance.

Yours sincerely,
B. M. BACON
Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan

[1]Enclosure.
[2]The visit was postponed indefinitely. See No. 158.
[3]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 147
Draft Address by the Shahi Jirga to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (VI)-GG/9-11

May it please Your Excellency,

We, the heads and representatives of our respective tribes of Baluchistan, are extremely gratified at the honour Your Excellency has done to this Province by paying us a visit and respectfully beg to

extend our whole-hearted, sincere and cordial welcome. We fully realise that Your Excellency has been able to spare a few days only for this visit, as problems of an important and urgent nature, pressing [*sic*] other parts of Pakistan, deserve prior attention.

2. Until recently, the very idea of having Pakistan was, by most, considered a dream. The establishment of Pakistan, for which we thank Almighty God, has now proved to the world that the dream has now become a reality. It was Your Excellency's shrewd steering through unfavourable and stormy circumstances, that turned an apparent impossibility into a reality. We, therefore, take this opportunity of offering Your Excellency our heart-felt congratulations on an achievement so unique and unparalleled in the history of mankind.

3. We heard the announcement made by Your Excellency assuring us that the present privileges enjoyed by us and the existing system of administration would continue, and thank Your Excellency for this.

4. The holocaust prepared [*sic*] by the enemies of Pakistan in India in general and the East Punjab in particular, has been met by restraint solely on the ground that Islam does not teach us to retaliate. It was but natural to have excitement amongst the people here when they heard of barbarism practised against Muslim men, women and children in other provinces. Some riots, therefore, did take place in the Quetta Town and in the neighbouring country. Their occurrence is now resented by all as it has given a severe blow to the economic structure of the Province, which has lost doctors, engineers and experts. We are, however, proud to say that in the rest of Baluchistan peace was maintained unbroken. We are confident that the trouble in Quetta was encouraged by those who wished harm to the present peaceful and successful methods of administration, which is based on the loyal co-operation of tribal leaders. We assure the minorities that their life, property and honour will be fully protected.

5. The system of Government in Baluchistan is in accordance with the customary law of the country and through the representatives of the tribes. The system works well and has for generations given Baluchistan peace to a greater extent than any other part of India, one might almost say of the world. Nevertheless we want to keep abreast of the times and, like other parts of Pakistan, would like to be increasingly associated in the higher policy of the Government. The exact manner of this we leave to Your Excellency but trust that all the satisfactory features of the present system will be borne in mind. The present method of administration of justice is speedy and cheap for the poor and the rich alike. The poverty of the country demands that no other elaborate system of administration of justice be introduced

here. The present *jirga* system satisfies all.

6. In tribal organisation, much of Baluchistan resembles Waziristan, but by the grace of God, here there has been peace and obedience to Government. This [is] due to the fact that the tribes have been made friends and trust has been placed in them. The system of tribal control in Baluchistan is not one by which a *Sardar* has full and irresponsible control over an area, but a blending of the *Sardar's* natural leadership of his tribe, with administration by Government officials who respect the *Sardar's* natural position, and use him as an ally for the settlement of cases and the apprehension of criminals. It seems proper to elucidate here that in Baluchistan every *Sardar, Malik* or *Motabir* has heavy responsibilities to shoulder; he is answerable for any offence committed on railway and telegraph lines, on roads, in the hills and in both inhabited and uninhabited lands. If they are relieved of this responsibility, the Government would find it difficult to keep effective control even by spending millions of rupees.

7. Baluchistan is a poor country. In spite of this, arrangements have been made to receive refugees from other provinces and everything possible is being done for their welfare. We realise that Government alone cannot afford, without detriment to other important matters, to utilize all its resources on the refugee problem. The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund[1] inaugurated by Your Excellency is, therefore, receiving full response in this Province and we assure Your Excellency of our fullest co-operation.

8. The Province of Baluchistan is composed of Tribal, Leased and Other Areas for technical purposes. So far as the people are concerned no distinction is made and the Province is regarded as a single unit. We hope that the Pakistan Government will not allow any differentiation which might result in our disruption. The inhabitants of Leased and Tribal Areas desire to remain in Pakistan.

9. We have been brought up in the traditions of loyalty to our rulers. We assure Your Excellency of our loyalty and service to Pakistan and will not lag behind in promoting the cause and welfare of Baluchistan. We will not hesitate to shed our last drop of blood for the defence of Baluchistan.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
SHAHI JIRGA MEMBERS

[1]See No. 223, Vol. V, 223-5.

148

Ali Mohummed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 25 (Part I)-GG/228

KARACHI,
2 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Govt. House, Lahore

Reference request for interview. Detailed note follows.[1]

Regarding Kashmir respectfully suggest urge [*sic*] that sources all Pakistan rivers in Kashmir. Under international law, one State cannot have exclusive monopoly over things of common utility or gifts of nature.

ALI MOHUMMED RASHDI

[1]No. 217.

149

Rahman B. Gajraj to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/24-7

P. O. BOX 283,
GEORGETOWN,
BRITISH GUIANA,
3 November 1947

May it please Your Excellency,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Before I begin, allow me, on behalf of the thirty thousand Muslims of this Colony, to offer you heartiest congratulations upon the success of your struggle for the freedom of the Muslims of what was British India, and to express our joy that Almighty *Allah* has allowed you the privilege of seeing the establishment of Pakistan during your lifetime. This in itself is a great personal achievement, and while you must feel a great measure of pride in being Pakistan's first Governor-General, and the world's first non-white Governor-General, I know that you will avow your humility in the face of the great tasks which lie before you and our nation.

In British Guiana, as I mentioned earlier, there are about 30,000 Muslims in a total population of some 350,000 of whom over 40% are of

African extraction, another 100,000 are Indian Hindus, 10,000 Indian Christians with European, Portuguese, Chinese and mixed races making up the remainder of the population.

The Muslims here trace their ancestry from their forefathers who came here to toil on the sugar plantations over a century ago under the hateful and abominable system of Indentured Immigration which was finally abolished in 1919. Working together with the Hindus for all these years as Indians, we are always dominated, and outvoted by them. We have only been used from time to time to show a flavour of unity. In all the years of its existence, only once did the B[ritish] G[uiana] East Indian Association have a Muslim President—and that was an occasion when it had fallen in the gutter, and so they needed the brains, the initiative, the administrative ability and the sincerity of purpose of the Muslims to pull it out of the mire. This was actually accomplished, and as soon as it was once more on a firm and stable footing, commanding respect of all sections, Hindu intrigue resulted in the Muslims being outvoted and a Christian of Hindu extract[ion] supplanting him. I myself have put in many years of service with that organisation, for several years being Honorary Secretary and eventually rising to be Senior Vice-President, but after a while realising that the Muslims were only being used by the Hindus who could always outvote us, I decided to cut adrift from them completely.

It has not been my desire to burden you with any troubles and problems here, but I desire to show you that there is a strong parallel in Hindu-Muslim relations here with those of India. There is a strong Hindu Mahasabha here too, and the head is just a counterpart of the one in India. The subtle, mischievous, subversive propaganda is based very much on the pattern in India.

With similar persecution on the one hand and talks of unity as Indians on the other, our own Muslim community has been divided and even here we have our Azads and Asaf Alis who prefer to shine in the Hindu firmament rather than labour under the crescent and star.

In such an atmosphere I threw in my lot with the *Sad'r,* Anjuman-i-Islam, and am now its President for the second successive term. Our Anjuman has consistently called for Muslim unity, and has strongly supported the Muslim League's actions, albeit we have never got in touch with each other. We have therefore been sincere admirers of you and the League, and of all our honoured and respected leaders of Pakistan.

Thus, when Independence Day approached, my Anjuman succeeded in persuading the Islamic Association and the Muslim Youth Movement—two small independent bodies, to unite with us in sending you a cable of

congratulation. It read:

> Jinnah
> Governor-General, Karachi, Pakistan
> Muslims British Guiana send heartiest congratulations on superb achievement Pakistan. May *Allah,* guide the nation to restore the ancient glories. *'Id Mobarak*.

We do sincerely hope it was delivered in good time on August 15th.

On Independence Day Muslims and Hindus observed a holiday. Being the month of *Ramadan,* Muslims spent their time mostly in prayer. At our *Jam'ia Masjid* there was an unusually large gathering, and in view of my office, I was invited by the *Imam* to address the *Jama'at*. In doing so, I traced the history of the struggle, gave the significance of the achievement and called upon our people to emulate Pakistan's example and unite. Those who prefer to remain with the Hindus must declare it openly, and be ostracised by our people, as we have no room for traitors in our great nation. I am sending you a snapshot[1] taken after *namaz* on that day.

I want to assure you that the great majority of Muslims here are proud of you and of Pakistan and though most of our forefathers came from the United Provinces area, today we proudly call ourselves Pakistanis. We hope you will approve of it.

My Anjuman was founded principally to do religious work in accordance with Islamic Law. It provides:

a. home for orphans
b. *janaza* [burial] for the poor and the destitute
c. poor relief to deserving widows and aged persons
d. propagation of Islam through literature, lectures, etc.
e. machinery for settling disputes, etc.

These and others constitute our work at present, but problems confronting us are:

1. *Education*: We have no proper Muslim schools, elementary or secondary.
2. *Marriage and Divorce*: Our laws are not recognised by the local government.
3. *Waqf*: Our mosques are not on freehold land, and we cannot get a Bill enacted by the local government.
4. *Political*: There is no adult suffrage.

These and many others are our problems. Before the partition of India, the then Government had decided to send out an Agent-General to look after our interests. (The small Chinese and Portuguese communities have their Consuls.) Now that we have our own beloved Pakistan, we must hope that as soon as conditions settle down, you would see fit to

send us an able representative, who would not only represent us politically, but would also be our religious head. In the meantime, my humble services and of my Anjuman are entirely at your service and those of your Government. Whatever information is needed, just send and let us know. In the past we have had, from time to time, many goodwill visitors from India, but they have been all Hindus. Now the Muslims want contact with Pakistan. Please do not fail us.

May we ask you to direct the Secretary of the Muslim League to send us copies of all their literature, rules, etc. My Anjuman would like to affiliate with the League.

Then may we ask for large photographs of yourself, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and other dignitaries of Pakistan to hang on our walls?

I know I am making many requests and that your time is very valuable, but I am sure with your approval, a secretary could attend to the details.

Lastly, would you be so gracious as to write a personal message to the Muslims of this country, which would have [*sic* for be] reproduced in our quarterly journal. This would be an act of greatest joy and happiness for us, and for which we would be truly grateful.

Finally, in taking leave of Your Excellency, may I repeat that my Anjuman and I are always at the service of you [*sic*] personally, and your Government, generally. Our Patron, my father, Mr. Hussain Baksh Gajraj, is presently in England, and has the ardent desire to visit Pakistan. Should he reach Karachi, we do sincerely pray he will realise the honour of paying his compliments to so great a man as Your Excellency undoubtedly is.

May *Allah's* blessings be upon you in countless measure and may His Wisdom guide aright our statesmen and nation.

My best salutations and *Khuda Hafiz,* while

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your Excellency's loyal servant,
RAHMAN B. GAJRAJ
President, [*Anjuman-i-Islam*]

[1]Not traceable.

150

W. V. Grigson to S. M. Yusuf

F. 803/17

THE RESIDENCY, LAHORE,
3 November 1947

Sir,

I am desired to send you the draft minutes[1] of the 1st meeting of the Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugees and Rehabilitation Council held in Government House, Lahore, on Friday the 31st October 1947, for the information of His Excellency and to say that the Hon'ble Members of the Joint Council have been asked to communicate any changes that they desire to be made within 24 hours, after which the minutes will be submitted to His Excellency as the Chairman of the meeting for final approval.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
W. V. GRIGSON
Secretary,
Pakistan and West Punjab Joint Refugees and Rehabilitation Council

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 150

F. 803/19-20

Minutes[1] of the 1st Meeting of the Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugees and Rehabilitation Council

LAHORE,
31 October 1947

PRESENT

Quaid-i-Azam (in the chair)
Governor, West Punjab[2]
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Premier, West Punjab[3]
Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation, West Punjab[4]

The following also attended by invitation:

Minister for Finance, West Punjab[5]
Minister for Revenue, West Punjab[6]
Minister for Education, West Punjab[7]

The following also attended:

The Secretary-General, Government of Pakistan[8]
The Refugees and Evacuees Commissioner, Pakistan[9]

The Prime Minister of Pakistan was prevented by illness from attending.

1. GOVERNOR'S NOTE[10] OF 10 OCTOBER 1947 ON THE PROCEDURE TO BE ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL

DECISION

i. The provisional agreement reached in Karachi on October 13[11] between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of West Punjab setting up a Joint Council of the two Governments to deal with refugee and rehabilitation work in West Punjab was finally accepted.
ii. The Governor's note on procedure was approved.

The Ministers for Finance, Revenue and Education, West Punjab, left the meeting at this stage.

[*Para 2 omitted*][12]

3. GOVERNOR'S NOTE OF 23 OCTOBER 1947 ON REHABILITATION[13]

DECISION

i. The proposals summarized in clauses (1) to (4) of the Note were accepted.
ii. Clause (5) was accepted, with the clarification that the question should be examined by both the Irrigation and the Buildings and Roads Branches of the P.W.D., and that so far as possible productive works and schemes should be given priority.
iii. Clause (6) was accepted, (a) with the omission of the word "all" in the second line, and (b) with the addition of a provision that any abandoned property which had actually been taken over by the Custodian of Evacuees' Property would only be returned if a demand was made by a claimant when circumstances permitted.

Further consideration of the Note and of the remaining agenda was

deferred to the second meeting of the Council, fixed for Monday, November 3rd, 1947, 10.30 a.m.

[1]Agenda of the meeting was issued by Rashid Ahmad, P. A., on behalf of Secretary to the Governor, West Punjab.
[2]Francis Mudie.
[3]Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot.
[4]Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din.
[5]Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana.
[6]Sardar Shaukat Hayat.
[7]Karamat Ali.
[8]Chaudhri Mohamad Ali.
[9]A. M. K. Leghari.
[10]Not traceable.
[11]See No. 57.
[12]Regarding draft order prohibiting searches of evacuee camps and convoys, see Annexure.
[13]See No. 113.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 150
H. A. Majid to all Deputy Commissioners in West Punjab

F. 803/21-2[1]

LAHORE,
[*Undated*] *1947*

Sir,

I am directed to address you on searches of evacuee camps and convoys. The representatives of the two Dominion Governments have agreed that such searches should not take place. It is the definite policy of the West Punjab Government that this agreement should be fully respected, because otherwise the evacuation of Muslims from East Punjab will be greatly retarded. You are personally responsible that this policy is strictly adhered to in your district. The word "convoy", of course, includes not only road convoys, but also trains. The word "camp" bears the same definition as in paragraph C 1 of the revised statement of policy regarding evacuees and refugees which was enclosed with my immediate letter No. 1009-H-47/195 dated Lahore the 4th September, 1947,[2] addressed to all Deputy Commissioners.

2. The two Dominions also agreed that the prohibition of these searches is without prejudice to their right to prohibit the bulk transfer of merchandise from the Province. You should, therefore, take steps to prevent the removal of merchandise in bulk (i.e., merchandise in amounts which an ordinary person would not at one time buy retail in a shop) from the West Punjab or to evacuee camps or convoys. I am to emphasize, however, that this must not be done by searching evacuee

camps or convoys. Action must be taken before the merchandise reaches a camp or a convoy. No person is, of course, protected from search before he reaches such a camp or convoy merely because he claims to be an evacuee or says that he is going to East Punjab. The same applies to the removal of controlled articles in such quantities as are prohibited at present, but the rule that this prohibition cannot be enforced by searching camps and convoys also applies to this case.

I have, etc.,
[H. A. MAJID]
Chief Secretary

[1]Copies were endorsed to all Commissioners & Inspector-General of Police, West Punjab.
[2]Not traceable.

151

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, F. 127-GG/1

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 374-G

LAHORE,
3 November 1947

I wish to draw your attention to a declaration made by Major General Cariappa, Deputy Chief of Staff Indian Army at a reception at India House, London, on October 27th. According to Reuters report,[1] he said.

Begins: Alas, today our country is divided. Speaking as a soldier I firmly believe that we soldiers of India will be able to bring two parts together again perhaps in a year or a couple of years or, may be, five years. We must have a strong army in India now. It is no use talking of non-violence. *Ends*.

The import of this declaration is clear. The senior-most Indian officer holding responsible position of Deputy Chief of the Staff, Indian Army, proclaims openly that Indian Army is planning to subjugate Pakistan by force. I was hoping that you would yourself repudiate Major General Cariappa's statement and rebuke him publicly for harbouring plans opposed to your oft-declared intention of maintaining peace between India and Pakistan and for trying to destroy the basis for friendly relations between the two Dominions. Almost a week has passed and no such statement has come from you. I hope that you will agree that no doubt should be left in public mind on so vital a matter and this can only be done by an official declaration of

your Government[2] against Major General Cariappa's statement.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 155.

152

Faiz Ullah Khan Niazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 665/5-12

RAWALPINDI,
3 November 1947

Reference P[andi]t Nehru's broadcast speech on Kashmir situation.[1]

The Hindu having seen something of the fighting spirit and qualities of our people, his confidence is considerably shaken. He is now undecided and is hesitating, probably also taking time to measure our exact strength, as also to guage the force of reactions in the Muslim world. He must, however, be secretly conspiring, concentrating forces for some sort of attack, for instance, a sudden push towards Lahore border, which unfortunately, seems to be too much exposed. So, I would request that no time be lost to strengthen our border in East Pakistan, in general and the border-line facing the Sikh areas in East Punjab, in particular. I feel sure that Kashmir alone will give enough of headache to the enemies and keep them busy for some time; but Kashmir can, after all, be only a side-show as the real drama, if it is begun in all seriousness, will have to be played somewhere between Delhi and Lahore. We cannot, in our strategy, afford to lose sight of this fact. We do not want to start war; but we should, in no circumstances, allow the enemies to spring surprise on us. A study of the history of all the famous world wars will convince anybody that great victories were won firstly, by the *element of surprise*[2] and, secondly, as a corollary, by *movement and speed*. Hannibal, Napoleon, Khalid, Changez, or, for that matter, whosoever else you look back upon, you will find this surprise (*movement and speed*) element as main factor of their success. We have, therefore, to do two things—firstly, to foil any hidden schemes of the enemy, and secondly, to strike him unawares when he forces us to act. This, however, will not be possible unless we organise spy service of reliable men to keep us informed of the moves of the enemy and also purge our own land of fifth columnists and secret service men in the employ of the enemy. Our difficulty in this respect

seems to be almost insuperable. Firstly, Lord Mountbatten has posted his most reliable spies in the service of Governors of the West Punjab and the N.W.F.Province and countless others of his countrymen staying on this side of the border, professedly just to serve Pakistan and humanity in general, but in reality to safeguard the interest of the only country they love—their native land of Britain. I would urge upon you not to take any of these men into the inner counsels. Even Lady Mountbatten should be looked upon with suspicion, even though she comes out ostensibly on a tour of the areas where refugee camps happen to be located. The second difficulty in respect of the spy system with us is that our morale, particularly those [*sic* for that] of our brethren who are in the Indian Union, has fallen, because of our early reverses. Conversions to Hinduism and Sikhism, giving up of cow-slaughter here and there, propaganda by the Muslims themselves against the Two-Nation Theory, the Muslim League, separate electorates or representation, and now even the advisability of a separate Pakistan State, are a sure index of the demoralization that has set in, though I agree that events in Kashmir have considerably retrieved our position and we are fast regaining the lost ground. Again, the enemy is rich and can hold out temptations. And the strongest force of all is perhaps of the Hindu and Sikh *devis* (girls) who do not hesitate (and are possibly encouraged) to move freely and entice our men.... But, whatever our difficulties, we shall have to find out ways and means of surmounting them, if we are to survive as a nation.

Another matter which is worrying me is that no efforts worth the name are being made to *mobilise* and *organise* our manpower, immense though it is. Scattered, disjoined forces can easily be annihilated by the enemy, piecemeal. This was the strategy resorted to by Napoleon and other great Generals of the past and this was the strategy lying behind the well-known pincer movements in the recent World War, particularly on the Moscow Front. So, please, get the recruitment campaign accelerated and the armies organised, if necessary even with the help of our Turkish brothers as already suggested some days back. Moreover, the International Brigade (which will, in the circumstances, naturally consist of nationals from Muslim countries) being raised in Kashmir, will form a nucleus of our world force and will certainly strengthen our position in world politics, besides being a pillar of strength to us *vis-a-vis* our Eastern neighbours in the present struggle. This should, therefore, receive every encouragement from us. Our contribution to that brigade, which might afterwards be used in world theatres elsewhere, should be commensurate with our population figures.

The next point of which I beg to remind you is of forming a bloc of

Muslim countries. This brooks no delay, for, if we fail to have the suggested bloc actively functioning in time, we are sure to be overwhelmed by the USA-Britain-India combine. It is now becoming increasingly clear that we have to play (and that, too, in the very near future) our role not only as neighbours of the inimical aggressive Indian Union but also as the greatest of the States in the Muslim world, beset as it is with dangers from all sides. To be able to meet all our commitments, we might have to raise an army of fifty lakh (or even more); but we must have, at our disposal, at least thirty lakh in a couple of months. This should not be impossible. Pakistan, the rearing-ground of armies, has immense manpower, is full of brave men of martial tribes belonging to different stocks, and most of our men are already trained or semi-trained in the art of war. Our men in the tribal-belt are crackshots, the best marksmen the world has ever produced. Incidentally, Sh. Abdullah, the traitor, has also seen and testified that the tribesman's bullet never goes amiss. The question is of funds which will be needed to maintain this huge army. In the first place, a part of the army might be a volunteer force just like the Muslim National Guards or security guards with no regular salaries but with more intensive and regular training than at present. Again, the expenditure connected with the departments that are unessential from the point of view of national defence should be cut down drastically and the services of a fair proportion of their personnel be availed of in connection with the recruitment campaign or other activities directly bearing on national defence. Rising scales of taxes, which might double or treble our income, should be enforced as a temporary measure. This our people will not grudge after the licking they have had in the East Punjab and elsewhere in Hindustan. People who have amassed wealth in the confusion of the last few months should also be made to disgorge it. And, if we still happen to be short of money, then we should have a plan ready to get hold of a part of the wealth and property of our nationals; but the plan must justly and fairly affect each and all. When nations are to be saved in times of emergency, exceptional measures have also to be taken.

Here, I reiterate my request that our contingents in the neighbourhood of Palestine be placed at the disposal of our Arab brethren, PROVIDED we can accelerate our recruitment campaign at home. This will further strengthen our ties with the Arabs and the remaining Muslim States. The word PROVIDED has purposely been put in, in capital letters, to attract your pointed attention; for, if we cannot push forward our recruitment campaign in full blast and consequently leave our tree-trunk (i.e., the Western Pakistan) as hollow, there is no use strengthening our branches

by which I mean friendly Muslim countries and the Eastern Pakistan, as already suggested in an earlier communication.

[*One para omitted*]

I have also to add that Karachi as a Capital will be a weakness and a source of anxiety to us. We should not perhaps have felt so much nervous or worried, had we been given time to develop our Naval strength and Air Force too. But our present position there is exposed and, consequently, insecure. Instead of being compelled to leave the Capital at a later stage by enemy action, thus suffering in prestige, I suggest that, if war be inevitable (and I fear this would be inevitable, if Patel refuses to swallow the bitter pill of his discomfiture in Kashmir), the Capital be shifted to Multan or rather to Rawalpindi well in advance.

I hope you would also allow me to urge upon you again the necessity of enlarging our Central and Provincial Ministries. This step will be in the interest of our State (I should gratefully say, mainly your own creation) in three ways. It will decidedly increase the cumulative output of work by the Ministers—this goes without saying; for, larger the number of hands, the greater will naturally be the work done. Then, our Ministers, who are over-worked and some of whom are losing their health, will have some leisure hours which they will be able to utilise in better ways. Great minds must have time, too, to think; and our Ministers and leaders should also be given some leisure, not to idle away their precious time but just to think out new ways and means of doing things, so that the enemy may not be able to out-manoeuvre them at every stage with better thought-out and more perfect plans. Last but not [the] least, suspicions, if any, that some of our leaders wish to grab power will vanish, and our people, already so keen and impatient to place themselves at the service of the State, will rise up as one man to make a united stand against the enemy.

There is still another point, which I cannot leave untouched. That is the matter of what seems to me as the "King Zahir - Faqir Ipi - Frontier Gandhi" combine. We can take direct action only against the Faqir of Ipi and the Frontier Gandhi. But King Zahir Shah could also be served right by a mere invitation to ex-King Amanullah Khan or even by giving him some indirect facilities to enter Afghanistan and to try to regain his lost throne. But action should not be taken in respect of Kabul so long as it does not become absolutely unavoidable, otherwise we are likely to lose world sympathy and we might also, thereby, be creating two opposing camps in the Muslim world, which will kill the Muslim Brotherhood Movement which has not as yet gathered sufficient momentum, and will be weakening the flow of any outside help

to us in these days of our national emergency.

Another word of caution, if you please: there can be no going back so far as Kashmir is concerned. The tribesmen will never agree to any proposals envisaging their getting out of the territories in which they consider their Kashmiri brethren as still unsafe. So, even if, for certain reasons not known to us common people, you consider it impolitic to recognise the Azad Kashmir Govt. (which does fully deserve recognition, as the ex-Maharaja and the members of his Govt. are no longer on Kashmir soil), we should at least leave the two parties alone to fight it out between themselves without helping one party against the other. And I am not going to believe for a moment that the tribesmen helped by the overwhelming majority of Kashmiris will be worsted in the struggle.

Now a word or two about your own goodself: I always wonder how you might be finding it possible to shoulder the exacting and crushing burdens of work and worry. I would suggest that, as the work increases, the number of secretaries and personal assistants to help you should also increase, so that you may, in the first place, maintain your health so precious to us and, secondly, to be able to give attention to matters of importance and urgency and not become bogged up [*sic* for down] in affairs which could easily be entrusted to your lieutenants. I have also suspicions that the enemy might try to lure you to Delhi, Bombay, and elsewhere, on pretence of some conference or the like. You know the Hindu is sly and cunning; the Sikh is rash and impulsive; and the Britisher wise and versed in the art of diplomacy. This makes a combination which is very dangerous and totally undependable in the present conditions. So, pray never agree to hold consultations with them anywhere in their territories.

In the end, I would request you to ask some of your secretaries to have a glance over the communications already despatched to your address by me and my brother[s] Ata Ullah Khan, Aziz Ullah Khan and Saif Ullah Khan and bring to your notice again any of the suggestions contained therein that might perhaps be considered as helpful. It is regretable that my earlier suggestions could not be taken into consideration or, if considered, were thought to be impracticable....

FAIZ ULLAH KHAN NIAZI
Mujahid, Muslim National Guards

[1]The *Pakistan Times,* 4 November 1947.
[2]In capital letters here and subsequently in the original.

153

Agnes St. I. Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/28

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
4 November 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Just a word of cheer and sympathy for the great stand you are making. Please God we will have Kashmir, the summer resort of the great Mughals, and not those coarse brutes, the Congress. The Conservatives are also gaining ground.

Excelsior.

Yours truly,
A. St. I. CURRIE

154

Afzal Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 118 (2)-GG/18

KOHAT,
4 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Lahore

Earnestly nation requests immediately recognize Azad Government Kashmir render material help before too late.

[AFZAL IQBAL]

155

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 127-GG/2

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
No. Primin-277

NEW DELHI,
4 November 1947

Your telegram No.374-G dated November 3rd.[1] We are enquiring

from High Commissioner, London, as to what Major General Cariappa actually said. We entirely disapprove our officers and servicemen making any public statements and I regret that Cariappa deviated from this rule.

I do not think, however, that what he said leads to conclusion that you have arrived at. He has often stated, notably at a joint meeting of India and Pakistan officers in Delhi, that two armies should hold together and function together as brothers. In London, he was probably referring to international situation, and to India and Pakistan having a strong army to face any international crisis that might arise. There was no question of India arming as against Pakistan. No one to my knowledge has understood Cariappa's statement to be in any sense against Pakistan.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]No. 151.

156

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 419/17-8

CONFIDENTIAL

15/16 FITZHARDINGE STREET,
LONDON, W.1.
4 November 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

There is one thing I would like to draw your attention to, and that is the standing and position of High Commissioners *vis-a-vis* the diplomatic corps. I find that we are ranked by the Commonwealth Relations Office behind the Ambassadors of insignificant countries in matters of precedence, and not only Ambassadors but even Charge d'Affaires, who are equal in status to my First Secretary, are ranked above the High Commissioners. There is strong resentment amongst us about this and I have been asked by the other High Commissioners to take the lead in the matter, and they added that they would be fully with me over this. The only exception is Menon, who, of course, is relying on his becoming an Ambassador in June and the Pakistan representative being left behind, which would just suit him.

I have set the ball rolling by approaching the Cabinet Ministers who are friendly with me, and have also talked particularly to Bevin, the Foreign Minister, saying that I was surprised at the attitude of H.M.G.

over this as the Commonwealth was a new concept of democracy, being an association of independent Sovereign States which might even include other nations in the future. Besides, when it came to asking for help, we were the first people to be asked, for example during the dollar crisis. I added that there was a definite need for revision of their attitude towards the representatives of Dominions, as they now included people of States who were not of British stock. Bevin was very friendly and assured me that he would have the matter taken up by the Cabinet immediately and that he would add a strong note in my support stressing this new concept of democracy.

It would help me very much if you could speak to the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Karachi, stressing that the privileges and status of the High Commissioner for Pakistan should not differ in the slightest degree from any other Ambassador. My only reason for the emphasis I lay on this, is to see that the Pakistan representative, now and in the future, enjoys the status and dignity consistent with the great country which he represents.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA
High Commissioner for Pakistan

157

Muhammad Yusuf & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/28
[*Original in Urdu*]

VILLAGE JAGDHOLI, TEHSIL JAGADHARI,
DIST. AMBALA,
4 November 1947

Revered Sir,

We, the unfortunate residents of Village Jagdholi, P.S. Chhapar, Tehsil Jagadhari, District Ambala, submit that some one hundred and thirty men, women and children of the village were forcibly evicted, and that some of them were murdered. We reached the village Dolyani with great difficulty. We are virtually naked and have nothing to eat.

As such we request that compassion be shown to us. We may be provided opportunity to serve Pakistan. If we, the agriculturists, are not soon evacuated from here, we may die of cold and hunger. We are

collectively suffering from pneumonia.

Please take pity on us who were forced to abandon property and animals worth about rupees six lakh in India.

With high regards,

Yours obediently,
MUHAMMAD YUSUF AND OTHERS

158

S. M. Yusuf to S. A. H. Zaidi

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/193

4 November 1947

Dear Mr. Zaidi,

I am desired to refer to your letter dated the 27th October 1947[1] to Quaid-i-Azam and to say that the Quaid-i-Azam has postponed his visit to Quetta indefinitely.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Lt. S.A.H. Zaidi,
9 Kimberley Road,
Quetta

[1]See F. 25 (Part I)-GG/192. Not printed.

159

S. M. Athur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/143-4

TROOPS BAZAR,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 November 1947

Your Excellency,

I beg to offer my services to quell the disturbances in Kashmir and to crush the brutal forces of the Indian Union. I gather from various reliable sources that the Indian Army including the State forces are

mercilessly killing the innocent Muslim civil population, looting and devastating their property.

I am a veteran of the Afghan and Waziristan campaigns. From 1919 to 1925, I had been continuously on the active service [on] frontier of India, Kabul side up to Jalalabad and Wazir forces up to Wana and Razmak side also. I am well up in guerilla warfare tactics and hill fighting. I had spent several years in leading columns when the Afghan War broke out in 1919 and ended in 1921. During the peace treaty talks at Kabul, Amir Amanullah Khan was recognized as His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. After that Waziristan field operations were started which lasted several years.

I hope Your Excellency will accept my offer and concur with my views. I would earnestly request Your Excellency to kindly arrange for my passage from Bombay to Karachi. I would then come and report my arrival to meet the eventualities. I would also request Your Excellency that arrangement be made for my onward journey by air to the destination.

I do hope Your Excellency will very kindly favour me with a line at a very early date either in negative or in the affirmative.

I enclose herewith a block print of my photograph.[1]

With all respects due to Your Excellency,

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's,
most obedient and humble servant,
S. M. ATHUR
Lieut.
B.A., M.A.P.A, F.R.S.L. (London)
Timber, Textile & Metal Expert

PS. I am a refugee from Gwalior State. My candidature is under consideration before the Pakistan Central Government. I applied in response of [*sic*] the appeal by the Hon'ble Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, appeared in the press on June 27, 1947.

[1]See F. 976/145. Not printed.

160

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 49-GG/21

CONFIDENTIAL
No. Primin-283

NEW DELHI,
5 November 1947

The Governor-General, India, has told me of his conversation with you in Lahore and I am happy that you will be fit enough to come to Delhi for the Joint Defence Council meeting on Saturday [8 November]. That will give us an opportunity of personal discussion which is desirable. I hope you will be quite well soon.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

161

M. Ikramullah to Wazir Ali[1]

Telegram, F. 125 (11)-GG/16

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 753

KARACHI,
5 November 1947

Understand that Najibullah Khan[2] will arrive Quetta on the 12th. Arrangements being made for his reception. He wants to have discussion on November 17th. We do not know the whereabouts of Saidullah Khan. He has a letter from Afghan Foreign Minister which we have not seen. Please contact him and also find out from the Prime Minister whether he is likely to be in Karachi on November 17th so that a reply may be sent to Kabul.

[M. IKRAMULLAH]

[1]Private Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan.
[2]Afghan Minister for Education, and Envoy Extraordinary to Pakistan.

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Erskine Crum to Mohamad Ali

Telegram, F. 49-GG/24-5

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDITATE
No. 71-GG

NEW DELHI,
6 November 1947

No. 86-GGI. Reference item 2 of the next Joint Defence Council meeting. Draft Joint Defence Council (Amendment) Order sent by air today. After normal preamble draft reads:

Begins:

1. i. This Order may be cited Joint Defence Council (Amendment) Order 1947.

ii. It shall come into force at once.

2. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for interpretation of this Order as it applies for interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3. In paragraph II of article 3 of Principal Order, for "The Governor-General, India" the words "The person who at the commencement of this Order is Governor-General, India" shall be substituted.

4. In article 4 of Principal Order for words "The Governor-General, India" the words "The person referred to in item (i) of paragraph (2) of article 3" shall be substituted.

5. As from date on which headquarters of Supreme Commander ceases to function,

a. the Supreme Commander shall cease to be a member of Joint Defence Council and in his place the Senior Service Chief of India and Senior Service Chief of Pakistan shall become members thereof. (Alternatively, "one of service chiefs of India nominated by Governor-General of India and one of service chiefs of Pakistan nominated by Governor-General of Pakistan.")

b. The Joint Defence Council as is reconstituted[1] shall continue to function in accordance with provisions of Principal Order as amended by this Order;

c. If a senior service chief is for any reason unable to attend any meeting of Joint Defence Council he shall be entitled to depute an officer to attend the meeting in his place, and such officer shall have for purposes of that meeting all powers of Senior Service Chief;

d. Paragraph (ii) of article 6 and articles 10, 11 and 12 of Principal Order shall cease to have effect and shall be omitted; and

e. In clause (b) of article 7 of Principal Order the words "or the Supreme Commander" shall be omitted;

Explanation: For purposes of this article, the expression "The Senior Service Chief" means one of the chiefs of three defence services of Dominion concerned who is senior-most in rank. (Or alternatively, "Explanation: For purposes of this article the expression "Service Chiefs" means the chief[s] of three defence services of the Dominion concerned"): *Ends.*

You will note that no suggestion is made of [*sic* for for] amending article 8. Please bring suggestions to the meeting as to deletion of any clauses either now or when Supreme Headquarter closes.

[ERSKINE CRUM]

[1]Besides the Defence Minister, another Minister from each Dominion was included in the amended Order. See No. 116, note 1.

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Mohammad Hassan Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (2)VI-GG/90

1 PIPALS,
LAHORE,
6 November 1947

Dear Sir,

I regret to note that you have not thought fit to reply [to] my previous letter asking for an interview with His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Moh[amma]d Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan.

As leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, East Punjab[1] and one of the representatives of Ambala Division, I claim that I and the members of my party *are entitled to an interview with Quaid-i-Azam to aquaint him with the sad plight and stupendous loss of life and property and the atrocities that are still being committed there at* [sic] *the connivance of the Indian Dominion* and the East Punjab Govt. I and the members of my party feel that if Quaid-i-Azam were to know of our request for an interview with him, I am confident that priority will be given to us. I, therefore, request you to very kindly arrange our interview with Quaid-i-Azam as well as inform us about the date and place of the interview. I trust

that this letter of mine will not go unreplied.[2]

Yours truly,
CH. MOHAMMAD HASSAN KHAN
B.A., LL.B
MLA, MCA
Advocate

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]F. Amin informed him that Jinnah was extremely busy and advised him to see either the Prime Minister or the Premier, West Punjab. He also invited his attention to letters sent to him on 27 October and 3 November and to telephonic conversation of 4 November 1947 in this connection. See F. 25 (2) (Vol. I)-GG/91. Not printed.

164

M. A. Latif to S. M. Yusuf

F. 150 (Vol. II)-GG/2

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR,
(EDUCATION DIVISION),
KARACHI,
6 November 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I am desired by the Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman to inform you that he is holding an All Pakistan Educational Conference in Karachi from 24th to 27th November, 1947 (both days inclusive).[1] The object of the conference is to consider the educational problems of Pakistan with a view to assisting Government in framing appropriate policies and objectives.[2]

As this is the first Educational Conference of Pakistan to which Provincial Education Ministers, Directors of Public Instruction, Vice-Chancellors of Universities and other eminent educationists have been invited, H.M. has asked me to request you to approach the Quaid-i-Azam for a message[3] which would be read out at the opening of the Conference.

I shall be grateful if you will let me have this message as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. LATIF
Deputy Secretary

[1]The dates were changed to 27-30 November on account of *Moharram*. See F. 150 (Vol. II)-GG/5. Not printed.
[2]Annex.
[3]See Enclosure to No. 222.

Annex to No. 164

F. 150 (Vol. II)-GG/3

AGENDA OF EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

1. To consider the desirability of setting up an Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan.

2. To consider the desirability of establishing an Inter-University Board for Pakistan, its functions, constitution and allied matters.

3. To consider ways and means of promoting scientific research.

4. To consider the desirability of establishing a Technical Education Council in order to survey the field of technical education in Pakistan and to make suggestions for its improvement.

5. To consider the Overseas Scholarships Scheme for the training of technical personnel inaugurated by the late Government of India.

6. To determine the policy as regards Scheduled Castes Scholarships initiated by the late Government of India and other measures for the educational uplift of backward sections of population.

7. To consider ways and means of developing cultural contacts with foreign countries.

8. To consider ways and means of providing facilities for adult education.

9. To consider any other matter with the approval of the Chairman.

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Mother Mary to F. Amin

F. 115-GG/2-5

PRIVATE

CONVENT OF JESUS & MARY,
SIALKOT,
6 November 1947

Dear Sir,

Your note dated 24th October[1] reached me on November 3rd, apprising me of His Excellency the Governor-General's kind consideration in directing you to inform the District Magistrate of Pindi for necessary action, for the safe convoy of our invalid Sister and her Assistant to Sialkot.[2]

As the temperature at Murree had fallen considerably after I wrote, and the invalid was suffering much from the effects, and I did not get a reply, I thought my letter had gone astray, owing to the dislocation of some of the Postal Departments [*sic*], so we took advantage of a kind friend's offer to drive us in a private car to Sialkot on October 25th. The car could only take our kits with bedding, so we left our other luggage at the Presentation Convent, Rawalpindi, till it could be sent to us here by safe convoy. We are awaiting its arrival.

Allow me to thank you very gratefully for all your kindness and I apologise for the trouble I am giving. Whereas you must be very busy indeed with recent events, shall I be imposing on your kindness if I ask just for one favour more?

I have tried my very best to get the enclosed cheque cashed at the Imperial Bank, Murree. The Manager said he could not on account of the "National Bank" not functioning. Then I asked friends who had large deposits in the Bank. They said they could not do so for the above reason. So in my difficulty I am appealing to you for necessary action as we keep no reserve funds giving all for poor and poor children. So you will appreciate Rs. 50 means something for us in our present difficulty. I am enclosing the cheque to prove [that] it is intact and duly signed. I shall be very grateful indeed if you will kindly give

the order for it to be cashed.[3]

Thanking you in anticipation,

With best wishes,

Yours respectfully,
[MOTHER] MARY OF S[ACRED] H[EART]

PS. I forgot to mention the gentleman who sent the cheque, tried to send the sum by M.O. [money order], then by registration but ... P.O. [Post Office] refused both means.

[1]See F. 115-GG/1. Not printed.
[2]Mother Mary also wrote another letter on this subject the same day. See F. 888/31-2. Not printed.
[3]F. Amin advised Mother Mary on 1 December 1947, to endorse the cheque to a person in Lahore who may try to have it cashed locally. See F. 115-GG/8. Not printed.

166

Ruler of Amb to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 7-GG/17

PESHAWAR,
6 November 1947

Grateful if interview with Quaid-i-Azam arranged during his visit Rawalpindi. Kindly wire date, time Deputy Commissioner, Abbotabad, or telephone Government House, Peshawar, by 10 a.m. seventh November. Matter extremely urgent.

M. FARID KHAN

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Muhammad Tufail & Muhammad Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/33-4
[Original in Urdu]

LYALLPUR,
6 November 1947

Sir,

It is submitted that we, the refugees from Amritsar and Gurdaspur, have settled in Lyallpur (Gali No. 2, Mohalla Santpura). Experiencing

paucity of flour, under the existing circumstances, we went to the Office of Civil Supplies, Lyallpur, on 4-11-1947, for procuring two ration cards.

We took with us Pir Syed Anwar Shah Hazarvi, a well-known personality not only of our locality but of Punjab as well, to facilitate the solution of our flour problem. When we reached the office, we requested Mr. Qureshi Rehmatullah, Sub-Inspector (Cloth) who was preparing the cards, to do the same for us. He started making the cards and completing the form for the purpose. Meanwhile, Mr. Saeed, another Sub-Inspector (Cloth) came there. He said to Mr. Qureshi, "Take Rs. 5 per card as bribe". As such, Mr. Qureshi demanded Rs. 10 from us. Hearing this Pir Anwar Shah told him that they were tyrannised and helpless people and bribe should not be demanded from them. As a result, the staff present flew into a rage and began hurling abuses at us and at Pir Sahib.

We brought the matter to the notice of Civil Supply Officer, Lyallpur, who directed us to leave the office and added that he was not in a position to help us and would not interfere with the work of his Inspectors.

We returned home dejected and insulted. There were quite a few persons around who were flabbergasted at the demand of bribe so publicly by the employees of the Dept. who did not spare even the poor persons.

Sir, our submission is that this affair should be thoroughly investigated. We have eye-witnesses of the same. It was also disclosed by certain persons that they cut indecent jokes with *purdah* clad ladies.

We pray that honest person should be posted in this office to help the refugees.

[*Last para omitted*]

Yours obediently,
HAJI MUHAMMAD TUFAIL & MUHAMMAD DIN
Butchers

Note: We do possess the Ration Cards and forms which were left half-filled, as proof of high-handedness shown to us.

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M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/35

DALMIA JAIN HOUSE,
ANNIE BESANT ROAD,
KARACHI-1,
6 November 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since my return from Bombay after addressing a press conference, I have been anxious to contact you. But you were so busy and pressed for time that I have [*sic*] not the heart to worry you. But I feel that I must take an early opportunity of calling on you for a brief chat as in the old days. I shall be grateful if you will give me some time whenever it suits you. I repeat what I had stated on so many occasions in person and had also written, namely that you would be the only person who could give a constructive reorientation to the present chaos in the country. I have to add that our mutual friend Mr. S. A. Brelvi[1] shares my hope and belief in this respect.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. S. M. SHARMA
Managing Editor,
The *Daily Gazette*

[1]Syed Abdullah Brelvi, a journalist and a staunch nationalist.

169

King Mohammad Zahir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 125 (11)-GG/6
[*Translation*][1]

DILKUSHA PALACE,
KABUL,
16 Aqrab 1326 [6 November 1947]

Follower of the faith of Islam
We,
Mohammad Zahir, by grace of God, King of Afghanistan
Our greatly respected dear friend,

With a view to establish the friendly and brotherly relations, and in order to strengthen the desire of cordial neighbourly connections which, it is desirable be brought into existence between the two great Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and similarly for the sake of sincere negotiations which constitute a ground for a lasting friendship and unshakeable co-operation mutually advantageous to us, and in order to safeguard the co-operation between Afghanistan and Pakistan which is our foremost and principal object and also the object of our Government, we have accredited H.E. Najibullah Khan, one of the respectable, trusted, and sincere personalities of our Government, and a member of the Cabinet of Afghanistan, to be our Envoy Extraordinary at Your Excellency's court.

In view of the great qualities and political experiences which Najibullah Khan possesses, we are sure, by making every desirable effort to establish and strengthen the friendly relations, he will fulfill his mission in such a way as to command Your Excellency's confidence and satisfaction.

We hope that Your Excellency would receive him graciously, and objects, especially as regards the friendly relations bringing the two Governments closer to each other, which he may explain on our behalf, would be considered as genuine.

[MOHAMMAD ZAHIR]

[1]Najibullah Khan presented the credentials on 3 December 1947. See No. 242.

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Bahauddin to F. Amin

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/198-9

MINISTER'S OFFICE,
CAMP KARACHI,
7 November 1947

You will be pleased to get me an interview with Quaid-i-Azam, H.E. the Governor-General, Pakistan, at Lahore, between the 10th and 12th November, both days inclusive, on my visit to attend Pakistan Health Conference there.

This interview I am seeking with an object to fully acquaint Quaid-i-Azam about a mischievous move and a conspiracy launched by the Indian Union Government to attempt influencing His Highness Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur, the ex-Mir of the Khairpur State, now living at Bangalore after his deposition from State throne due to his permanent insanity,[1] that after the ex-Mir had physical fitness certificate from medical board, he should accede Khairpur State to Union Government instead.

Certain local papers at Karachi and outside papers mentioned this news. The Khairpur *Darbar* have taken prompt steps to arrange a chartered plane to bring the ex-Mir back to the State from Bangalore to foil vicious attempts of the Congress. Hence it will be necessary if you very kindly arrange an interview with His Excellency during my stay at Lahore to enable me to place the facts before him.

You will kindly intimate me[2] the definite date and time of interview at Khairpur House, Upper Mall, Lahore.

SHAIKH BAHAUDDIN
B.A., LL.B.
Minister, Civil Supplies and Industries,
Khairpur State

[1]See No. 189, Vol. III, 479-80.
[2]F. Amin indicated in the margin of this letter that Jinnah was indisposed.

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Noel-Baker to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 114-GG/15

MOST IMMEDIATE/TOP SECRET *7 November 1947*

No. 777

Following telegram No. 14177 dated November 6th received from the Secretary of State[1] is repeated.

Begins: "Addressed Defence Minister, Pakistan,[2] repeated Supremind (United Kingdom High Commissioner New Delhi please pass) 1265. Top Secret. Your 005/1 of November 5th.[3] Pakistan terms.[4] No repeat no publication should be made until further announcement from His Majesty's Govt. in the United Kingdom which will be sent through the Supreme Commander to whom you should send the terms". *Ends*.

[1]P. J. Noel-Baker.
[2]Liaquat Ali Khan.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]Pakistan Government had insisted that Supreme Commander's organisation should be continued till 1 April 1948, as originally contemplated. See No. 116.

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Arthakitti Banomyong to M. A. Jinnah

F. 190-GG/1-2

BANGKOK,
7 November 1947

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that on my arrival at Bangkok on the 27th October last I could not but felt [*sic*] appreciative of the welcome and facilities extended to me during my too brief a visit to Pakistan, and hence I am looking forward to the day when I shall have the opportunity of also welcoming Your Excellency in Bangkok, which I hope will be in the near future so that I shall be able to reciprocate Your Excellency's many kindnesses.

As to the request expressed to me by Your Excellency regarding the purchase of Siamese rice for the relief of the people in Eastern Pakistan, I beg to inform Your Excellency that immediately after my arrival here I have brought the matter to the attention of His Majesty's Government who have not only given their sympathetic consideration to Your

Excellency's request but have also expressed their willingness to render assistance whenever needed. Such being the case 1,000 tons of rice will be immediately procured and shipped to Pakistan, provided that the Pakistan Government will communicate directly with the Office of the Special Commissioner in South East Asia with a view to obtaining the latter's allocation for the rice in question.

I hope that the above information will be satisfactory to Your Excellency[1] because Siam's desire is to help those who are in need of help, especially fellow Asiatic countries.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

ARTHAKITTI BANOMYONG
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Siam

[1]Jinnah conveyed his thanks on 29 November 1947, for the offer made. See No. 230.

173

Harold Macmillan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 485/19

10-15 ST. MARTIN'S STREET,
LONDON, W. C. 2,
7 November 1947

Dear Governor-General,

I write to thank you once more for your letter of the 11th September.[1] I have had a talk with Mr. Mir Laik Ali and he has already made contact with Mr. Churchill and Mr. [R. A.] Butler.

I am grateful to you for introducing me to such an interesting personality.

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD MACMILLAN

[1]No. 221, Vol. V, 222.

174

Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 49-GG/26

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE
No. 75

NEW DELHI,
7 November 1947

I sincerely trust you will be well enough to come to the Joint Defence Council [meeting] on Saturday [8 November] and will be glad to put you up for the following night. Will gladly send my York aircraft which has beds in it. Hope you will bring Begum Liaquat and your doctor as I know you are far from well. I have telegraphed to your Governor-General inviting him as well. If you are not fit enough to come on Saturday would you prefer Sunday?[1]

[LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN]

[1]Abdul Rab Nishtar attended the meeting instead of Liaquat Ali Khan. See the *Pakistan Times*, 8 November 1947.

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Ghyasuddin Pathan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 403/1-2

MYMENSINGH,
7 November 1947

My dear Sir,

May I be permitted to draw your personal attention to the following few lines for the defence of Eastern Pakisthan [*sic*] and its improvements in all respects. In connection with the anti-eviction movement at Assam, I had the occasion to make [*sic*] some idea about Assam and its frontier.

Khyrim and Cherra are two States within the Khasi Hills belonging to the Khasi Chiefs. Since the lapse of paramountcy these two States among several other small States of the Khasi Hills have become independent ones. Khyrim and Cherra States are contiguous to the District of Sylhet which has since formed part of East Bengal. These States are yet to join either the Dominion of Pakisthan or Hindusthan [*sic*]. Geographically and commercially these two States are more linked with Sylhet, and the Khasi people are mostly dependent on Sylhet for their

foodstuff. One of these States has a coal mine. Lime, lime stones, cotton, timbers, oranges and tea are supplied from these States. The Chhatak Cement Company lying within the District of Sylhet in East Bengal gets the entire supply of lime and lime stones, and also coal from these two States. Besides, the Masmai waterfall within the Cherra State, which is one of the biggest falls of the world, can be successfully utilised for electrifying the entire province of East Bengal.

The Khasi Hills will afford very good natural barrier in between Assam and East Bengal, and it will be easy to guard the north-east frontier of East Bengal. The province of East Bengal has no summer health resort. Pynarsula, a place within the Khasi Hills and on the Sylhet-Shillong motor road, may be a health resort which will be in no way inferior to Shillong.

So immediate steps should be taken for opening negotiations with Khasi Chiefs for bringing the Khyrim and Cherra States within the Pakistan fold. In this connection the services of Mr. A. Hamid, Minister of Education, Eastern Pakisthan, Maulvi Mudabbir Hossain Choudhury, MLA and Mr. Monawar Ali, ex-Minister of Assam, may be profitably utilised. As far as I know they will be quite willing to take up the case. They are well known to the persons in power in those States. I am ready to place my humble services also. If you kindly approve of the idea, I hope to be favoured with a few lines in reply.

Affectionately yours,
GHYASUDDIN PATHAN
B.L.
Member, Constituent Assembly

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Sher Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/35-6
[Original in Urdu]

PINDI BHATTIAN,
DISTRICT GUJRANWALA,
7 November 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum
SUBJECT: Lawlessness and Injustice at Pindi Bhattian, District Gujranwala

I do know that you are very busy these days, but being Governor-General and Founder of Pakistan I would like to draw your attention to

something which might help Pakistan and its poor. For the last few days, the houses of the Hindus are being searched in Pindi Bhattian. This responsibility has been entrusted to police and agriculture inspectors. Right from the beginning, the houses of rich Hindus were unlocked, and all the precious articles, cloth were grabbed by the police and the inspectors, or sent to their homes.

Now for a few days, the inspectors have been changed, and consequently the problem has multiplied. Goods are being taken out of the homes of rich Hindus without preparing any inventory. All the goods, cloth, etc., worth lakhs of rupees have been grabbed by these members. All the worthless, broken goods are collected for Pakistan and the refugees. But even the refugees do not accept them.

For God's sake save us from such people. Even the police is involved in this and empties out whole houses by night. The poor are unnecessarily harassed, even though they are innocent.

Has the establishment of Pakistan come as a scourge for the poor? Is the police force being maintained for their bloodbath? The police, their cohorts and the inspectors are devouring all the wealth of the city. The high officials are paying no heed to all that is happening. The poor dare not raise their voices against these powerful officials. And who would listen to them even if they did raise a protest. So it is, that they hear and see all and cannot say a word.

You must arrange for a very secret raid on Pindi Bhattian right now and give due punishment to the looters of public property. Honest officials should then be appointed in their place. The need of the hour is that you should give your immediate attention to this matter lest you have to answer [to] God for this.

Your well-wisher,
SHER MOHAMMAD

177

Noel-Baker to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 114-GG/16-22

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE *8 November 1947*

No. 761

Following is text of Commonwealth Relations Office telegram 14175 dated November 6th just received from U.K. High Commissioner [by Foreign Karachi]. An identical telegram has been sent to Prime Minister, India.

Begins: For Prime Ministers India and Pakistan in reply to Government of India No. 352-Primin No. 179, October 20th[1] and Government [of] Pakistan 351-G of October 24th.[2]

SUBJECT: DISSOLUTION OF HEADQUARTERS, SUPREME COMMANDER, IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

1. The Supreme Commander has recommended to Joint Defence Council of India and Pakistan that his Headquarters should be dissolved with effect from November 30th. His reasons for this recommendation were that it was becoming impossible for his officers to discharge their task of reconstituting of former armed forces of British India into new and separate forms for India and Pakistan because of absence of necessary spirit of goodwill and co-operation between the principal points [*sic* for parties] concerned.

2. The Government of India has categorically affirmed its wish that Supreme Commander's Headquarters should not continue to discharge its allotted task of reconstituting armed forces but that this should be completed by some other organisation to be set up jointly in agreement between Governments of India and Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan on the other hand is equally insistent on need for retaining Supreme Commander's Headquarters in being until it has virtually concluded its task that is until April 1st 1948, the date originally laid down in Joint Defence Council Order of August 11th 1947[3] under which the Supreme Commander's Headquarters was instituted.

3. Supreme Commander's Headquarters was set up in agreement with between [*sic*] leaders of the Congress Party and Muslim League with the approval of the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India acting on behalf of His Majesty's Govt. in U.K. The Officers and Other Ranks in the Supreme Commander's Headquarters all belong to British Navy, Army and Air Force and are on loan from these services for the sole purpose of assisting the Joint Defence Council in its task of reconstituting armed forces.

4. In view of the situation which has arisen and of representations[4] of the Supreme Commander, H.M.'s Govt. in the U.K. have reluctantly come to the conclusion that it has no option but to withdraw these Officers and Other Ranks including the Supreme Commander himself. H.M.'s Govt. in the U.K. do not think it right to allow these Officers and Other Ranks to be saddled with a responsibility which circumstances have made it no longer possible for them to discharge efficiently. His Majesty's Govt. in the U.K. trust that the Governments of India and Pakistan will appreciate that from a practical point of view no other course is open to them.

5. The result of this would be that the Supreme Commander's Headquarters will automatically cease to exist on November 30th, 1947. After this date no doubt there will no longer be any neutral joint central organization to deal with the reconstitution of armed forces. It will be for the two Governments of India and Pakistan, if they so desire, to agree on the arrangements to be made to ensure the completion of this reconstitution. His Majesty's Government in the U.K. are confident that the Governments of India and Pakistan will agree that in addition to the completion of the arrangements for the reconstitution of armed forces the continued existence of Joint Defence Council will facilitate joint consultations on Defence and will also assist in equitable distribution of Military Stores as between India and Pakistan. His Majesty's Government in the U.K. regard the equitable distribution of stores as most important. If the two Governments agree on the necessity of the continuance of Joint Defence Council an agreed amendment to Joint Defence Council Order 1947, published in the *Gazette of India* [*Extraordinary*] of August 11th, 1947, would appear to be necessary. If it is not possible to arrive at any agreed amendment then it is suggested that it would be feasible to continue to be a statutory body. In either event, His Majesty's Government in U.K. would be grateful for information from the Governments of India and Pakistan as to the agreement reached between them in the matter.

6. Although Central Joint Control so far as reconstitution of armed forces is concerned will thus disappear on November 30th, 1947, a Central Headquarter to control and look after the units of British Army and Royal Air Force and British Officers and Other Ranks serving with the armed forces of the Dominions of India and Pakistan also will be required. Our proposals to meet this need are set out below. Owing to wide scarcity of shipping it is not anticipated that repatriation of these British nationals of whom there are expected still to be at least 18,000 including families in India and Pakistan on November 30th, can be completed before the end of February 1948.

7. All Officers and Other Ranks serving in the Supreme Commander's Headquarters units or with the armed forces of India and Pakistan are under His Majesty's Government in the U.K. to whom the Supreme Commander is responsible for their welfare and control. When Supreme Commander leaves on November 30th, therefore, there must be an authority who can exercise this responsibility in replacement of the Supreme Commander until December 31st.

8. I propose that he should be a Commander of British force in India and Pakistan who would have power and responsibility at present vested in Supreme Commander in respect of units of British Army and

Royal Air Force and of British Officers and Other Ranks serving in his own headquarters or with the armed forces of India and Pakistan. This new Commander of British forces will have no responsibility whatever for the completion of reconstitution of armed forces of the two Dominions neither would he have any concern with these forces except in respect of British personnel serving with them. We consider he should be an officer of the rank of Lieut. General and should have under him a small headquarter consisting of Naval, Army and Air Force officers necessary to enable him to discharge his responsibilities.

9. Subject to concurrence of both Governments his headquarter would disappear on December 31st when the present contracts of British Officers and Other Ranks serving with the armed forces of Pakistan and India come to an end. After this date retention of services of British Officers and Other Ranks with the armed forces of India and Pakistan is a matter for each Government to decide in agreement with His Majesty's Government in the U.K. or with individuals themselves as the case may be.

10. Some form of organisation, however, will still be required after December 31st 1947 to control and administer the British forces including individual Officers and Other Ranks who will still be in India and Pakistan because there have not been ships to bring them home. We suggest that this control should be provided in the form of two small independent British headquarters under Major General and Air Commodore located at Deolali and Karachi (Mauripur), respectively. These headquarters would have the sole duty of administering units and individuals awaiting repatriation in these two areas and of arranging their embarkation. These two headquarters would not be under Joint Central Control but would communicate directly with His Majesty's Government in U.K. and with High Commissioners for U.K. in India and Pakistan, respectively. They would also communicate directly with Governments of India and Pakistan as the case may be. *Ends.*

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 116.
[3]Annex to No. 116.
[4]Annex.

Annex to No. 177
Claude Auchinleck to Ministry of Defence, London

Telegram, PRO, DO 142/271

IMMEDIATE/TOP SECRET [NEW DELHI,]
30 October 1947

Subject: Dissolution of Supreme Commander's Headquarters.

1. As you know my proposals for dissolution my Headquarters and connected organisations submitted to Joint Defence Council at meeting on 16th October[1] at Lahore were accepted by India representatives and rejected by Pakistan representatives. Chairman thereupon referred matter to respective Cabinets. Both Governments have now confirmed attitude taken by their representatives.[2]

2. I consider there is no likelihood of either Government changing its views and have therefore examined legal aspect in regard to position of Joint Defence Council and my Headquarters organisation as defined in Joint Defence Council Order (1947) published in *Gazette of India Extraordinary* of 11th August 1947.

3. Legal position appears to me to be:

A. Council is constituted until 1st April 1948 and can be extended thereafter by both Governors-General acting jointly (Clause One).

B. No provision exists for its earlier dissolution but presumably this also could be effected by both Governors-General acting jointly. Dissolution by unilateral action on part of either Dominion of H.M.G. does not appear to be legal but presumably might be effected by legislation in British Parliament.

C. Though Council was set up by order of former Governor-General of unified India before partition, he cannot dissolve it as he no longer exists.

D. Supreme Commander's Headquarters (Clause Ten of Order) is sole instrument by which Council's decisions can be implemented and is, therefore, integral part of whole organisation established under the Order.

E. Council has four statutory members only (Clause Three of Order) and as there is no mention of quorum, presumption is that all four members must be present to constitute legal meeting.

F. As C-in-C of H.M. Forces in India prior to partition I am personally named as a statutory member of the Council in

my personal capacity as Supreme Commander. The Order makes no provision for my replacement, so if Supreme Commander is abolished, Council ceases to be legally constituted though presumably both Governors-General acting in concert would appoint new Supreme Commander as would be necessary in event of my resignation, illness or death.

G. Above will suffice to show that if Supreme Commander's Headquarters is dissolved, J.D.C. as at present constituted by law, must automatically also be dissolved and be replaced by some new joint body if this is agreed by both Dominion Governments.

4. In my opinion, a situation has now come about in which it is impossible for the organisation which has been set up for the reconstitution of the armed forces of the former Empire of India to continue to function because of the absence of the necessary co-operation, harmony and goodwill between the parties concerned. I believe that this condition is unlikely to change for the better owing to the obdurate attitude of the Government of India towards the continued existence of Supreme Commander's Headquarters. They can, by refusal to co-operate, prevent the organisation functioning impartially as it was designed to do.

5. It is equally unlikely in my opinion that the Pakistan Government will change their minds and agree that their Governor-General should act jointly with the Governor-General of India to dissolve Supreme Commander's Headquarters.

6. I submit that it is essential that H.M.G. should not act in this matter in such a way as to lend colour to the accusation that it favours one Dominion or the other and I suggest, therefore, that the best solution is that set out in the succeeding paragraphs.

7. British personnel including myself employed in Supreme Commander's Headquarters all belong technically to the British Navy, Army or Air Force and no longer to the former Indian forces which ceased to exist on partition. These officers and men are on loan from H.M.G. jointly to the two Dominions to effect the reconstitution of the former armed forces of British India.

8. I recommend, therefore, that to resolve present deadlock H.M.G. should formally notify the Governments of India and Pakistan of their decision to withdraw on 30th November British personnel of all three British Services now serving in Supreme Commander's Headquarters including the Supreme Commander himself thus automatically dissolving these Headquarters. The reason to be given being that in view

of the situation that has arisen between the two Governments it is impossible for these officers and men to continue to discharge the responsibility originally laid upon them and that H.M.G. cannot accept their being placed in a false and ambiguous position.

9. I suggest that simultaneously H.M.G. notify approval to my proposals put before J.D.C. for setting up H.Q. British Forces in India and Pakistan to cover period between 1st and 31st December and also my proposed arrangements for control of British Forces after that date. The withdrawal of personnel from Supreme Commander's Headquarters would not affect British personnel now serving with the armed forces of the two Dominions who would remain at duty under their present contracts until released at the expiry of their three months notice on 31st December.

10. I am convinced that in order to safeguard the interests of British personnel until their three months notice expires on 31st December, it is legally and morally necessary and for administrative reasons essential the powers now vested in the Supreme Commander in respect of British personnel in India and Pakistan should be exercised by the Commander British Forces in India and Pakistan who will be directly responsible to H.M.G. In no circumstances would I agree that these powers should be vested in the commanders of Dominion forces who will be under direct control of their respective Governments.

11. As the matter is extremely urgent I shall be grateful for an early decision. In my immediately following signal[3] is a suggested draft telegram to the Governments of India and Pakistan.

12. Copies of this signal have been sent to High Commissioners for U.K. in India and Pakistan for their personal information.

13. Reply by this channel.

[CLAUDE AUCHINLECK]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 89.
[3]Not traceable.

178

Ghulam Jilani to Deputy Commissioner, Lahore
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 888/37-8[1]

JILANI HOUSE,
291 CIRCULAR ROAD (OUTSIDE TAXALI GATE),
LAHORE,
8 November 1947

Sir,

I am sure it is perfectly in your knowledge that necessities of life, especially milk, matches, meat, cigarettes, salt and ghee, etc. are sold at a much high price. The prices of the day are even 50% more than the prices in 1944, i.e. war days high time in Indian history [*sic*] but it is very astonishing that you seem to be taking no interest about the above.

The match manufacturing factory, it is learnt, sells match box at 6 pies less 25% commission to the distributor but the match box in the market is sold at the price ranging from 18 pies to 24 pies i.e. it is clear that such a high black marketing is in practice in open daylight. The same is the case with cigarettes and salt for which the dealers are appointed by you or the company concerned. In the interest of justice and public, I am confident that you will take necessary action in putting an end to such a high black marketing.

It is learnt through papers that you have desired every one concerned to deposit all the looted property in *Bayt al-Maal* within 3 days, failing which serious steps will be taken. It is highly appreciated that you are taking interest to recover the looted property.

I am confident that you must be sincere in your say[ing] and will even not spare the officials and will personally or through an honest officer recover the looted property and take effective steps against them.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
SAHIBZADA GHULAM JILANI
President, Punjab Muslim Federation

[1]Copies were sent to Governor and Minister, Civil Supplies, West Punjab.

179

J. N. Mandal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 673/32-4

KARACHI,
8 November 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Although I am fully alive to the gravity and seriousness of the present situation, I could not help writing this letter.

I returned to Karachi from East Bengal in the evening of 20th October. A conference of the Scheduled Caste leaders held at Dacca for two consecutive days was largely attended and ended with satisfactory results. But, on account of the absence of the Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr. Nurul Amin who had gone to Lahore to attend the Food Conference and the absence of almost all other East Bengal Ministers [being] on tour with Congress leaders on peace mission, I was not able to meet them to discuss and settle important matters. Neither could I visit rural areas. I could not extend my tour further as my immediate presence in Karachi was necessitated for the selection of delegates to the Delhi Session of Asian Conference of the International Labour Organisation and some other important business. Hence, at the suggestion of all my people and Khwaja Nazimuddin,[1] it was decided that I should return to Karachi immediately and then go again to Bengal after a few days. On my return back [*sic*] I was very busy with the above mentioned matters and, before I could see you, you left for Lahore.

I have been receiving letters from all quarters of East Bengal requesting me to visit immediately several *mofussil* areas. Moreover, in one letter from Haimchar in the District of Tippera, where the Scheduled Castes suffered terribly by the communal riot of October 1946, my people have written that, if I could go there before [*sic*] a few days prior to 19th of this month, all the communal cases started by them against the Muslims could be withdrawn and, on the other hand, they could be saved from imprisonment on account of some counter-cases started against them, the judgement of which would be positively delivered on the 19th November. It is needless for me to say that the Scheduled Caste people had suffered very miserably and, if they are now convicted to imprisonment, it will be an extremely unfortunate event which will create an indelible spot on my public career, because only my visit to the place, as has been repeatedly declared by the

leaders of both the communities, would end in the withdrawal of all the cases and counter-cases. I, therefore, feel that I should go there and save the people of both the communities from further suffering, hardship and continued bitter feeling.

If I am permitted to undertake tour for about ten days in different districts of East Bengal, I shall draw a programme accordingly, otherwise I shall only go to Haimchar (Tippera) via Dacca and come back again to Karachi. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me have your views about my proposed tour to East Bengal.

My tentative short tour programme is that I shall start on 13th morning, reaching Dacca on the same evening; halting there the following day and leaving for Haimchar at night and reaching there on the 15th morning. I shall leave Haimchar on 16th morning, returning to Dacca the same night, and taking off for Karachi on the 17th morning.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
J. N. MANDAL
[*Minister for Law and Labour*]

[1]See No. 123.

180

Minutes of Fourteenth Meeting of Joint Defence Council

Mountbatten Papers, F. 150-B
[*Extract*]

[NEW DELHI,]
8 November 1947

CLOSING DOWN OF SUPREME COMMANDER'S HEADQUARTERS

The meeting considered a telegram from the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the United Kingdom. This telegram stated that, in view of the situation which had arisen and of the representations of the Supreme Commander, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, had reluctantly come to the conclusion that it had no option but to withdraw the British officers and other ranks, including the Supreme Commander himself, forming Supreme Commander's Headquarters. The result of this would be that the Supreme Commander's Headquarters would automatically cease to exist on 30th November 1947.

The Governor-General said that he regretted that this subject had caused controversy. He personally believed that the closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters on 30th November was the right solution. He believed that, in view of the unanimous endorsement given by the India Cabinet to the pledge that India would deliver to Pakistan the latter's full share of stores, Pakistan's principal objection had been met.

The Minister of Communications, Pakistan, said that he felt that this decision was very unfair to Pakistan. Supreme Commander's Headquarters was set up to reconstitute the Armed Forces. This process had not been completed, and the movement of stores had hardly begun. He wished to make it clear that Pakistan were not a party to the decision that the Supreme Commander's Headquarters would close on 30th November. This had been forced upon Pakistan without their consent and in spite of the views they held and had declared.

The Council:

i. took note of His Majesty's Government's telegram, and of the fact that Supreme Commander's Headquarters would automatically cease to exist on 30th November 1947;
ii. directed a sub-committee, consisting of the Supreme Commander (or his representative) and of representatives of the two Dominions, to draft a communique on the closing down of Supreme Commander's Headquarters for issue to the press; and directed the Conference Secretary to issue this communique on Monday, 10th November.

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Obaidur Rahman to Deputy Commissioner, Sargodha
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 908/133-4

C/O THE POSTMASTER,
SARGODHA,
8 November 1947

Sir,

Respectfully state below what happened to us and where we stand now.

HISTORY

Our firm Messrs Ellahie Buksh & Sons, dealers in arms and ammunition,

patent medicines, drugs and chemicals, was established in Ambala Cantonment in 1840 (a period of hundred and seven years). At that time, there was no Arms Act in India and there were only four or five arms and ammunition dealers throughout the length and breadth of India. We had been suppliers to neighbouring States; among our patrons and customers were *Rajas, Nawabs,* high civil and military officials besides the gentry and *mofussil* dealers. We were held in highest esteem. Our father the late Khan Sahib Sheikh Abdul Majeed was an Hon[orar]y Magistrate, Notary Public and Divisional *Darbari.* Our eldest brother Sheikh Abdul Khaliq is an Hon[orar]y Magistrate and District *darbari.* We own[ed] land and buildings at Ambala Cant., valued between that [*sic*] eight to ten lakh of rupees.

SACRIFICES

The second to the eldest brother Sheikh Abdul Rahim is Financial Sec[retar]y of Ambala Cant. Muslim League, a member of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Council and *Salar-e-A'la* of Ambala Cant. M. L. National Guards. He courted arrest in defiance of Khizr Govt.'s ban on M. L. N. Guards. Mr. B. S. Grewal, D[eput]y Com[missione]r Ambala, the arch enemy and Muslim-baiter made us his special target of oppression and tyranny. Soon after the last general elections for our supporting Muslim League candidate, it pleased Mr. Grewal to cancel our license to sell spirit methylated and when our brother Sheikh Abdul Rahim was gaoled in connexion with Muslim League agitation the unworthy D.C. went to the extreme length to cancel our licenses for sale of arms and ammunition and forfeit the entire stock of arms and ammunition held by us, value of which exceeded forty five thousand [rupees]. Non-Muslims started stabbing, bomb-throwing, loot and arson in Ambala on 28 August [19]47. Our shop was plundered for continuously several hours on 10 Sept. [19]47. Our chemists and druggists store ranked second in Muslim concerns of the Punjab, our stock of patents and chemicals amounted to Rs. 67,000.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

RELIEF

We should not and we are not aspiring for the wealth and property we left in Ambala Cantt. But certainly it is not too much to ask for a suitable business house and a residential place for the five brothers and their families who all were depending on and working in that firm at Ambala Cantt. For generations we are traders. We have thorough experience of arms, ammunition, chemist and druggist business. If a shop is allotted to the right man, you help not only that man but also the trade. The trade cannot prosper, if it goes into the wrong hands.

If the Quaid-i-Azam's wish is to be followed in letter and spirit, the authorities must guard against:

1. Local rich people who are capturing shop after shop and house after house in the name of refugees

2. Petty clerks and villagers who never in their lives took to trade are occupying shops

3. People of the *West Punjab*[1] who are moving from one town to another as opportunists

4. Anyone who is occupying better shop or bigger house than his status or size of his family entitles him.

The above four categories are social criminals. These greedy enterprisers have no sympathy for their fellow Muslims from East Punjab who really have bled, suffered and lost all what was dear to them. Ambala has received no share at all in Sargodha. Muslims from Ambala are being evacuated in [*sic*] the last. People from other areas have already captured business places and residential houses. Justice demands that Muslims from Ambala should also be allowed to settle here. Refugees will be helped a lot if shops at very reasonable prices are allotted to them—25% money to be collected now and the balance by monthly instalments. Hardly poor men could bring any money. Refugees cannot compete with the West Punjab Muslims who can and are bringing into play their wealth.

Your early consideration is solicited,

Obediently yours,
OBAID

[1]Underlined in the original.

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Message by M. A. Jinnah to Armed Forces and National Security Guard
8 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam who was expected to go to Rawalpindi on Sunday [November 9], had to postpone his departure owing to sudden illness. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, in a message to the Armed Forces, members of the Security Guard and the people of Rawalpindi expressed his deep anxiety to be with them as soon as it was possible for him to do so.

The Quaid-i-Azam, in the course of his message, said:

"You do not know how deeply disappointed I am that I am unable to come to Rawalpindi and meet our people and the officers and

soldiers of the Armed Forces and the newly formed National Security Guard. Suddenly I have been laid up with temperature. It is impossible for me to undertake the journey to Rawalpindi and I do hope that you will understand it that I cannot help it. Please go through the programme as previously arranged and please convey my greetings to all.

My heart is with you though my indisposition prevents me physically to be with you. I want you all to work with complete unity and harmony and notwithstanding all the dangers that are facing us just now. I am sure we will march forward through them successfully with the honour and prestige of Pakistan higher then ever and upholding the high traditions of Islam and our National Banner.

I was so anxious to go to Rawalpindi and I shall take an early opportunity to be with you as soon as it is possible for me to do so.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 9 November 1947.

183

Liaquat Ali Khan to Lord Chamberlain[1]

Telegram, F. 109-GG/8

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT KARACHI,
8 November 1947

Begins: I greatly regret that owing to grave problems now facing Pakistan it will not be possible for me and my wife to accept Their Majesties gracious invitation[2] to the wedding of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth which we had both much looked forward to attending. *Ends*. For your information, the Government of Pakistan are sending a wedding present and this will be despatched shortly.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]George Villiers.
[2]See No. 321, Vol. V, 354-5.

184

M. Iftikhar-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 804/16[1]

SECRET

THE RESIDENCY,
LAHORE,
9 November 1947

I place below three notes containing my suggestions:

a. on rehabilitation,[2]
b. on refugee movement,[3] and
c. on camps[4]

together with appendices, for the perusal of the members of the Pakistan and Punjab Refugees and Rehabilitation Council and that of the members of the Punjab Cabinet. It is proposed that these notes be taken up and suggestions contained therein considered at the next meeting of the Council, to be held on Tuesday, the 11th November 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

M. IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN
Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, West Punjab

[1]Copies were sent to the Prime Minister, Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation, Governor, Premier, Finance Minister, Revenue Minister, Education Minister, West Punjab, Secretary, Refugees & Rehabilitation Council.

[2]Enclosure.

[3&4]See *The Journey to Pakistan—A Documentation on Refugees of 1947*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1993, 25-41.

Enclosure to No. 184

F. 804/17-30

LAHORE,
9 November 1947

NOTE ON REHABILITATION

I have carefully studied H.E.'s note[1] which is now the basis of discussion for the Joint Council. I find that action has already been taken in the Rehabilitation Department on many suggestions contained in H.E.'s note. In some cases the action taken does not cover the entire ground and adoption of the suggestions in H.E.'s note would extend the scope of the action being taken.

2. I feel, however, that if we are to deal with the problem which is unparalleled in its magnitude, we must effect some fundamental changes in our economy. Desparate diseases call for desparate remedies. Before

we proceed with a discussion of various suggestions, I would like to put down the salient facts of the case:

a. Total population leaving West Punjab ... ... 38 lakh

b. Total population entering West Punjab ... ... 59 lakh

c. Those dependent upon agriculture leaving West Punjab ... ... 11.5 lakh

d. Those dependent upon agriculture entering West Punjab ... ... 24.5 lakh

e. Urbanites leaving West Punjab ... ... 11 lakh

f. Urbanites entering West Punjab ... ... 12 lakh

g. Rural population not dependent upon agriculture leaving West Punjab ... ... 16 lakh

h. Rural population not dependent upon agriculture entering West Punjab ... ... 23 lakh

i. Revenue paying land vacated by evacuees ... ... 48 lakh acres

j. Cultivated land vacated by evacuees (75% of the preceding item) ... 36 lakh acres

k. Land reported as available by Deputy Commissioners ... 22-25 lakh acres
(On the basis of this figure, it is very difficult to say what land should actually be considered as available but as a compromise we may take a figure of about 30 lakh acres).

l. Absorbing capacity of 30 lakh acres at the rate of 6-8 acres per family of five ... 22 lakh

3. H.E.'s note shows that we will have to provide for about 2.5 million unemployed during the coming winter. I am prepared to accept this figure. I have, however, my doubts regarding the distribution of this number amongst agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Professor Hassan's[2] figures give the picture before the present disturbances. We are, however, faced with subsequent facts at variance with these figures. Out

of the 22 lakh, we have received so far, about 18 lakh have gone on land, and working on this basis over 40 lakh will be demanding land allotments. It must be admitted that many of the persons who have received allotments of land are not entitled to these allotments. The fact remains that when dealing with such vast numbers, the District authorities cannot examine the antecedents of each case and must, in the first instance, accept the statement of each applicant. Nor is it possible to check the numbers of each family till the family actually reaches the village in which they have received allotment. The only machinery in the village for checking their number is the *Patwari* and he can generally be persuaded to overlook shortages. The original allotments were made under the orders of F.C.R.[3] and the letter issued by him sanctioned allotments to *kammis*. The present set-up of the Rehabilitation Department came into existence about the end of September and very soon after this I approved of instructions governing the distribution of land to refugees. These instructions were, however, delayed for several weeks in the Revenue Department and were eventually issued only a few days ago. Even now the demarcation of functions between the Rehabilitation Department and the Land Revenue Department regarding allotment of land is not clear, and, therefore, the responsibility for these allotments to undeserving refugees cannot be accepted entirely by the Rehabilitation Department. Even for the future we must, therefore, reconcile ourselves to non-entitled persons demanding and obtaining land.

4. Most of the districts are now reporting that they have disposed of all the available land. The Rehabilitation Commissioner is devising an organisation for checking up the allotments and it is possible that some more land may be discovered for the refugees, but H.E.'s calculations are based on the land theoratically available, and, therefore, any land to be discovered will be included in the land accounted for in those calculations.

5. It is essential, under the circumstances, to devise new means for absorbing refugees. An obvious method of absorbing more people on land would be to require landlords owning more than 50 acres who cultivate through tenants to reduce the area with each of their tenants and to take refugees on their lands in addition to their existing tenants.

6. The calculations given in Appendix I[4] show that it would be possible to absorb about 3 lakh of tenants in this manner and presuming that each tenant has a family of five members the method will absorb about 15 lakh of refugees.

7. The calculations in Appendix II[5] show the average income of a landlord and a tenant from different classes of land in the perennial

and non-perennial areas of Montgomery [now Sahiwal]. The reduction of the area with each tenant would greatly reduce the income of the tenant and it may not be possible for him to maintain himself on the reduced area. We have, however, allotted 6-8 acres per family to refugees settled on evacuees land and there is no reason why tenants settled on lands belonging to big landlords cannot subsist on the same area. The rent to be charged from the evacuees has not yet been fixed, but the figure sanctioned for refugees on evacuees land should also apply to tenants on the lands belonging to big landlords.

8. This rent can be fixed at 3 times the land revenue. This charge is theoretically supposed to represent 1/4th of the net assets from land. If reliance is to be placed upon settlement calculations then the rent can be fixed at three-times the land revenue without giving the landlord—be he an evacuee or not—any justification for complaint.

9. The suggestion given above will enable us to absorb a large number of refugees, and to some extent to overcome the effects of the depletion of bullock power which has been a result of the exchange of population. It must, however, be admitted that the other effects on the economy of the Province will not be entirely desirable.

10. As has already been pointed out, an economic holding for a family was about 12 acres of land. The decision to reduce the holding to 6 acres was forced upon us by the necessity to absorb as many refugees as possible. There is no doubt that six acres cannot absorb the energies of a pair of bullocks and a family of workers, and, therefore, the system now being introduced is uneconomic. To reduce the holdings of big zamindars' tenants will further extend the evil.

11. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that the reduction in the area of each tenant and the lowering of the rent demanded from him must be considered as a preliminary to collectivization. The economy of a collective village enables agriculture to be supplemented by industry to a greater extent than in the economy of an ordinary village, and, therefore, the excess of manpower which the implementation of my suggestion will involve can be usefully employed for the whole year.

12. Collectivization itself will be divided into two phases. Firstly, we will have to use the non-mechanical means of agriculture upon which we are dependent today. It has been proved in Russia that collectivization can be successful even in non-mechanized villages because the beneficial features of the scheme, viz. crop planning for the whole village as a unit can be put into effect. The second stage will involve the replacement of bullock power by machine. This change will probably reduce the number of workers required on land, but it is

hoped that by the time we reach the second stage, the industrial side of village life would develop to an extent which would provide occupation for the entire population.

13. Another objection to the acceptance of the suggestion in paragraph 5 can be that the big landlords whose rents will be reduced greatly as a result of the acceptance of the suggestions may start an agitation. In this connection, I would like to point out that the number of such owners is only 88,000[6] and they form only 3.4% of total number of owners in the West Punjab. Their number as compared with the total population is infinitesimal. Anyhow, we have to compare the effects of agitation by this handful of people against the possibility of having about a million and a half unemployed and consequently agitating against the Government and committing crimes. In my opinion, there is no question as to which of the two is the lesser evil.

14. The adoption of the steps advocated above would in the early stages place an excessive number of people on land and, therefore, it would be essential to take steps to reduce that number as early as possible. In the later stages collectivization and mechanisation will release persons from land and arrangements must be complete for their absorbtion. Apart from these considerations, it is necessary for us to plan for absorbing more refugees and amongst these schemes industrialization must come first. It would perhaps be best to deal with industries subsidiary to agriculture, cottage industries and big factories separately.

15. The industries subsidiary to agriculture such as hand-spinning, bee-keeping, dairying and poultry farming, are carried out by the agriculturists in their spare time to supplement their agricultural income and these can best be organised through the Co-operative Department. They should be required to formulate a plan at once.

16. Cottage industries mentioned in the margin[7] absorbed about 15 lakh workers in the whole of the Province according to 1931 Census Report. Out of this number, only 3,00,000 were so employed in what is now West Punjab and the remaining were in East Punjab. A large proportion of these workers were Muslims. It is impossible to say how many of these workers have now reached the West Punjab, but the Director of Industries has information of only 1,00,000. The others have dispersed. It is essential to take immediate steps for the re-organisation of cottage industries. The first step would be the setting up of an organisation to trace out and register workers from the East Punjab. The Director of Industries will at the same time formulate a scheme for their rehabilitation. This would involve the important problems of supply of raw materials, technical assistance, finance and marketing facilities. It is understood that for the more important industries the

total expenditure is not likely to exceed 3 crores of rupees.

17. The above measures will only absorb a small fraction of the total population. To solve our manifold socio-economic problems, it is essential to expand the existing large scale industries to the utmost within the shortest possible time. The Appendix No. IV[8] gives an idea of the new industries which can be started. The total expenditure involved would be about Rs. 25 crore. The new factories will give direct employment to about 70,000 workers. The setting up of large-scale factories encourages the growth of numerous subsidiary small crafts, and thus gives employment to a large number of people. The other advantages, e.g. of supplying the essential needs of the Province, are too obvious to be mentioned.

18. The establishment of large scale factories is beset with difficulties. We require power, capital, technical staff, transport facilities, capital goods and machinery and certain basic raw materials, not available, in the country.

19. Power is of fundamental importance. The requirements of industry are at least one lakh kw [kilowatt] supplied at a maximum of 3 pies per unit. If it is not possible to develop hydroelectric energy within the next few years, all large scale factories must have their own diesel generating sets. This will, of course, increase the initial cost, but there seems to be no other way out of the difficulty. The possibilities of power development are given in Appendix V.[9]

20. Capital comes next. It is extremely doubtful if enough private capital would be available to start all the new factories and even if it were available, the people may not be prepared to undertake entirely new ventures. Government can raise this capital by:

a. public loans,
b. increased taxation,
c. foreign loans, and
d. creating new money.

21. The internal loans are restricted by the saving capacity of the people which is not much in the case of Pakistan. Increased taxation specially on agricultural income, and death and estate duties will bring in some revenue. The creation of new money is not possible until we have our own Reserve Bank and monetary policy. This leaves only the foreign loans. It is, however, feared that foreign loans may have economic and political results unless they could be secured by the State as such and used at the will of the State without bringing in individual capitalists. They should also be unencumbered with political commitments or economic monopolies.

22. Technical personnel is the next bottleneck. If we encourage the

investment of foreign capital in Pakistan, a large number of technicians will come with the plants and train our workers. We can also employ the services of foreign experts and take steps to send batches of young men to foreign countries. The facilities available in the Province for technical education must also be enhanced as much as possible.

23. Transport facilities can be extended according to an ordered plan, and Government can enter into bilateral agreements with foreign countries for the supply of basic raw material in which we are deficient. With our exportable surplus of cotton, wool, and raw hides and skins, there should be no difficulty in entering into such agreements.

24. Capital goods and machinery will have to be obtained from abroad and if Government are prepared to finance the entire industrialization plan, the only remaining difficulty would be of obtaining foreign exchange which can be solved:

a. by foreign loans from areas where the machinery is to be puchased; and
b. by utilisation of our sterling balances.

If the development of industry is left to private individuals it will not be possible for them to procure machinery at either reasonable rates or within a reasonable period. Government have, therefore, to step in as purchaser of machinery at a political level.

25. If the above suggestions for industrialization are to be accepted, it would be necessary to organise them on war basis and give up the old leisurely ways. Missions will have to fly immediately to foreign countries to negotiate loans, make purchases and to secure technical staff. Selected officers will also have to be sent out to foreign countries to learn organisation and gain technical knowledge.

26. Canals, forests and other essential works are being held up for lack of labour. There is a demand from the Rawalpindi Forest Circle alone for 9,000 labourers. Thal Project can absorb at least 20,000 labourers and other Government projects can find employment for an equal number. There is labour shortage in *mandis* and small contingents can be used with advantage in each *mandi*. If powers were assumed for directing refugees and others compulsorily into labour corps it should be possible to recruit and to find useful employment for a hundred thousand labourers. Including their dependents this would utilize about 5,00,000 refugees.

27. If the schemes enumerated above were put into operation our entire surplus population would be absorbed but it is realized that the implementation of these schemes will take time and, therefore, it is necessary to devise ways and means of keeping the refugees till the schemes mature. H.E., in his note, has laid stress on the formation of

camps in districts and the Rehabilitation Commissioner has already warned Deputy Commissioners that they may be required to keep large numbers in camps and has directed them to start the constructions of these camps. I feel, however, that the construction of these camps will take time and in another 15 days refugees will be dying of cold unless they can be put under shelter. It is, therefore, necessary to put forward alternative suggestions. Appendix VI[10] gives the number of houses reported as vacant by Deputy Commissioners. This number exceeds 50,000. It is difficult to estimate the number of persons which each house can accommodate, but we must be prepared to tolerate and even to encourage a certain amount of congestion. In camps large numbers will sleep together in small huts, and in spite of our best efforts the sanitary arrangements will be very primitive. In houses, where the sanitary conditions are bound to be better, if the same amount of congestion is permitted, we may put at least four persons in a room. Few houses have less than three rooms and taking even this number as the average we can accommodate 12 persons in a house. This means that we can accommodate about 6 lakh of refugees in the houses which are still vacant.

28. A large number of residents of West Punjab have taken advantage of the evacuation of non-Muslims to occupy their houses and an order must be passed requiring all residents of West Punjab to return to their original houses. This order will, of course, not apply to essential Government servants, for whom houses have been requisitioned by Deputy Commissioners. It is hoped that this measure will vacate another 25,000 houses and these houses will accommodate another 3,00,000 refugees. The facts given above will show that about 9,00,000 refugees can live in houses which can be made available for them. In most of the towns Muslims and others lived in distinct *mohallas* and we can, therefore, treat the *mohallas* vacated by non-Muslims as camps. Any Muslims living in these *mohallas* can be required to vacate their houses and they can be shifted to other parts of the town and made to live with other families of their acquaintance.

29. Apart from the accommodation in towns we must utilize our villages for housing refugees. The Rehabilitation Commissioner who has contacted several persons in this connection has been assured that villagers will be prepared to accept refugees and to vacate a certain number of houses for them in each village. There are about 17,000 villages in West Punjab and the absorption by each village of 50 refugees, that is to say, 10 families, will give accommodation to 8,50,000 refugees.

30. To my mind, the advantage of placing refugees in towns and villages as opposed to maintaining them in camps is that there are far

greater chances of their being absorbed in the economic life of the Province. In the villages occasional labour is constantly required and in the towns chances of employment are always cropping up. Apart from this it would be easier for the refugees to secure foodstuffs and necessities such as beddings, etc., in the villages and towns as compared to camps.

31. The question then arises as to how refugees are to be maintained in towns and villages. I would advocate the granting to them of a cash dole for a limited period of three to six months. This dole can be fixed at the rate of Rs. 5 per person per mensem. This would enable an average family to get about Rs. 25 a month which should be sufficient for them to maintain themselves. This figure of Rs. 5 per mensem has been calculated on the following basis. About 12 seers of *atta* is required per person per month on the basis of 6 *chhatak* per day. This, at the rate of Rs. 10 per maund, would cost Rs. 3. Two rupees are allowed for other items of food. Each family contains some children whose requirements are less than 6 *chhatak* per day and, therefore, the proposed allowance is fairly generous. The mechanics of paying out the dole will have to be worked out by the special officer appointed in this behalf in the Rehabilitation Department but I visualise some system whereby each family would be given a card stating the number of members of the family and the centre from which they are to draw dole. This card will have to be attested by some responsible official or by committees to be set up for this purpose. The dole would stop in case a refugee shifts his residence without permission or receives employment or an offer of employment which he rejects. It would be necessary to pass an ordinance making it criminal offence for person to give wrong information for the purposes of obtaining dole or helping another person to obtain or continue to draw dole.

32. A natural corollary of this system is the setting up of a vast number of labour exchanges all over the country. Every refugee placed in a town or village or in a *mohalla* camp will have to register himself with one of these labour exchanges. When the exchange is informed of any vacancy they will require a suitable refugee to accept the offer and if he refuses to do so he will be struck off the dole. We would perhaps have to use that maid of all work, the *Patwari,* for the purpose of running the exchange. It goes without saying that the increase in the work of this official and higher revenue officers would mean an increase in their number and a reduction of the area of their circles. It may be possible to meet the shortage of trained personnel by putting in untrained persons with *Patwaris* and other officials to do the writing work and other mechanical work for them under the direction of the

trained incumbent of the post.

33. The payment of the proposed dole and the incurring of other expenditure in connection with the rehabilitation programme outlined above, would involve an enormous increase in our national expenditure and we would have to devise some means of meeting this. The increase in income tax in the recent years has left the landed classes untouched and the land revenue which they are called upon to pay bears no relationship to their present-day income. The suggestion to increase the number of their tenants and consequently to reduce their rents will have some effect upon their inflated incomes. It is anticipated that the acceptance of the suggestion in paragraph 5 will reduce the income of the landlord to [*sic*] th of its present figure. Even this, however, would not make the really big zamindars carry their fair share of the nation's expenses. It would, therefore, be essential to impose a graded tax upon all zamindars who, under the new arrangements, would draw more than 15 thousand per annum as their income from land.

34. In putting these rather drastic proposals before the Joint Council, I am aware of the fact that their acceptance will involve a fundamental change in the economy of the country. It is, however, my firm belief that no other method will enable us to get over the difficulties with which we are faced. We have to meet these problems with courage and consider if any other remedy will enable us to overcome them. If it is decided that there is no possible alternative we must then disregard any fear of possible opposition.

35. I feel that in this note also I must stress the necessity of improving our relationship with our sister Dominion. A really sincere understanding with them may enable us to retain some Muslims in East Punjab and some non-Muslims in West Punjab. It may even be possible to persuade some of the refugees on both sides to return to their original homes. The effect of this would be to minimise our rehabilitation difficulties and to overcome some of our economic problems, which have been accentuated by the departure of a very large percentage of our traders and industrialists. More important still is the fact that this may avert the sure annihilation which faces us if after the completion of the exchange of population between the East and West Punjab we are faced with an influx of people from Kashmir and the rest of India. The persons who will be the first to come from the U.P. and further afield will be the vocal and uncontrollable urbanites. Most important of all, friendship with India alone can give us coal, which is the essential requisite for industrial development.

36. I give below a brief summary of my proposals:

a. Landlords owning more than 50 acres should be required to reduce the area with each of their tenants and to take refugees on their lands in addition to their existing tenants.
b. The rent payable by tenants to landlords in all cases where Government reduces the area with the tenant should be fixed at 3 times the land revenue.
c. Agriculture should be collectivised in two stages
    a. non-mechanical; and
    b. mechanised.
d. The Co-operative Department should be required to formulate a plan for industries ancilliary to agriculture, such as hand-spinning, bee-keeping, lac-making, etc.,
e. An organisation should be set up for tracing out and organising workers in cottage industries who have come from East Punjab.
f. The Director of Industries should formulate a scheme for their rehabilitation and Rs. 3 crore should be provided for this purpose.
g. Steps should be taken immediately for setting up the factories mentioned in Appendix IV. These steps should include arrangements for the provision of power, capital, technical staff, transport, and provision of capital goods, machinery and raw materials.
h. Powers should be assumed for directing refugees compulsorily into labour corps or other employments.
i. Immediate arrangements should be made for accommodating refugees in vacant houses all over the Province. Separate *mohallas* should be set apart for their use, if the Deputy Commissioners consider it necessary.
j. The refugees should be sent to every village in the Province and villagers should be persuaded to give them accommodation and support.
k. All refugees accommodated in towns or villages, who have not been supplied [*sic*] with any employment and who have no other means of support, should draw dole at the rate of Rs. 5 per person.
l. A law should be passed making it a criminal offence to give wrong information in order either to draw dole or enable another person to draw dole.
m. Labour exchanges should be set up all over the country for providing employment for refugees.
n. If necessary, the number of *patwaris* and other revenue officers should be increased and the area of their circles should be reduced. If trained personnel is not available, untrained staff should be appointed to do the mechanical part of their work.

o. A graded tax should be levied on the income of all zamindars drawing more than Rs. 15,000 per annum from their agricultural lands within the Province.
p. Every effort should be made to improve our relations with the Dominion of India.

M. IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

[1]No. 113.
[2]S.M. Hassan, Principal, Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore.
[3]Financial Commissioner, Revenue.
[4]See F. 804/31. Not printed.
[5]See F. 804/32. Not printed.
[6]Annexure I.
[7]In the margin, names of industries were noted as textiles, tanning and leather goods, woodwork, metal work, ceramics and pottery, embroidery and calico printing, hosiery, sericulture, etc.
[8]See Annexure II.
[9]See F. 804/36 listing 5 districts for power development. Not printed.
[10]See F. 804/37. Not printed.

Annexure I to No. 184

F. 804/31
Appendix III

NUMBER OF MUSLIM LANDOWNERS OWNING MORE THAN 50 ACRES AND THE TOTAL ACREAGE OWNED BY THEM IN EACH DISTRICT OF WEST PUNJAB

Name of district	Number of owners	Percentage to total owners	Land revenue area owned by them [in acres]	Percentage to total area owned
1	2	3	4	5
1. Lahore	2,903	3.1	1.42	27.8
2. Sialkot	754	.6	.46	9.22
3. Gujranwala	2,385	3.8	2.58	30.3
4. Sheikhupura	2,298	3.7	3.08	43.4
5. Gujrat	2,773 (assumed)	1.6	2.42	19.8
6. Shahpur [Sargodha]	1,398 (assumed)	5.9	1.22	51.4
7. Jhelum	1,192 (assumed)	.3	1.04	7.2
8. Rawalpindi	699 (assumed)	.3	.61	5.8
9. Attock	7,166 (assumed)	2.8	6.34	26.9
10. Mianwali	5,563 (assumed)	5.1	13.58	54.2
11.Montgomery [Sahiwal]	8,829 (assumed)	8.8	4.71	35.4
12.Lyallpur [Faisalabad]	3,106 (assumed)	3.0	2.50	23.3
13.Jhang	9, 248 (assumed)	6.4	8.07	61.2
14.Multan	9,167 (assumed)	8.2	10.90	64.6
15.Muzaffargarh	10,577 (assumed)	1.7	9.23	37.4
16.D.G. Khan	20,848 (assumed)	2.3	18.16	65.6
Total	88,906	3.6	86.32	35.2

Annexure II to No. 184

F. 804/34-5
Appendix IV

Industry	Location	Size	Capital investment	Number of workers employed	Annual Turnover
1. Cotton textile	Multan, Khanewal, Montgomery [Sahiwal], Kasur, Sheikhupura Sargodha, Lyallpur [Faisalabad], Okara, Jaranwala	About 1000 looms and 30,000 spindles for each factory	About a crore of rupees per mill	About 4,000 each	Rs. 75,00,000 per mill
2. Woollen textile	Jhang, Rawalpindi	650 looms and 40,000 Spindles for each factory	About a crore of rupees (including generating plant)	About 4,000 each	Rs. 54,00,000 per mill
3. Rayon & artificial silk	Between Murree & Rawalpindi	3 tons a day	Rs. 1,50, 00,000	About 300	Over Rs. 50,00,000
4. Sugar mills	Sialkot & Lyallpur	600 tons of cane per 24 hours	Rs. 5,00,000 per mill	About 500	600 bags(2.5 md each) per day and Rs. 24,000 per day. Rs. 5,00,000 per mill
5. Coal carbonisation	Mari Indus	100 tons a day	Rs. 50,00,000	About 500	Rs. 5,00,000
6. Ammonium sulphate	Dandot	50,000 tons	Rs.3,00,00,000	About 400	Rs.50,00,000
7. Caustic soda	Khewra	10 tons a day	Rs. 25,00,000	About 250	Rs. 10,00,000
8. Sulphuric Acid and sulphur	Khewra & Rawalpindi	10 tons a day (contact plant)	Rs. 15,00,000	-	Rs. 10,00,000
9. Cement	(i) Wah (Extension500 tons a day)	1,50,000 tons a year	Rs. 70, 00,000	About 800	Rs. 1,25,000
	(ii) Dandot (-do-)	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
	(iii) Khewra (new factory)	1,00,000 tons a year	Rs. 1,20,00,000	About 1500	Rs. 80,00,000
10. Sheets & window glass	Lahore	2 to 3 tons a day	Rs. 15,00,000	About 100	Rs. 12,00,000
11. Glass bottles	Lahore	3 tons a day	Rs. 15,00,000	About 150	Rs. 10,00,000
12. Wood pulp and kraft paper	Jhelum	10,000 tons a year	Rs. 1,03,00,000	2500	Rs. 15,00,000
13. Tannery & footwear	Wazirabad.	500 pairs a day	Rs. 15,00,000	1500	Rs. 9,00,000
14. Biscuits	Lahore	3000 tons a year	Rs. 30,00,000	300	Rs. 30,00,000
15. Vegetable ghee	Khanewal, Multan, Lyallpur	25 tons a day per factory	Rs. 20,00,000	400 each	Rs. 1,00,00,000 each
16. Wood distillation	Chichawatni	13,500 tons a year	Rs. 15,00,000	250	Rs. 6,00,000
17. Glucose & starch	Rawalpindi (maize starch), Lyallpur (wheat starch)	4 Rs. 4.5 of ready material. [*sic*]	Rs. 3,00,000	150	Rs. 10,00,000
18. Glue & gelatine & hyperphosphate	Rawalpindi	2 tons daily capacity	Rs. 2,50,000	200	Rs. 6,00,000
19. Pottery	Jhelum	-	Rs. 30,00,000	2000	Rs. 15,00,000
20. Plastic powder and mouldings	Rawalpindi	-	Rs. 70,00,000	2000	-
21. Flour mills & Processed foods	Rawalpindi, Mian Channu & Lyallpur	-	Rs. 8,00,000 per mill	300 per mill	Rs. 50,00,000
22. Heavy agricultural, textile & hosiery machinery	Gujranwala	-	Rs. 1,00,00,000	4000	-
23. Machine tools	Sialkot, Wazirabad, Gujranwala	-	Rs. 1,00,00,000 each	4000	

24. Surgical instruments, cutlery and hand tools, etc.	Sialkot, Wazirabad, and Lahore	-	Rs. 10,00,000	5000
Grand Total			Rs. 25,62,50,000	73,550

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Abdul Mannan to M.A. Jinnah

F. 888/39-40
[Original in Urdu]

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT,
WALTON CAMP NO. 2,
LAHORE,
9 November 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

During your visit to Walton Camp on 6 November 1947, I was shocked to see you in a deteriorated health. It seems that the heavy responsibilities that devolve on your shoulders are having a telling effect on you. I still remember the day, when you were flying to Karachi from Delhi on 6 August 1947.[1] On that occasion, your glowing face was brimming with life. I was strongly hoping that your health would have improved further. But, I was grieved to see you on 6 November, as was also described in the newspapers. How can I be of any service to you, the great leader of the nation?

I have one source at my command with which I can serve you in this regard and that is my own blood. I can sacrifice this healthy blood. You just ask the doctor to transfuse it to you which may be of great use for a long time.

I am a healthy person, can walk twenty long miles daily because of which my food intake, too, is digested; I can work 16 hours a day and have not been taken ill since long. You may get these facts confirmed from a doctor.

I have borne the brunt of Khaksars attack in Imperial Hotel, Delhi, and am (at present), serving as a National Guard for the past seven years. I hope that you would accede to my request of blood transfusion, thus providing me an opportunity to be grateful.

Your humble servant,
ABDUL MANNAN

[1]Jinnah flew from Delhi to Karachi on 7 August 1947.

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S. Osman Ali to Federal Ministers

F. 1025/185

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

CABINET SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
9 November 1947

No. 22/C. N./47[1]

The undersigned is directed to inform the Hon'ble Ministers that a special meeting of the Cabinet will be held at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow, at the residence of the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce, Industries & Works[2] (5, Clifton Road).

AGENDA[3]

1. Proposed duty on jute — H.M. Finance
2. Proposed re-imposition of duty on salt — H.M. Finance

S. OSMAN ALI
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

[1]A copy with compliments of the Cabinet Secretary was sent to Jinnah. See F. 1025/184. Not printed.
[2]I. I. Chundrigar.
[3]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 186

F. 1025/186-90

SUMMARY

9 November 1947

At the meeting of the Partition Council held on the 5th of August, 1947, the Council considered the report of the Expert Committee No. III (i) (Central Revenues) and it was agreed "that while all assets and liabilities existing prior to the 15th August, 1947, were subject to division between the two Dominions, the question of sharing future revenue arising on or after that date was a matter for free negotiation between the two Dominions or for submission by agreement to the Arbitral Tribunal".[1] At the same meeting the Council also approved the proposals made in paragraph 13 of the report of the Expert Committee No. VII on Economic Relations (Control) regarding the maintenance of the *status quo* in matters affecting trade and movements between the two Dominions up to the 29th of February, 1948, but the Pakistan members reserved the right "to revise their attitude in view

of the stand taken by the Dominion of India regarding Customs revenue".

2. In accordance with the decision of the Partition Council an attempt was made to reach agreement by negotiations with the Government of India on the question of sharing the Customs and Central Excise revenue accruing in the period from the 15th of August, 1947, to the 31st of March, 1948. The views of the Pakistan Government were explained to the Government of India by the Pakistan High Commissioner and the Finance Secretary. It was pointed out that Pakistan produces approximately 73% of the total jute crop but most of the exports both of raw jute and jute manufactures are being made through Calcutta, with the result that India receives the bulk of the Customs revenue; and it was suggested that Pakistan should receive at least half of the revenue collected at Calcutta during the period in question from the export duty on raw jute. It was also pointed out that the present distribution of Central Excise revenue is unfavourable to Pakistan, since the amount of excise duty collected in Pakistan is less than the duty payable on excisable commodities consumed in Pakistan territories. The Government of India have however refused to agree to any special arrangements for the sharing of jute or Central Excise revenue.

3. It was made clear to the Government of India that if no agreement were reached the Pakistan Government would be compelled to impose a duty on raw jute exported over the land frontier from East to West Bengal. In view of the failure of the negotiations, the Ministry of Finance consider that such action should now be taken as quickly as possible. The normal method of collecting a duty on goods exported over a land frontier is to apply the proyisions of the Indian Tariff Act to such exports by declaring the country to which they are exported to be "foreign territory" for the purposes of that Act. Arrangements have in fact been made for the imposition of a limited land customs barrier between East and West Bengal and the local officers are now in a position to collect an export duty on jute crossing the land frontier, immediately they receive the necessary orders.

4. The Ministry of Commerce have questioned the advisability of imposing an export duty on the ground that a notification declaring the Dominion of India to be "foreign territory" would be regarded as a declaration of economic war, and they have suggested that our position might be more easily defended if we were to impose an excise duty. The Ministry of Finance see the following objections to the acceptance of this alternative proposal:

i. From the point of view of our agreements with the Government of India there is no material difference between an export duty and an excise duty, since the Expert Committee

on Economic Relations (Trade) recommended not only that no customs barriers should be imposed between the two Dominions but also that they should not "change existing customs tariffs, excise duties and cesses". As has already been stated these recommendations were approved by the Partition Council but the Pakistan members reserved the right to revise their attitude "in view of the stand taken by the Government of India regarding customs revenue". The imposition of either an export duty or an excise duty at the present stage can be justified only under this reservation. The Government of India will doubtless protest in either case, but if we impose an export duty we can at least point out that they were specifically warned, in the course of the negotiations, that we should have to adopt this course if no agreement were reached.

ii. Excise duties are normally imposed on commodities which are consumed mainly within the country in which they are produced. If we impose an excise duty on what is primarily an export commodity we shall in fact be levying an export duty under another name, and we shall be open to criticism on the ground that we are using the Central Excises Act for a purpose for which it was not intended.

iii. While we are in a position to impose an export duty immediately, an excise duty cannot be introduced without some further delay. The export duty can be imposed by notification, but an excise duty will require an Ordinance amending the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944. It will also be necessary to amend the Central Excise Rules, to prepare a fresh set of forms, and to issue licences for warehouses and baling presses. The local Collector has reported that he cannot complete the necessary preparations before the 1st of January. Since we are now approaching the height of the jute season a delay of six weeks will involve a very serious loss of revenue (at the proposed rate of duty the loss would probably amount to over a crore of rupees) and in our present financial position we can ill afford any such loss.

For these reasons the Finance Ministry would prefer to proceed with the immediate imposition of an export duty.

5. Orders are also required with regard to the rate at which the tax should be imposed. The existing export tariff imposes a duty of Rs. 4-8-0 per bale (400 lb.) on cuttings and Rs. 15 per bale on other sorts of raw jute, but the jute which is transported across the land frontier from East to West

Bengal is mostly in the form of *kachha* bales which include about 10% of cuttings, and *kachha* bales are not made up in units of 400 lb. but are usually measured in maunds. A rate of Rs. 3 a maund is accordingly suggested for jute exported in *kachha* bales. This is slightly less than the existing rate for *pakka* bales. It is estimated that at least 40 lakh bales of the current year's crop have still to cross from East to West Bengal. Even if we collect duty on only 30 lakh bales at the rate of Rs. 3 a maund, this would give us a revenue of over Rs. 4 crore, which is considerably more than what we expected to get from the Government of India, if our proposal for the sharing of the Calcutta collections had been accepted.

6. In their decision on the report of the Expert Committee on Central Revenues, the Partition Council mentioned the possibility of submitting the question of the sharing of revenue to arbitration. The Finance Ministry are, however, strongly of opinion that in view of the present financial position we cannot afford to await the results of arbitration before taking measures which will enable us to collect some revenue from what remains of the current year's jute crop. It is hoped that the proposed measures, if taken without delay, will produce more than what we were prepared to accept by way of a settlement from the Government of India. In the circumstances it seems doubtful whether it would be worthwhile to refer the matter to arbitration.

7. The orders of the Cabinet are accordingly solicited on the following points:

i. whether a duty should be imposed on raw jute;
ii. If so, whether it should take the form of an export duty or an excise duty;
iii. whether the rate of duty should be provisionally fixed at Rs. 3 a maund; and
iv. whether our claim to a share in the revenue collected by the Government of India should be submitted to arbitration.

V. A. C. TURNER
[*Finance Secretary*]

[1]See F. 48-GG/8, Case No. PC/123/15/47. Not printed.

Enclosure 2 to No. 186

F. 1025/191

8 November 1947

SUMMARY

The duty on salt was abolished by the Indian Legislature in the last budget session. It is, however, a tax which is capable of producing a substantial amount of revenue at a very small cost of collection and without imposing any appreciable burden on the individual consumer. At the recent conference with Provincial Governments it was agreed that in view of the urgent need of increasing the resources of Pakistan, the salt duty should be reimposed as early as possible. It was indeed suggested that salt might be able to stand a rather higher rate of taxation. For the present, however, the Finance Ministry merely recommend the reimposition of the duty at the old rate of Rs. 1-9-0- a maund. This should produce a revenue of about Rs. 1.5 crore in a full year. Before orders are issued it will be necessary to ensure that East Bengal can be adequately supplied through Chittagong and that transport over the land frontiers with India can be controlled. It is not yet possible to say definitely how long the necessary preparations will take but it is hoped that they will be completed by the end of December.

2. The approval of the Cabinet is accordingly solicited to the issue of an Ordinance, at the earliest practicable date, reimposing a duty on salt at the old rate of Rs. 1-9-0- a maund.

V. A. C. TURNER

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Miss Sufi to M.A. Jinnah

F. 908/130-2
[Original in Urdu]

PESHAWAR CANTT.,
9 November 1947

My respected leader,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I would like to be excused for being presumptuous in taking liberty to approach Your Highness. I am a very humble creature and you are that high and celebrated. All the same I need not be afraid of you

because you are by no means like Tsar of Russia, neither like Mussolini nor Hitler. You are our favourite leader on whose slightest gesture the old and the young, men and women, all alike would take pride in laying down their lives. Nay, they regard it their moral obligation to do so.

My respected Sir, I am a 10th class student and hail from a respectable family of NWFP. The women, in my social milieu, pass their lives under inhuman and inflexible clannish taboos and mores. The brutish treatment meted out to the Muslims, especially the Pakistani Muslims, by the infidel Hindus and Sikhs has made our hearts bleed and our blood boil. Nothing can now keep us sitting as silent spectators. Our patience has exhausted. We are now restless and want to break the four walls of our homes and rush to the rescue of our oppressed sisters who have been humiliated and subjected to dishonour and disgrace beyond endurance by the Hindu and Sikh ruffians. The ruffians still go on the rampage, their villainous acts continue unabated. The Indian Government has shamefacedly admitted it would invade Junagadh tonight and you would perhaps declare *Jehad* against the infidel and give a call to all the Muslims to muster up their energies against the Indian infidels. While doing so please do not forget the Muslim women who are burning with the fire of revenge. *Jehad* is an obligatory duty enjoined on all the Muslims, men as well as women. It is a great blessing and women should not be deprived of it. Please trust God and allow us to participate in *Jehad* against the infidels. There are thousands of women who would, I assure you, jump at your call and gladly meet martyrdom after putting to sword at least 10 *Kuffar* each. Islam is a great force and we women are endowed equally with men with unbounded love and respect for God and His Prophet (peace be upon him) and after them for our leader (Quaid-i-Azam). In the veins of many of us runs the blood charged with spirit of sacrificing our lives in defence of Islam and of the protection of our Muslim brethren. The women prefer going to the battlefield. I beseech you, Sir, to make Muslim women a part of the regular army and then command them to actively participate in *Jehad,* standing shoulder to shoulder with menfolk. Miss Fatima Jinnah may please be advised to visit the Frontier Province in order to appoint Commanders and Deputy Commanders and to entrust us to their charge for imparting proper military training.

For God's sake, I beg you to take some steps to bring us into the mainstream. Most people are traditional-minded and are given to follow the beaten track. Without your specific orders they would not give us even so much freedom as to acquire National Guard's training. The

time is running out. Kindly do something. I have already learnt how to handle a gun and ride a horse but the difficulty is that firstly I am not much educated and secondly I have been taught to strictly follow family traditions and customs. I do not simply know what should I do and how can I sacrifice my life to be ultimately blessed with martyrdom. If somehow I could meet you, you might provide direction.

I am afraid if we do not shake ourselves from the slumber of lethargy, the time is not far when, God forbid, the enemy will knock at our door. Kindly instruct all the Muslim leaders to avoid rhetorics and do something practical to inculcate spirit of *Jihad* in their followers. Action and not words are the need of the hour.

My kind Quaid-i-Azam, may I hope you would please bless me with your reply guiding me what should I do. How lucky I would have been if you were my guardian. You would then have very kindly banished from my mind the haunting fear about the fate of Pakistan.

Yours obediently,
[MISS] SUFI
c/o Raja Munirullah Khan
Ration Controller,
Ration Head Office

188

Messrs Agya Ram Atma Ram to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 928/21-3

AKALGARH, RAWALPINDI,
10 November 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

Most respectfully we take the liberty of bringing to Your Excellency's notice certain specific instances of gross abuse of power, that Your Excellency's Govt. has vested in them, by certain officials in so far as their dealings with the non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan are concerned. In doing so, Your Excellency's humble petitioners hope and trust Your Excellency will feel pleased to order an early redress of the grievances as enumerated below.

That Your Excellency's humble petitioners are the loyal citizens of Pakistan, having a vast range of commercial enterprises in some of the important districts of West Punjab. Due to the unfortunate outbreak of communal disturbances in the Province some of the business headquarters

have had to be wound up with the consequent result that our vocation remains confined to Jhelum and Rawalpindi alone. At Rawalpindi, we own immovable property besides being directors of one of the two recognised Transport Companies namely the Murree Hill Transport Ltd., operating between Murree and Kohala, and owning three goods carriers (trucks). In Jhelum, we own a cinema entitled the Imperial Talkies, Jhelum, and are contractors for the supply of hired animal transport to the military authorities there.

When on the 15th of August last the Dominion of Pakistan came into being we resolved to live in the Dominion as loyal citizens of the State as theretofore [*sic*] and made this decision of ours known to our colleagues and others concerned. The mass evacuation of non-Muslims to East Punjab did not affect us in the least and, true to our convictions, stuck to our hearths and homes up to the last when it was literally made physically impossible for us to hold on any longer. During the night intervening between 1st and 2nd November 47 our *Gurdwara* cum *Musafirkhana* which is adjacent to our residential quarters at Akalgarh Mohalla, Rawalpindi, was raided by huge mob of looters armed with deadly weapons. The entire building was ransacked and inmates thereof—poor refugees from N.W.F.P.—deprived of all their earthly belongings besides inflicting severe injuries to some of them. A report of the incident has duly been lodged with the Police and we were advised to shift to the concentration camp maintained in the city for the non-Muslim residents of Rawlapindi desirous of migrating to East Punjab. This we have done but naturally enough this is a position which we are the last persons to reconcile with as we [are] determined to stay on here relying on your oft-repeated assurances to non-Muslims residing in Pakistan that they will have the same rights and privileges of citizenship which the Muslim citizens of the State shall enjoy. It was for the authorities to encourage us to stick to our places by arranging adequate protection for our lives and property but no such encouragement came forth with the inevitable result that in spite of our being owners of a couple of buildings and other sources of human amenities we are today driven to lead the life of helpless destitutes and that too in our own city. Our buildings, we are told, have been allotted to some refugees along with our personal effects lying therein. This, in short, is how we have been uprooted from our places which we have been occupying for the last so many decades.

So far as our business is concerned permit us to submit that it has been brought to almost a standstill. Our cinema at Jhelum has been sealed up and no heed seems to have been paid to our repeated

requests to the D.C. Jhelum to unseal the cinema and allow our local Manager to conduct the business as usual. All our three goods carriers (trucks) have been seized and confiscated in utter disregard of the declared policy of the Govt. of Pakistan that no such action as sealing up, seizure and confiscation of enterprises belonging to such non-Muslims as have chosen to stay on in the Dominion, will be taken or deemed desirable. We approached the D. M., Rawalpindi and he was pleased to order release of the trucks after satisfying himself about our bona fides. This order was issued by the D. M. Rawalpindi, on 17th October last and uptil now these orders have not been complied with and the trucks have not been restored to us. Such an unkind treatment meted out to loyal non-Muslim subjects at the hands of the authorities drives us to the conclusion that they do not mean to translate into actual practice the noble ideals Your Excellency has set forth to ensure a fair deal to your non-Muslim subjects in every walk of their life. We feel these are the real enemies of the State of Pakistan who force the loyal citizens of Pakistan to flee to the other side of the border. And we are confident, this, in no way, is the policy of the Dominion Govt.

We had addressed a similar letter to Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Hon'ble Minister for Food and Agriculture, but no action seems to have been taken so far. A copy of this application[2] is appended herewith for Your Excellency's kind perusal.

Before we conclude we beg to assure Your Excellency that as faithful subjects of Pakistan no sacrifice will be too great for us to demonstrate our loyalty to the State and if the State actually means total eviction of non-Muslims we would reluctantly request the State to arrange proper conveyance for us to enable us to go to the other side of the border.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most loyal subjects,
PROPRIETORS
for Messrs Agya Ram Atma Ram

[1]Copies were sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Lahore, and Premier, West Punjab, Lahore.
[2]Not traceable.

189

Hamid Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 106-GG/21

MULTAN,
10 November 1947

Sir,

Let me offer my hearty felicitations on the glorious success of Muslim League in achieving Pakistan. It was by dint of Your Excellency's gallant lead that the goal has been achieved with the minimum effort and least delay.

I offer myself, my two young sons and in fact my all for the uplift of Pakistan whenever required. I hope my services shall be availed of and I shall be deemed fit for the purpose.[1]

Yours obediently,
MAKHDUM HAMID BUX
Sajjada Nashin,
Khanqah Hazrat Hafiz Moh[amma]d Jamal Sahib

[1]A. Wahid conveyed to Makhdum Hamid Bux thanks of Jinnah for the offer made. See F. 106-GG/22. Not printed.

190

M. H. Gazder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 609/3-7

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
10 November 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the minutes[1] of the twenty-third meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, held at Honourable M. A. Khuhro's bungalow on Saturday, the 1st November 1947.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. H. GAZDER
General Secretary,
Sind Muslim League Assembly Party

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 190

Minutes of 23rd Meeting of Sind Muslim League Assembly Party

The twenty third meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party was held at the Honourable M. A. Khuhro's bungalow at 6.00 p.m. on Saturday, the 1st November 1947. The Honourable M. A. Khuhro was in the chair. The following members were present:

1. Kazi Fazlullah
2. Pir Illahi Bakhsh
3. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur
4. Sayed Miran Muhammad Shah
5. Mr. M. H. Gazder
6. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Wassan
7. Mr. Ghulam Rasool Khan Jatoi
8. Haji Sayed Ali Akbar Shah
9. K. B. Haji Moula Bakhsh
10. Mr. Muhammad Azam
11. Haji Fazal Muhammad [Khan] Leghari
12. Dr. Muhammad Akbar Kazi
13. Pir Ali Shah
14. Mir Ahmed Khan Talpur
15. Sayed Noor Muhammad Shah
16. Makhdum Ghulam Hyder
17. Mrs. Jenubai G. Allana
18. Mr. Noor Muhammad Bijarani

The following business was transacted:

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following resolutions were passed after considerable deliberation:

RESOLUTION NO. 98

This meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party views with very grave concern and deep resentment the heart-rending happenings in the Dominion of India and certain States in which hundreds of thousands of innocent Muslims have been massacred and despicable atrocities and shameless brutalities have been perpetrated on women and children by organised gangs of Sikhs and Rashtriya [Swayam] Sewak Sangh, with the support and connivance of some responsible authorities of Central Indian Government and of Rulers of some of the States.

Further, the tenor and tone of speeches of responsible Sikh and Hindu leaders make it very clear that they have planned expulsion and massacre, or conversion to Hinduism, of all Muslims remaining in Indian Union.

Further, speeches of top Hindu and Sikh leaders make it plain that they not only wish to exterminate Muslims from the soil of Indian Union, but entertain sinister designs against the very existence of Pakistan State itself.

RESOLUTION NO. 99

We are firmly of the opinion that the Pakistani nation generally and Sindhis particularly be organised in such a manner as to be able to defend their hearths and homes and the Pakistan State. Our first practical suggestion to Sind Government in this connection is the grant to Muslims of licences for manufacture of arms and ammunitions, licences for import of arms and ammunitions, the establishment of Military Academy, organisation of University Training Corps in the educational institutions, and raising of Home Guards on a large scale, etc., etc.

This Party further urges upon Sind Government to move the Pakistan Government to take effective measures of safety along the borders of the State and of prevention of smuggling of essential commodities across the borders of Sind and Indian States surrounding Sind.

RESOLUTION NO. 100

This Party have heard the alarming news with deep resentment that authorities concerned have under contemplation a plan to scrap provincial autonomy in this Province and substitute an autocratic machinery for running the administration here. Though we are not inclined to give credence to this rumour, yet considering this problem to be of the most fundamental importance effecting [*sic* for affecting] the elementary rights of the people of this Province, this Party hereby records its emphatic protest and conveys its considered opinion against such a reactionary move and warns all concerned that the people of this Province will deeply resent and strongly resist any such move, as it will be tantamount to negation of freedom to them and will be a reactionary step leading to the suppression of the voice of the people of Sind from the administration of the Province, which will deem it a bad return for all the services its people have rendered in the cause of Pakistan and of the Muslims of this sub-continent as a whole. Such a move will further prove a lever in the hands of the enemies of Pakistan to create division and discontentment in our ranks.

The Honourable Premier is authorised to convey this resolution to Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan Government Ministers, and Minister[s] of Pakistan Provinces, and he is requested to resist all attempts at encroachment on Sind's financial balances or financial and economic resources.

RESOLUTION NO. 101

This meeting views with deep dissatisfaction the fact that the Province of Sind has no representative in the Pakistan Central Government, while some Provinces have dominant representation. As such, Sind has no voice whatever in shaping policies of Pakistan Government.

Further, it is our considered opinion that in the federal structure of Pakistan every federating unit should have equal voice both in legislature as well as in the executive. In absence of such provisions small Provinces like Sind, Frontier and Baluchistan will be converted into vassals of bigger Provinces of Pakistan.

RESOLUTION NO. 102

This Party places on record its deep appreciation of the efforts made by Sind Government and Sind people under the able and inspiring leadership of Honourable M. A. Khuhro, Sind Premier, in the cause of relief and rehabilitation of refugees pouring in their thousands from all parts of the sub-continent, and while assuring Sind Government of the deep sympathy and earnest solicitude of Sind Muslims to extend every possible help and assistance in this gigantic task, deems its duty to urge upon Government the urgency and advisability of taking appropriate measures to ensure that the facilities offered on behalf of Sind people are not monopolised or abused by undesirable elements.

This meeting cordially endorses the solicitude of the Honourable Premier as reflected in his public utterances and in the course of his official duties from day to day, but regrets to record its disappointment at the lack of response from quarters concerned to the repeated appeals of the Sind Premier for coming to the help of Sind Government in tackling this task, which in view of its magnitude, is beyond the scope of the limited resources of this Province. In spite of the fact that the refugees problem is not the primary concern or responsibility of Sind alone, Sind has not hesitated to make an all-out and earnest effort to render all possible help to the refugees, but, in view of the limited resources of the Province, it will militate against the legitimate interests of this Province as a whole and consequently of Pakistan itself, if the entire burden is thrown upon the shoulders of Sind.

This Party, therefore, feels compelled to make the following recommendations:

1. Free feeding be limited to invalids, widows and children, and those in transit camps who have not secured employment;
2. Refugees must not be allowed to concentrate in cities, and especially in Karachi. Agriculturists should be distributed over various

talukas all over the Province. Refugees who refuse to carry out orders must be externed;

3. Refugees must be given identity cards, and a record of their identity, original home, etc.;
4. Immigrants facilities meant for refugees should be made available only to immigrants from non-Pakistan areas except East Punjab minus Gurgoan.

RESOLUTION NO. 103

Whereas due to various unfavourable facts Sind Muslims' interests have seriously suffered for almost a century in services, in agriculture and in commerce, this Party deems its sacred duty to call upon Government to take adequate appropriate measures on the following lines in order to safeguard the said interests:

Regarding Services

1. For all appointments, lowest to highest in Sind, Sindhi Muslims should be preferred;
2. Rules regarding domicile should be relaxed for refugees from minority Muslim Provinces of Indian Union.

RESOLUTION NO. 104

This meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party views with alarm happenings in Kashmir and condemns the action of the Indian Union in sending their troops to curb the liberty of the State and wipe out Musalmans of Kashmir and enslave the remaining.

Further, this meeting condemns the action of Sheikh Abdullah who is repeating the history of Mir Jaffer of Bengal and Mir Sadik of Mysore.

Further, this meeting calls upon the Muslims of Pakistan in general and Sind in particular to help the Azad Government of Kashmir by all means with every possible method.

Further, this meeting calls upon the Pakistan Government to recognise the Azad Kashmir Government and help them in all possible ways.

RESOLUTION NO. 105

This Party resolves that Government be moved to grant:

a. gun licences to those paying land assessment of Rs. 250 per annum;
b. revolver licences to those paying land assessment of Rs. 1000 or over per annum; and
c. those paying income tax of Rs. 5 per month or land assessment of Rs. 50 per annum, and the registered Muslim National Guards be allowed to keep swords without licences.

The meeting terminated at 8.15 p.m. with a vote of thanks to the chair.

191

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Ghulam Mohammed

Telegram, F. 180-GG/1

SECRET *10 November 1947*

No. C-14

Reference Laik Ali's negotiations. Baig pursued matter with State Department in meeting attended by War Assets Administration Directors. Position is that twenty billion dollars worth of assets already liquidated. (group omitted-American?)s do not (repeat not) believe that they have 45 million dollars worth of equipment asked for (group omitted-by us?) *They suggest we open interim credit with War Assets Administration of ten (repeat ten) million dollars in the first instance.*[1] Credit open to extension if fully consumed. State Department require very detailed (repeat very detailed) list of equipment desired for example gauze must give exact width and drugs must be specified in absolute detail. For consumer goods maximum period is three years credit but for production of equipment maximum credit is ten years. War Assets Administration explain that they have no (repeat no) consolidated national inventory of what they possess. Our requirements will be checked against separate inventories in 30 regional offices. If required supplies can be arranged, experts must be accredited to examine materials before shipment as American authorities cannot take responsibility for their condition.

[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

[1]Sidelined in the original.

192

Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 114-GG/23

SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI,

No. 107-GGI *10 November 1947*

Issue of communique agreed at the last meeting[1] on the closing down of Supreme Headquarters has been deferred 48 hours until 3 p.m.

on Wednesday, November 12th.[2] Please inform Secretary-General.

[LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN]

[1]See No. 180.
[2]See the *Pakistan Times*, 16 November 1947.

193

B. M. Bacon to E. St. J. Birnie

F. 216 (VI)-GG/22

BALUCHISTAN SECRETARIAT,
QUETTA,
11 November 1947

Dear Birnie,

I am desired to enclose for the information of the Quaid-i-Azam a copy of a Memorandum[1] from the Political Agent, Sibi, recommending the request of the local Hindu *Panchayats* for interview, and of Mr. Dundas' reply.[2]

Your sincerely,
B. M. BACON

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 193
H. A. Arthington-Davy to B. M. Bacon

F. 216 (VI)-GG/23

No. 3088-J *7 November 1947*

Subject: Visit of His Excellency the Governor-General, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, to Quetta

The local Hindu *Panchayats* of Sibi and its surrounding villages have represented to me that they seek the Hon'ble Agent to the Governor-General's permission to pay their respects to His Excellency the Governor-General, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on his visit to Quetta.

2. The Hindus of Sibi District, generally speaking, have been here for many generations and are definitely included in the good and evil of the local people and very few of them have left. I suggest that, if there is to be deputation of the minority community from other parts

of the country to see His Excellency the Governor-General, some members from Sibi District should be asked to join it.

H. A. ARTHINGTON-DAVY
Political Agent, Sibi

Enclosure 2 to No. 193
B. M. Bacon to Arthington-Davy

F. 216 (VI)-GG/24

QUETTA,
11 November 1947

Reference your Memorandum No. 3088-J, dated 7th November 1947.[1]
2. The Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General wishes you to inform the local Hindu *Panchayats* that it is regretted that the engagements of the Quaid-i-Azam do not permit of the deputation requested; but their request is being forwarded to the Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam for information.

B. M. BACON

[1]Enclosure 1.

194

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 127-GG/3-4

CONFIDENTIAL
No. Primin-321

NEW DELHI,
11 November 1947

Please see your telegram No.374-G dated November 3rd.[1] Speech by Cariappa at London. Following is text of telegram from our High Commissioner from whom I had asked for a report:

Begins: Received your telegram 9251 dated November 5th relating to Cariappa's speech on October 27th.

2. I was present at the gathering; though Indian pressmen were invited, it was informal party and no reporting facilities were provided.

3. It was a gathering for party of new students and at my request Cariappa who was present spoke a few words on soldiers and countrymen in general terms.

4. I remember distinctly Cariappa did not say "We soldiers" and obvious and intended meaning was that the soldier was a uniting force among our people as he was not affected by political and communal factors, etc. Cariappa perhaps might be regarded giving the soldiers, as distinct from civil, a *pat*[2] on back. The reference to one year or five years was merely to say whether it took a long or short time.

5. His reference to strong army came at a much later part of speech and was not connected with observation about unity implied in press report. Cariap[p]a was only saying that new and independent India must have a strong army in keeping with responsibilities and status of an independent country. Equally his reference to non-violence had no application whatsoever to present troubles in *Pakistan*. He was only stressing necessary role of soldiers in a free India.

6. No one who listened to speech could by any stretch of imagination have thought or construed speech as having a bearing on Pakistan much less as implying any bellicose intentions towards *Pakistan* or any one else for that matter.

7. Report is accurate in as far as most of words were used except "of India" in first sentence of this extract as telegraphed but sequence of sentences is not as they were in speech and gives a wrong picture.

8. I am taking up matter here with Reuters and will let you know result. *Ends.*

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]No. 151.

[2]In capital letters here and subsequently in the original.

195

S. Nazar Hussain Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 908/135

RAWALPINDI,
11 November 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I, on behalf of the Muslim employees of all the Departments in Rawalpindi Division, whole-heartedly welcome your arrival at Rawalpindi, the heart of Pakistan, and assure your honour of our unflinching obedience. While setting up an example of obedience to your command since the establishment of Pakistan, we had revealed to the world by the maintenance of peace and protection of the minorities

here, even in a very serious atmosphere, when the innocent Muslim women, men and children were being disgracefully slaughtered in the East Punjab and Delhi under the pre-arranged scheme of Messrs Baldev Singh, Patel, and Ruler of Patiala and Co., that we really deserve to be called a ruling nation. On one side, we are still advancing every possible assistance and courtesy to the Hindus, but on the other end the Muslims are still being killed and Muslim women taken away by the non-Muslims.

The recent various instances reveal that our silence and your peace-loving policy is being disregarded by the enemies of Pakistan and they have dared to attack on [*sic*] us, violating even the principle of humanity. They seem to have been mistaken about the Muslims' feelings and it is in the interest of all the communities in both the Dominions that the above mentioned cruel company and their supporters should immediately be given some suitable dose to set their brains right. Our present policy is also causing resentment in our own community. Any further delay on our part, I am afraid, will render us in a very disgraceful position. It is really very easy for a true Muslim to embrace an honourable death or to secure a stage for honourable life in the world.

I leave to your honour to judge, if it is not the time to declare open *Jihad* for march towards Delhi unitedly, from all fronts in Pakistan, till the flag of *Islam*[1] is hoisted on the capital of Hindustan. (The attack on Junagadh is announcement of war against Pakistan).

God is with us and success is, I am certain, ours. Praying for your long life.

With a request to excuse me for addressing you,

Your loving brother,
S. NAZAR HUSSAIN SHAH 'ASHIQ'
General Secretary,
United Muslim Employees' Association, Divisional Unit

[PS.] We must recognise the new Kashmir Government and support it to the last from all sides [*sic*].

[1]In capital letters in the original.

196

Nazir Ghafoor to F. Amin

F. 86-GG/11

10 GOLF ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 November 947

Dear Sir,

The girls have refused to take back their autograph albums[1] without the signature of Quaid-i-Azam. So, please may I ask you once more to kindly request Mr. Jinnah to sign them. You may keep them with you and get them signed whenever there is a chance. Please do not disappoint us like that

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR GHAFOOR

PS. There are 20 autograph [albums] in all.

[1]The autograph albums, duly signed by Jinnah, were returned by F. Amin on 1 December. See F. 86-GG/9 & 12 . Not printed.

197

Niamatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/46[1]

FEROZE GANJ, MAYO ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 November 1947

Respected Sir,

In spite of the fact that it has been announced with the beats of drums that there will be no favouritism in Pakistan, unfair [*sic*] favouritism is being done.

In this respect we beg to draw your attention to the happenings in His Majesty's Mint at Lahore.

1. A painter chargeman of Carriage and Wagon Repair Shop, N.W.Railway, has been employed in the Mint on the post of an engineer. This is like appointing a police officer as a civil surgeon. Moreover, this appointment was made without holding any selection, though

the post was advertised.

2. Now another post of an engineer has been advertised for Mint and it is definite that a man named Moh[amma]d Nasir Uppal is to be appointed against this post. The fellow has influenced the Mint Master by every possible method and he has been promised by the Mint Master for [*sic* for of] the post.

The man in question pointed out to the Mint Master that there are many people who have applied for the post and have not been called for interview; how will he manage to fulfil his promise? His reply was "Well, I know how to deal with such things". This appointment, if made, will be another example of putting a butcher in-charge of a nursery.

If such things are allowed to happen in Pakistan we have got every reason to believe that the days of the new-born State of Pakistan are counted [*sic*].

We request you, Sir, to intervene into the matter and make some impartial enquiry into the behaviour of Mint Master and if he is found guilty he should be reprimanded.

Yours obediently,
NIAMATULLAH
Secretary, North-Western Railway
Muslim Employees' Association

[1]Copies were sent to Premier, Finance Minister and Secretary-General, Government of Pakistan.

198

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 25 (Part II)-GG/52

RAIPUR,
12 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Attended Calcutta [ML] meeting where disruptive elements were visible. Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Bihar [and] Assam pressed for early Council meeting to improve situation; all eventually agreed. Maulana Akram[1] consulted. Karachi hence safer though inconvenient for some. I and Provincial Sec[retar]y desirous to discuss with you earlier minority problems in both Dominions and other important

matters ensuring peace and harmony. Please wire Nagpur interview date and place.

RAUF SHAH

[1]Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan, Member, Working Committee, All India Muslim League, from East Bengal.

199

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/8

MARSEILLE,
12 November 1947

Agent informs no cash balance nor have any stock shares to sell market. Two alternatives left: one, he may come Karachi, try raise money by mortgage Karachi properties, the other, I am selling by public auction twelfth December thirteen race horses New Market and others Ireland. When paid proceeds [word illegible] leave amounts Your Excellency's credit with London Banks, Your Excellency draw amount. Kindly cable wishes. Address care Coxship Marseille.

AGA KHAN

200

Sheikh Hassan El Banna to M. A. Jinnah

F. 156-GG/1

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ASSOCIATION,
NO. 2 HELMIAN GUDIDAH,
CAIRO,
14 November 1947

My dear Brother-in-Islam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I feel happy when I recall those unforgettable few moments when I was with you (*en route* to India) and those still fewer you spent amongst Ikhwan. Thanks to the Almighty that our aspirations have been crowned

with success and our Muslim brothers have got their independent State of Pakistan. May I congratulate Your Excellency again and again for this grand success. Please accept my and that of Ikhwan's hearty regards.

On the other hand we all are deeply touched by the regrettable bloody incidents[1] and the guilty aggression against the newly-born State of Pakistan—a gift from *Allah*. Should we assure Your Excellency that in Egypt and in all the Arab world and particularly amongst the Muslim Brotherhood, there is not a single individual who would hesitate to exert every possible effort for the success and victory of the righteous cause of liberty, independence and repulsion of the Hindu fanaticism.

We have great hope that Pakistan, under Your Excellency's prudent guidance, will lead Islamic way in all aspects of life and that you will avail [*sic*] its practicable and idealistic instructions. Thus the State will be based on the soundest grounds and will set a living example for the Muslims of the different parts of the world and others alike.

I am glad to introduce to Your Excellency our brother Sayid Saleh Ashmawi, sub-leader of the Ikhwan and the Chief Editor of our daily newspaper. He conveys the cordial compliments and best wishes of the Ikhwan in the Nile Valley, Eastern Arab countries and abroad.

I should like to mention with great appreciation the esteemable efforts of our brother and guest Syed Mohammed Aleem Ullah Siddiqui (Allahabad, U.P.), the envoy of the Indian Ikhwan, who proved to be an efficient, capable and popular representative. He did a great deal indeed in presenting the Pakistan case before the Egyptian public opinion, gaining their sympathy and support to a great extent. He is also the President of the Pakistan Association at Cairo, which was organised by Iqbal Shaidai. He and others of the Association are doing quite well but they require Your Excellency's approval and support, for which I have already requested Your Excellency by post[2] about a month ago.

My dear brother Quaid-i-Azam, we can only give our moral support at present, yet we have chalked out a programme for our action which will be explained to Your Excellency by our brother Sayid Saleh Ashmawi verbally. We are all determined to express our [feelings of] eternal brotherhood in more effective, positive and practical ways if and when Your Excellency and our Muslim brothers of Pakistan will ask for.

With my kindest regards, best wishes and hearty prayers, I send the

Islamic greetings for Your Excellency and Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan.

Assalaamo Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

[Your] Brother-in-Islam,
SHEIKH HASSAN EL BANNA
Supreme Guide,
Muslim Brotherhood Association

[1]Also see No. 194, Vol. V, 203.
[2]See No. 171, Vol. V, 160.

201

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.80 (6)-GG/9-10

MARSEILLE,
14 November 1947

Since cabling[1] am informed by letter sent before present troubles that amount of my donation to Relief Fund could be paid in Jungadh to your Excellency's Representatives. This would greatly help me and the other half I propose paying to Your Excellency's account in London after I received amount from proceeds of sale of horses sometime before Christmas. Request Your Excellency agree to both those proposals and then I will ask my Junagadh Representative to arrange matters accordingly when political conditions permit. Please cable your acceptance.

AGA KHAN

[1]No. 199.

202

H. R. Lalvani to S. M. Yusuf

F. 155 (4)-GG/1

KARACHI,
15 November 1947

Dear Sir,

I find that some of the scout groups call their groups by the name

"Quaid-i-Azam Scout Group". I believe it is necessary for such scoutmasters to obtain permission before doing this. You will, therefore, please advise us accordingly.[1]

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
H. R. LALVANI
Provincial Scout Secretary,
Boy Scouts Association, Sind

[1]F. Amin informed H. R. Lalvani that the practice to call "Scout Group" as "Quaid-i-Azam Scout Group" should be desisted from. See F. 155 (4)-GG/18, 15 December 1947. Not printed.

203

Najibullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 125 (11)-GG/1

KARACHI,
15 November 1947

H. E. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General of Pakistan, Lahore

On arriving here I heard of Your Excellency's illness. Wish speedy recovery.

NAJIBULLAH
His Afghan Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary

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M. A. Jinnah to Najibullah Khan

Telegram, F. 125 (11)-GG/2

[LAHORE,]
16 November 1947

Very many thanks for your kind telegram.[1] I am now feeling much better and hope to be in Karachi within a few days. Extremely sorry to have missed meeting you. Even in my convalescent condition in Lahore if you can conveniently come here I shall be delighted to meet you.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]No. 203.

205

B. Ifor Evans to S. M. Yusuf

F. 101-GG/3

MILE END ROAD, LONDON, E. 1.
17 November 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

Thank you for your letter of 11th October, reference 1793-GG/7.[1] I would have answered earlier but I have been away in Canada.

I am very happy to know that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah would like a brief statement of proposals for building up cultural relations between the United Kingdom and Pakistan and between the East and the West generally.

I have tried to make my statement[2] as brief as possible. I would be happy to elaborate it or be of any other service to you.

Yours sincerely,
B. IFOR EVANS
M.A., D.Lit.
Principal, Queen Mary College,
University of London

[1]F. 101-GG/2, 11 October 1947. Not printed.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 205
F. 101-GG/4

NOTES ON CULTURAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF PAKISTAN AND GREAT BRITAIN

1. The present period is one of great importance in the development of cultural relations between Pakistan and Great Britain, for continuity of relationship will depend more upon those cultural relations than on any other sphere of activity.

2. The cultural relations are likely to be both scientific and artistic.

3. The scientific relations will include industry and economic affairs, but must have also an important emphasis on the pure sciences. The immediate development of an office of scientific information would seem to be desirable with machinery which would give advice on books and articles in learned journals as well as on the most appropriate ways of increasing the scientific facilities of Pakisan.

4. In artistic matters, attention might be given to a general exchange

of information about the work produced in the two countries with occasional exchange of actual productions. The exchange of objects of visual art for temporary exhibition is probably one of the most economical and practical methods of development.

It is probable that Great Britain could offer some advice on problems of organisation. Organisation in the arts would include the training of artists of different kinds, the financial machinery of productions, musical and dramatic, and in the visual arts, the organisation of audiences and the possible contribution to these activities of the Government.

5. The most practical step would seem to be the establishment in London of an information office for Pakistan. Its function would be to provide any general information within its power about scientific and artistic affairs in Pakistan; but much more urgently, in the first place, to collect and pass on information from Great Britain under the heads described above. It might be useful, to begin with, if such an office were to have direct, formal relations with a very few selected bodies such as the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, P.E.P.,[1] and the Arts Council of Great Britain.

B. IFOR EVANS

[1]Political and Economic Planning.

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Hefazatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/99-100

VICTORIA ISLAMIA HOSTEL,
CHITTAGONG,
17 November 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

I have the honour to draw Your Excellency's attention to the following facts in respect of the latest development in both parts of the divided Bengal.

In the first week of October 47, the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution to transfer all Hindu population from East Bengal. Its Bengalee daily newspaper *Hindusthan* (founder of this paper is Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, the present Minister of Indian Cabinet) occasionally carries propaganda to give effect to this resolution as early as possible. Some leader[s] expressed in that meeting that they have already gathered [*sic*] 4,000 acres of land and capital amounting to a lakh of rupees for

rehabilitation purposes.

Now, we, some Muslims of West Bengal, think that the resolution passed by the Hindu Mahasabha is not without the hint and knowledge of Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee or it may at least [*sic*] some members of Indian Cabinet.

Besides this, for some urgent business purposes, I went to eastern parts of West Bengal. I have relatives at Bongaon and near Krishnagore. Here I saw and heard from several Muslims that many Hindus are buying land every day and several others are seeking for [*sic*]. Most of these people are coming from East Bengal, although there is no cause of panic there. Hindu *Zamindars* of that area have already formed associations—to gather and reserve land for exodus [of] Hindus from East Bengal. Both the sides of the railway line passed through Bongaon, Ranaghat and Berhampore-Murshidabad; in most places Muslims have 60 to 80 p.c. majority. Muslims of that area apprehend that within some years they would be reduced to a helpless minority.

I have a Hindu friend at Bongaon; he is also a member of Scheduled Caste Federation. Now, owing to the division of the country, the existence of this Federation is dying out [*sic*]. I gathered the following news from him that in the second week of October, 47, some agents of Hindu Mahasabha and Congress came to Bongaon from Calcutta. He said that they called a secret meeting of influential and well-to-do Hindu gentlemen of [the] locality with a view to acquire and reserve land for the exodus of East Bengal Hindus. The Scheduled Caste Hindu gentleman told me that though they once thought him enemy but under the changed circumstances and being well-to-do, he was called at that meeting and the Hindu gentlemen from Calcutta opined at that meeting that transfer of population was unavoidable and most probably absolutely necessary. So, at first, try to absorb as many well-to-do Hindus as you can who can purchase land and thereby make easy the transfer of the rest.

On the 2nd November, 47, Mr. N. Dutta Majumdar went to Bongaon, on behalf of the Congress Relief and the Rehabilitation Committee (most probably he is Secretary). Now if Bongaon and Ranaghat railway stations had not been given to West Bengal by the Radcliffe Award, then a through train from North Bengal would have to pass Khulna [*sic*] through Eastern Pakistan territory via Ranaghat and Bongaon railway junctions. In Bongaon to Ranaghat area Muslims are [in] 70 p.c. majority. Mr. Dutta Majumdar visited some Hindu majority villages at Bongaon and advise[d] people to clear up jungles there. I also saw two of those villages and found that nearly 200 families had come to settle there. I heard from some Hindu gentlemen of Bongaon that

the purpose of Mr. Dutta Majumdar's visit was in connection with a plan to make some of the villages in Bongaon Police Station area into "Model Villages" and gradually improve them into towns. Now, who cannot imagine that, in time, these villages would not be inhabited by pulling up [*sic*] Hindu nationals from East Bengal.

Generally, in the eastern parts of West Bengal, the Muslims are in majority at several places. I apprehend, when all saleable land would be exhausted, they might try to drive us out from these parts to acquire lands.

Advertisement columns of vernacular newspapers are full of notices of exchange and sale of landed property. At last I draw your attention to the statement of Mr. Kiron Sanker Roy[1] on 13.10.47 in several newspapers. I think Your Excellency knows that some Hindus went to Mr Gandhi to seek his advice in respect of Hindus' evacuation from East Bengal. He has given them a cunning reply that everyone should not leave his home at the stake of life but if they could not live with honour, rich Hindus should help evacuate poor Scheduled Caste Hindus first from there. On the.12th November 1947, I have seen in the newspapers that, for 50,000 rest [*sic*] non-Muslim population in West Punjab and N.W.F.P, India Govt. considers plan for [their] evacuation. In this way, perhaps it may happen, that when Hindus will see that they have a negligible minority left in Pakistan, they may take a more well-organized plan to drive us out or enslave us.

There are several unwanted happenings happens [*sic*] every day in this area but most of us are illiterate and all Muslim newspapers are published from Calcutta. It [*sic* for they] only dare to publish a few cases. A letter, on all these matter[s], was sent to Your Excellency nearly a month before but unfortunately my servant posted it by ordinary way through mistake. For this, I am informing Your Excellency again with a few new cases.

However, I think, we the Muslims of Hindustan, are heading to a colossal catastrophe. Land and resource problem[s], to face this, are matters of immediate attention. Perhaps the whole of Indian subcontinental political phase is going to take a new shape in near future. May *Allah* lead Your Excellency to success and immortality [*sic*].

HEFAZATULLAH

[1]Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Ghulam Mohammed

Telegram, F. 180-GG/2

SECRET / IMMEDIATE
No. C-18 *17 November 1947*

For Finance Minister. Your telegram No. 820, November 11th.[1] Please cable immediately number of blankets required, also number of other items for which actual specifications may be unnecessary.

[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

[1]Not traceable.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to Princess Elizabeth & Philip Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 109-GG/12

CONFIDENTIAL / IMMEDIATE [LAHORE,]
No. 403-G *18 November 1947*

I send you on behalf of the Government and myself sincere and loyal greetings and good wishes on the auspicious occasion of your marriage on November 20th 1947.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

209

Muhammad bin Abdel Karim El Khattabi to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 156-GG/2-3

No. 10 SAAD ZAGHLOL STREET,
CAIRO,
18 November 1947

In the Name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassionate
My dear Brother-in-Islam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I, and the Muslims of North Africa, are really very glad to hear that

the delegate of Pakistan Government is going to take up the case of the Muslims of Morocco at U.N.O. We all pray [to] *Allah* to bless Your Excellency and the representative of Pakistan Government in solving this great Islamic problem—*Aameen*.

I am sure that Your Excellency, who is doing so much for the cause of the Muslims of different parts of the world, have done the needful for the Muslims of the five Indian towns, viz. Pondicherry, Chandernagar, Yanam, Karikal and Mahe, which are under French protectorate, yet I think it my duty to emphasise that the plight of the Muslims there, what I read and hear, is alarming, because the French Government is helping the idol worshipers and ignores the Muslims. For example, the policy adopted by the French Government, during the recent elections, was a clear proof of bad intentions of the said Government.

I hope that Your Excellency will also try to help the Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan, who are living in two French islands, Madagascar and Reunion. I being an eyewitness of the conditions of the Muslims of these islands, can assure Your Excellency that they are in need of some help.

I hear that discussions are going on between Pakistan and French Governments to decide the details regarding the exchange of Ambassadors and, therefore, with Your Excellency's permission, I suggest that French Government be asked to allow the delegates or representatives of the Pakistan Government to the French colony and protectorates—Algiers, Tunis and Morocco, respectively. I have proposed this in the hope and belief that this step will be of a great help for the Muslims of North Africa and will bring wonderful results. *Insha Allahu Ta'ala*.

I am sure that Your Excellency knows quite well the fate and the pitiable condition of the Muslims of North Morocco and Rio de Oro who are under the subjugation of Spain. It would be very nice and kind of Your Excellency to tackle this question with General Franco personally.

I, on my part, am trying my best to convince the Muslims of Egypt and other Arab States that if they will change their present policy the French and Spanish Governments will be compelled to behave [with] the Muslims as human beings and will grant their demands.

The French interests in the Islamic and Arab world are enormous and they will never take the risk to enrage the Muslims abroad. These French interests are our sharp and fatal *swords*[2] to fight against them and their imperialistic aims. I am as sure as any thing that this most effective weapon will not only bring the French down, but they will have

to yield and give back the Muslims their birth-right, i.e. freedom.

Praying to God Almighty for Your Excellency's health and the *glory* of *Islam,* and hoping to hear soon from Your Excellency.

I am,
Your Brother-in-Islam,
MUHAMMAD BIN ABDEL KARIM EL KHATTABI[3]
of Rif

[1]An Arabic version of the letter was also sent by him to Jinnah on 12 November. See F. 156-GG/4. Not printed.
[2]In capital letters here and subsequently in the original.
[3]Signed in Arabic.

210

Earl of Listowel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 135-GG/11

BURMA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON,
18 November 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

This letter is to introduce to you the bearer, Mr. Edgar Snow, who is known to me. Mr. Snow is an American journalist of worldwide repute who, apart from his articles on foreign affairs in the widely-read *Saturday Evening Post,* is also known for his books, which include *Red Star over China* and *Battle for Asia.*

He has an established reputation as an authority on the Far East, and I feel sure that, if you are able to spare him a little of your time,[1] you will feel it has been well worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
LISTOWEL

[1]F. Amin informed Edgar Snow of the date/time of the interview with Jinnah, on 2 March 1948. There is, however, no record about the actual interview. See F. 135-GG/14. Not printed.

211

Ghulam Rasul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (2) (Vol. I)-GG/38

PERSONAL

BALUCHISTAN SECRETARIAT,
QUETTA,
19 November 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

As promised when I met Your Excellency on 17th October, I enclose a note for Your Excellency's information.[1] In future, unless I receive instructions to the contrary or find something important to be conveyed without delay, such notes will be submitted in the form of a monthly report.

2. Henceforth I propose to send such notes without any covering letter or even giving my name. I will only initial it as GR, giving serial numbers for reference purposes. If my connection with Your Excellency remain unknown to the public and officials, it would help me in seeing the things in their originality and not cooked material spread purposely.

With all good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM RASUL

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 211

F. 25 (2) (Vol. I)-GG/39-40

BALUCHISTAN

1. a. So far Mr. Dundas has shown no enthusiasm for Pakistan.
b.It has been learnt from a very reliable source that Mr. Dundas, in open discussions, blames Pakistan leaders for all the mishappenings during the last three months. His wife is said to have openly expressed her worry as to the route by which the Britishers in Baluchistan could be evacuated to England in case of rising in Baluchistan. Such utterances have depressed the upper circle.
c. Not a pie has so far been collected for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, of which Mr. Dundas is the Chairman, from sources other than Government servants. Almost all the Govt. servants contribute every month 10% of their pay, of their own accord, and not with the

efforts of any big gun.

2. Mr. Savidge, Revenue Commissioner, is paying keen attention to his official duties and appears to be anxious to put in some work.

3. Bribery is on the increase and no steps are being taken to check it. The general opinion is that the Britishers, being heads of all the Departments in this province, do not care to improve the situation just to make the public feel that British *Raj* was a blessing.

4. Muslim League workers here have made no efforts to collect any money for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. They are, however, doing their best in getting Ration and Cloth Depots licenses for themselves and black mailing in the name of the Muslim League.

KALAT STATE

5. British Officers do not discourage the Kalat from its obstinacy to join Pakistan. If the local Political Officers try, it is not impossible to detach from Kalat State at least some of the tribal leaders, residing in the leased areas, who have even given in writing of their unconditional support to the State.

6. The Khan is trying his best to convince his people that he did not accede to Indian Dominion who were offering him very liberal terms, just for the sake of Pakistan, and that Pakistan is not returning him his leased areas. That Lasbela and Kharan who were under his sovereignty are being supplied their requirements directly by the Pakistan authorities, thus undermining his authority.

7. During the last week the Khan has induced more than 5000 people of Kharan State to receive their rations from the Kalat State stores at Kalat and have issued them their requirements of food and cloth.

8. It has been heard from a source which can be relied upon that Khan Kalat has standing offer from Jawaharlal that if Kalat acceded to Indian Dominion, then would build at their cost, docks at the Pasni Port (of Kalat State) and a metalled road from Pasni up to Afghanistan border. This road can only be built if the Nushki leased area is taken back by the Khan.

[9]. This in view the Khan is said to be trying to get back from Pakistan the leased areas of Nasirabad, Bolan and Nushki (particularly Nushki). He would, however, try his best not to bring Nushki in prominence so that Pakistan may not become suspicious. A road from Pasni to Afghanistan border would make Afghanistan independent of the Pakistan land route, facilitate the Indian good's export to Afghanistan and increase the Kalat State Customs revenue. Khan does not want to press for the return of Quetta firstly because he cannot maintain the present

standard of administration and secondly to convince the public that he, who is leaving Quetta, an important station, under the occupation of Pakistan, is doubtlessly the well-wisher of that Dominion. When Nushki is restored to him he will bargain with India or Pakistan whichever would pay him more.

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Mohammad Abdur Raoof to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120-GG/78

8 KANDAPPA MUDALI STREET,
VEPERY P. O., MADRAS-7,
19 November 1947

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Just a week ago it was published in a local English daily that you are laid up with high fever. From that day onwards I am not having peace of mind and am very anxious to know about your health.

I am daily praying to *Allah,* the most Merciful and Exalted, for your and your sister's long life, health, and happiness. *Allah* should [*sic*] shower His choicest blessings on you, and should [*sic*] spare you many hundred years to serve and guide Pakistan and Muslim world—*Aameen.* My frequent prayers go to *Allah* that He should [*sic*] restore you to health soon—*Aameen.*

While concluding this letter I humbly entreat you to write me a line about your health.

With humble regards,

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAOOF

213

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NEW YORK,
20 November 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing copies of letters[2] I have written to Liaquat Ali Khan

which indicate the difficulties that we may be called upon to face unless we curb activities of individuals and trading concerns in certain directions.

It was not my intention to trouble you with such matters knowing how overworked and worried you are but I feel that this one is of such importance that it should receive your personal attention.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 547.
[2]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 213

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Liaquat Ali Khan

NEW YORK,
19 November 1947

My dear Liaquat,

I write, not with the intention of criticizing or protesting but with the desire to draw your attention to some of the requests that are made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. We are asked to nominate representatives when we have not sufficient personnel to carry on the day to day work of the Embassy. I am, at the eleventh hour or to be more correct at the twelfth hour, told to proceed to Havana to represent Pakistan at the Trade and Employment Conference. I am not asked in advance whether it would be possible for me to comply with such a request nor does the Ministry take into consideration the fact that I am busy in New York attending the session of the United Nations Assembly. It is known to the Ministry that, to begin with, our Delegation was grossly inadequate in number—both as regards the alternate delegates and the secretariat section. It is aware [*sic*] that the delegation, due to the return of Mir Laik Ali, Pirzada and Mrs. Tassaduque Hussain, is at present very much under the required strength. It also knows that the session here will continue until within a day or two of the end of November. How then, I ask you, will it be possible for me to leave my work unfinished, leave the Leader single handed to cope with several Committees that are still sitting and fly off to Havana?

It is a known fact that since my arrival in this country, my work in New York has prevented me from spending even forty-eight hours in

Washington. Much has to be done there and much of the work calls for early attention. I have not done a stroke in the direction of carrying out the preliminary formalities that every Ambassador finishes in the first few weeks of presenting his Letters of Credence to the President. I have been appointed Ambassador and it is, therefore, essential that I should fulfil my obligations as Ambassador and carry out my duties. How can I possibly afford to be away from Washington for another two weeks?

I have asked for staff—staff that was promised to me or to the Embassy which is entrusted with very [*sic*] the Embassy efficiently without adequate staff, even without the minimum number asked for by me.

I can multiply instances of my difficulties but I do not desire to burden you with them. It is sufficient to say that it will assist me greatly if the Foreign Ministry bears in mind some of the facts that I have, from time to time, submitted to you and to make demands or requests which will be in keeping with them. I repeat, I cannot make bricks without straw.

I shall appreciate it if I am consulted before I am asked to go outside Washington. To be told at the eleventh hour that I have to go somewhere for any length of time without finding out from me whether it would be possible for me to undertake such a mission, is hardly being fair to me or to the Embassy which is entrusted with very important duties.

Again without intending to criticize, may I draw your attention to the manner in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is functioning. Today, for example, Zafrullah Khan received a telegram that he should not return after the conclusion of the session of the Assembly as the Finance Minister was shortly visiting U.S.A. Surely, it was only right that the Embassy should have also been informed to this effect. Of course, this has not been done but some day a telegram may descend upon us that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed is on his way and arrangements should be made for his stay in New York and probably in Washington. I want to emphasise the fact that hotel accommodation is a major problem and hits ministers of Governments and ambassadors just as hard as it does ordinary citizens. Reservations must be made well in advance and room rent has to be paid from the day the accommodation is booked, whether it is occupied or not.

The Finance Minister may be coming here on important business. May be my presence here can be helpful to him. This is just one more reason why it is not possible for me to proceed to Havana but the main

reasons have been stated earlier in this letter. Is it not more advisable to give me more information in confidence about the purpose of the Finance Minister's visit? We could have prepared the ground for him and fixed in advance appointments with persons whom he might wish to see. These are matters of detail but they are nevertheless important and cannot be neglected. It is the duty of embassies to prepare the ground. Governments give full information and in good time. This policy should also be adhered to by the Pakistan Government.

Last night a telegram was relayed by Washington over the telephone that members of the Trade and Employment Delegation had left on the 15th and were on the way. We are not given the most important information, (a) when will they reach New York, (b) whether they will stay in New York or just change aircraft and proceed to Havana, (c) if they stay, for how long? How then can arrangements be made for putting them up? No accommodation can be reserved in New York on very short notice, whatever the pull that anyone may have. In the circumstances, neither the Embassy nor I will be responsible if our delegates do not have a roof over their heads. We shall try to do the impossible, and if we fail, I am sure you will understand.

Again, two days ago we received a telegram asking us to expedite the shipment of flour purchased on behalf of Government as it is urgently required. Believe me, the name of the company from which the purchase was made was omitted. Are not such oversights painful?

Hasnie[1] told Ayub[2] at the airport that you were keeping indifferent health. I hope and pray that by the time this letter reaches you, you will be fighting fit again. Look after yourself.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
HASSAN

PS. The Pakistan delegation to the Havana Conference arrived in New York last night, and it was sheer luck that we got wind of their arrival and they were met by Ayub and Shaffi.[3] Hasnie explained some of the difficulties you were having, and was anxious that I should be present at the opening of the Havana Conference. I have discussed the whole position with Sir Zafrullah Khan again and, at considerable inconvenience to himself, he has

agreed to release me from the UNO work. I shall fly to Havana tomorrow in time for the opening of the Conference, but will not be able to stay there for more than a week. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that Chundrigar should reach Havana as soon as possible to take over the leadership of the delegation.

[1]S. A. Hasnie, Member Pakistan Delegation to Havana Trade Conference, 1947.
[2]Mohammad Ayub, Member Pakistan Delegation to UNO, 1947.
[3]Laurie Shaffi, Pakistan's Consul-General in New York, 1947.

Enclosure 2 to No. 213
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Liaquat Ali Khan

NEW YORK,
20 November 1947

My dear Liaquat,

I would like to add to my last D. O. No. 9[1] that, for reasons that will be appreciated by you, I propose to repudiate any statement by a private individual or trading establishment made on behalf, either directly or by implication, of the Government of Pakistan unless, of course, I am informed by Government well in advance that the person or organisation has authority to speak on its behalf. Even when such authority is delegated, I would suggest that:

a. the Ambassador be given prior intimation,
b. the person delegated be directed to contact the Embassy and act in consultation with and under the guidance of the Embassy, which is the official representative of the Government in this country.

Unless the above principle is accepted and acted upon, I feel that we may unwittigly find ourselves placed in a position of serious embarrassment.

I shall be grateful if you will consider this matter and apprise me of your views at an early date.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Not traceable.

214

Nazir Ahmad Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part 1)-GG/214-5

10 QUEEN'S ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 November 1947

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 12th November,[1] for which I thank you. I enclose[2] a copy of my suggestions with regard to national reconstruction which I had submitted to the Quaid-i-Azam on the 25th September 1947. My request for an interview with him was mainly concerned with what practical steps should be taken to implement my proposals.

I had also to submit to the Quaid-i-Azam that most people are disgusted with conditions in the Punjab and that drastic and immediate steps should be taken to improve matters. One such step can be to expand the Ministry and to obtain the co-operation of the masses by taking their representatives on Govt. Committees, etc.

As the Quaid-i-Azam is now, by the grace of God, reported to be quite well again I shall like to repeat my request for a personal interview. I may add that I made a similar request at Karachi in August last, but as the Quaid-i-Azam was very busy I could not be accommodated.

I am here till the 28th November and it is possible for the Quaid-i-Azam to kindly find time to see me. I shall be very grateful.

Yours faithfully,
NAZIR AHMAD KHAN
Advocate,
Member, Constituent Assembly

PS. I am leaving for Karachi on 29th, for the meeting of the Rules and Procedures Committee of the Consembly.

[1]F. Amin asked Nazir Ahmed Khan to furnish details of his proposals for submission to Jinnah. See F. 25 (Part I)-GG/212. Not printed.

[2]Enclosure. It was in fact addressed to Liaquat Ali Khan.

Enclosure to No. 214
Nazir Ahmad Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

F. 25 (Part 1)-GG/216-9

LAHORE,
25 September 1947

Sir,

I beg to offer the following suggestions for reviving the morale of Muslims in the Punjab—which from all accounts is very low at the present moment. If my suggestions are acted upon I can safely say in the light of past experience that with God's help we can still give a good account of ourselves.

1. My main suggestion is that we should start a National Home Front immediately. This is not a projection of the old and effete Organization which was started by the Unionist Government in the Punjab but is meant to be a real, active, peoples movement for combating the present difficulties.

2. The National Home Front will not collide with any established department or any organization. It shall not duplicate the work being already done and must not usurp to itself the functions of day to day administration. The chief work that the National Home Front is expected to do is generally to prepare the ground and create an atmosphere for the effectiveness and success of government departments and public organization. Most of its staff will consist of volunteers. However, a certain amount of paid staff and equipment shall be necessary for the efficient working of the new venture.

3. The work to be performed by the National Home Front shall be on the following lines:

a. Public speeches, pamphlets, posters, articles in the press, speeches on the radio, and a general atmosphere to restore and build up the morale of the Muslim nation which has been given a stunning blow by the holocaust caused by our enemies (specially in the East Punjab and Delhi).
b. The propagation of the message that each man stick to his own job; and implementation of this message.
c. A campaign for growing more food and for utilizing every bit of available land for the cultivation of food grains and vegetables.
d. The important work of combating Fifth Columnists and defeatists.
e. The suppression of rumours and loose talk; stopping dissemination of panic.

f. Inducing the people to invest in the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund and other Government or public funds which might be started later.
g. Preparing the field for getting volunteers for our army, Home Guard, and other agencies for internal security. The dissemination of literature and advice as to how the Pakistan volunteers are to be strengthened and how people should be armed in order to maintain their security.
h. Inculcating the habit of saving amongst the nation.
i. Promoting national economy by stopping all waste, conservation of electrical energy, water, power and all other sources of public utility; helping in the restoration of normal conditions specially so for as trade, rehabilitation and re-settlement is concerned. In this connection our railways, markets, mills and factories labour etc. shall receive close attention from our workers.
j. Maintenance of peace at any cost. Creating a respect for law and order and encouraging discipline amongst all classes of national workers, official and non-official alike.

I have briefly outlined the sketch of our work. I repeat that this organization is in no way to supersede or encroach upon the activities of any other department or organization which may be doing work on similar lines. The new organization will be practically a help-mate to other established departments. It shall mainly work as a liaison agency between the people and the Government.

There is already an organization of the type I have suggested in the Punjab. It is known as the National Home Front although I must say that its workers and its message have not the correct outlook or inspiration that is required at the present moment.

I have had considerable experience of this work as I was a District Leader of the National War Front during the war and not only learnt a lot in this connection but also toured the greater part of India to gain first hand knowledge of problems and conditions in connection with the organization.

I am prepared to give up my practice and work whole time for this cause without getting any remuneration. If my offer is accepted I can make suggestion for the employment of paid staff.

The office of the organization shall be in Lahore (or if it is going to be an all Pakistan activity then at Karachi) and the organization shall work under the direct supervision of the West Punjab Premier or the Premier of Pakistan, as the case may be.

I am prepared to work in the humblest capacity but in view of my experience and special knowledge of the subject I venture to think that

I shall be more useful if the organization of the movement is entrusted to me.

The work is of supreme importance and no consideration of red tape should be allowed to retard its earliest start.

I shall anxiouly wait for a reply from you.

I have, etc.,
NAZIR AHMED KHAN
Member, Constituent Assembly

[1]A copy was sent to the Premier, West Punjab.

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Erskine Crum to Iskander Mirza

Telegram, F. 114-GG/24

SECRET/IMMEDIATE *22 November 1947*

No. 112-GGI

For Iskander Mirza from Erskine Crum.

Further to my No. 111-GGI.[1] Papers for items 22 and 25 despatched today. Former recommendations of Supreme Commander's Secretariat, renamed Reconstitution Secretariat, continue in existence. Latter agree to Pakistan's allegations concerning stores division true in principle. Says similar complaints could be made by India. Suggests steps taken against hampering junior officials and recriminatory pressure. Also additional item 34 movement of Reconstitution stores. Recommends "operational" priority for those awaiting movement 30 days.

[ERSKINE CRUM]

[1]Not traceable.

216

Message[1] by M. A. Jinnah to British Officers

22 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, has sent [a] message to British officers now serving under the Supreme Commander and who have volunteered to serve in Pakistan to come forward and help to organise the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

The message says: "The terms for British officers who volunteered to serve in the Pakistan Armed Forces after the closing down of the Supreme Command Headquarters have already been published. Pakistan

is a new country in which there is much work to be done. Our Armed Forces have to be reorganized and built up to the highest standard of efficiency. Our own Pakistani officers are at present inadequate in numbers, in technical training and in experience to shoulder the whole burden at once. But my Government's policy is complete nationalisation of the officers' cadre of the three services at such speed as is compatible with efficiency.

I extend to all British officers, who are prepared to stay on and help us, a sincere welcome and I am confident that my Government will treat them in the same way as our nationals in our service."

[1]The *Pakistan Times,* 23 November 1947.

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Ali Mohummed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part 1)-GG/229-31

PERSONAL

MOSLEM VOICE,
RAMBAGH ROAD,
KARACHI NO. 1,
22 November 1947

A'la Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,

This is in continuation of my request for interview which had brought forth a reply from Your Excellency's Secretary saying that if there was anything important it may be communicated in writing.

I, now, beg to enclose herewith a short note[1] which I consider worthy of receiving Your Excellency's consideration. It is based on my study of the present position.

I know this venture on my part is capable of being interpreted in a variety of ways but clear conscience is the only basis to proceed upon in situations such as these where there is conflict between conscience and common sense, between unshirkable duty and possibilities of being misunderstood. I assure you, Sir, I look forward for no recognition or recompense.

Personally, I feel the following factors and the past history of its author should greatly minimise the possibilities of any likely detractions from the value of the note:

a. I may have had differences with the League workers but no action of theirs has ever impaired my loyalty to Your Excellency's *person.*[2]

b. In the early formative periods of the League and Pakistan ideology the contribution I had made, though humble in itself, could stand fair comparison with contributions made by the various present-day luminaries of the movement.
c. I was the General Secretary of the famous Karachi League Conference of 1938 and the whole show had been organised within 26 days.
d. The famous Lahore session of 1940 owed a good deal of its success to my contribution behind the curtain.

After the Manzilgah[3] mess, when everyone went mad after office and power, I remained singularly aloof and drudged single-handed before judicial tribunals and criminal courts and saved both the Muslims and the League from falling into disrepute. I got them Manzilgah; I secured them immunity from paying crores worth of damages and compensation; and I obtained acquittal of 1,500 out [of] 1,600 victims of riot cases.

My part in the struggle against the late Mr. Allahbux,[4] when most of your present men were with him, was more than nominal.

The part played by my paper, the *Moslem Voice*, in endearing the League to the Sind Muslim intelligentsia in those early dark days must not have been forgotten.

You will recollect what an awesome situation had been created for the League in Sind by the late Pir Pagaro,[5] as also Your Excellency's private conversation with me on October 29, 1941, at Delhi. I think I had remained true to the pledge I had made on my honour, in spite of betrayals by the League leaders in Sind. I had stood up to the Pir and had his power destroyed. If he had lived, perhaps, history of League in Sind would have been written differently.

Though it is yet a sealed book I claim to have made a substantial contribution towards keeping the late Sir Sikander [Hayat Khan][6] in as less damaging mood, from the standpoint of the League, as was possible in those circumstances.

My subsequent cessation, and desperate fight with Yusuf,[7] were forced upon me by intense mental depression caused by the realisation that a man like me had no place in capitalist politics of that kind. The only mistake involved was my failure to abide by your one-time advice "to have patience". But that again was a psychological phenomenon, having its root in certain peculiar sub-conscious mental processes.

This entire recital of past events is, however, only by the way. I claim no recompense or recognition. The seed rots in the bowels of the earth; it is the plant which springs out of it that enjoys the glories of life. That is the way of the world and I am satisfied with my lot.

In my note, if Your Excellency can find some points worthy of being

considered and acted upon it will afford sufficient recompense to me. I have done it under the stress of a feeling that it is thievish remaining mute while the entire community is in the crucible.

Respectful regards,

Your Excellency's old servant,
PIR ALI MOHUMMED RASHDI

[1]Enclosure.
[2]Underlined in the original.
[3]Refers to Manzilgah mosque dispute in Sind which resulted in Hindu-Muslim riots in 1939.
[4]Allahbux Muhammad Soomro was Premier, Sind, 1941-2.
[5]Influential quasi-religious leader of Sind Hurs.
[6]Premier of the Punjab, 1937-42.
[7]Yusuf A. Haroon, President, Sind Muslim League.

Enclosure to No. 217

Note on the Present Position

I. INTRODUCTION

1. People, at one time or the other, may have had their differences with the Muslim League policies, but that phase is over now. The point at present is: 'if this little asylum, that has been allotted to us, goes nothing remains. And if it goes it sweeps off everyone alike—whether a Leaguer or a non-Leaguer, a communalist or a nationalist'. Only lunatics could be oblivious of this position.

2. Today, we are in the midst of a serious national crisis. Our neighbour is relentless, resourceful, full of evil designs and will never rest contented till he has undone Pakistan which pains him like a thorn in his side. This is one aspect of the matter. The other aspect is our own people are becoming more and more despaired of the present order of things. The recent blows have forced upon them a state of intense frustration.

3. This situation has got to be retrieved without the loss of a single minute. To do this we must, as a condition precedent, form in our own minds a rough forecast as to the course which our neighbour's unfriendliness is most likely to take in the circumstances.

In my humble view, the following form the points of principle which ought never to be lost sight of:

a. Hindu opinion in India will never reconcile itself to the existence of Pakistan; Asoka's wheel will have lost all its meaning otherwise.
b. If we concede this, we shall have also to concede that they will give us no breathing time.

c. They will naturally take advantage of our open frontiers, of our unpreparedness, of our internal differences, of the loss of prestige and morale we have suffered in matters concerning the Boundary Commission, the Junagadh fiasco and so on, of complications in the matter of rehabilitation of our refugees, of lack of contact on our part with the 45 million Muslims left behind in the Union, of our depleted finances, and—above all—of lack of efficiency, drive and initiative everywhere.
d. Having conquered Junagadh and Kashmir, they will concentrate on Hyderabad. And after Hyderabad, will come our turn. In our case, it may not be a war of the declared variety; it may be innocent economic strangulation, or constant Sikh or Rajput attacks from beyond our borders in order to keep down the standard of living in Pakistan, to tire the masses out, and to eventually force them to capitulate.
e. And—God forbid—if that happens history of the Moors in Spain will have repeated itself.

II. REMEDIES

4. To avert this calamity my humble suggestions, for what they are worth, are these:

a. To impart a fresh dose of enthusiasm to Muslims everywhere, we should declare Your Excellency as *Amir Islam,*[1] so that your position has religious sanctions behind it. Contacts should be established in an indirect and polite way with the Muslim countries and ground paved for the leader of Pakistan being acknowledged as the leader of the entire Muslim world by virtue of the fact that he is the maker and the head of the largest Muslim State and the undisputed leader of the largest Muslim unit in the world. Turks had remained as leaders of Islam on that very basis so long their dominions had not shrunk to their present negligible dimensions. *As against Hindu India's resources, prestige, and pressure, the recognition of the leader of Pakistan as the leader of the Muslim world, from Constantinople to the far off China, will operate as a decisive counterblast. Hindus may pick up quarrels with Pakistan but not with the entire Muslim world. This shall also have the additional advantage of maintaining, in a new and unobjectionable form, the present link between Your Excellency and the Muslims in the Indian Union.*[2]
b. There should be conscription and within 6 months time every able-bodied man should know how to wield arms. Even if we may not have to use this force—let us hope the occasion will

never arise—still even its mere existence will augment the objectives of peace, for there can be peace and understanding only between two equals.

c. If necessary, the State should acquire all kinds of private property for the duration of emergency and give the owners only a living. The proceeds should be devoted to the building up of the nation's military strength.

d. In this context, it is essential that even those Muslims who have hitherto differed from the Muslim League should be reclaimed for the purposes of the State. Even those who may not be in the League should be harnessed in the service of the State. In the course of the last War, the Conservative leader of England had availed himself of the services of the Labourites without having forced them to liquidate their own party and join the Conservative ranks. If such a broad-based invitation is extended even the worst incorrigibles will find themselves compelled to respond to it. To flout it would be disastrous for them. At present, they are just holding on merely on the pretext or plea that even if they voluntarily offered their services to the State it will evoke no response from people in power. Now if invitation goes and they flout it, it will deprive them of whatever little excuse they had been hitherto banking upon. I concede that in view of their past history it will be hard to believe their pretensions of loyalty. But history has instances of even worst 'suspects' being put to the use of the State. Mullah Shor Bazar had dethroned Amanullah. Nadir Shah, when he came on the throne, also apprehended trouble at his hands. But instead of aggravating suspicions he pretended confidence in the Mullah; called him in audience, appointed him as his Ambassador in Egypt, and sent him out of the Dominion for all times to come. His followers were left leaderless and they gradually disintegrated; the danger was permanently removed. If all Muslims are yoked together, by some method—by some contrivance, it will serve as a smashing psychological blow for our enemies and will at once lift the morale of our own people. I know when I am suggesting this I am treading on a very dangerous ground but I feel confident that time will fully prove that my humble advice was based on honesty and altruism. Therefore, I do not mind running the risk of being misunderstood.

e. Democracy should not be stifled but allowed to grow. It will provide the State with moral sanctions and conduce to its natural growth. In addition, it will add to its prestige and reputation and political credit from the world viewpoint.

f. Kashmir problem ought to be fought before the bar of world opinion, but on this basis, Kashmir is an essential component and integral part of Pakistan—all its rivers have their sources in Kashmir and according to the International Law, gifts of nature, of which more countries than one happen to be the beneficiaries, cannot be the exclusive monopoly of any one State. I have studied this subject in the past and am prepared to submit detailed authorities on the point for your consideration.
g. Fortification of frontiers, particularly at vulnerable points, and construction of roads leading thereto, ought to be undertaken on war basis.
h. A re-organisation committee should undertake reformation of the administrative machinery with a view to increasing its efficiency and making it as economical as possible. Useless and superfluous elements must be cut off; Pakistan is not an asylum for cripples and inerts.
i. Exchange of population should be discouraged. Let us have forty five million of our people in their camp.

[1]In capital letters in the original.
[2]Underlined in the original.

218

H. M. Patel to Mohamad Ali

Telegram, F. 49-GG/28

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 9898

[NEW DELHI,]
23 November 1947

Reference our telephonic conversation. Twenty-sixth morning will be Joint Defence Council meeting and afternoon discussion between us. Twenty-seventh morning will be convenient for discussion with Ghulam Mohammed. Partition Council meeting has been fixed for twenty-seventh afternoon three o'clock.

H. M. PATEL

219

S. Amjad Ali to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/20

2 MOOLCHAND MANSIONS,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 November 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

As you are aware, Unilever are the biggest combine in the world of soaps and hydrogenated oil products. Their Chairman, Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth, with two Directors, Messrs Sydney van den Berg and Roger Heyworth, are arriving here on the 7th December and will be staying here for the 8th, 9th and 10th, and will fly back to England on the 11th of December 1947. Mr. Sydney van den Berg is the Associate Director of their Holland concern. Unilever are putting up a big oil mill, a vegetable ghee factory and a soap factory in Pakistan, the capital of which is nearly a crore of rupees. They will be accompanied also by Mr. C.S. Pettit, General Manager in India of Messrs Lever Bros. (India) Ltd. They are anxious to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam and I shall be grateful if you would kindly arrange an interview[1] for them. I am writing you in advance so that it may be possible to fix a date convenient to the Quaid-i-Azam from the 8th to 10th inclusive.

Yours sincerely,
S. AMJAD ALI

[1]S. M. Yusuf conveyed Jinnah's regrets to S. Amjad Ali for not granting an interview because of his illness. See F. 25 (Part II)-GG/21. Not printed.

220

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to the Mint Master, Lahore
(Copy to PS to Governor-General)

F. 66 (2)-GG/1

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
26 November 1947

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith four badges as per attached statement which have been returned by the gentlemen mentioned in the list,[1] who have renounced their titles.

An acknowledgement is requested.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. GHIAS UDDIN AHMED
Secretary to Governor,
West Punjab

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 220

F. 66 (2)-GG/2

List of Persons Renouncing their Titles

Following persons had renounced their titles

No.	Name and Address	Title renounced / Badge returned
1.	Sub. Major Ch. Hayat Khan, Village Chakri, Attock District	Khan Bahadur
2.	Khan Haibat Khan Daha, Landlord, Member District Board, Khanewal, Multan District	Khan Bahadur
3.	Raja Khan Kaliar, Landlord Chak No. 352-GB, Layllpur [now Faisalabad] District	Khan Sahib

4. Mian Fazal Karim Bakhsh, Khan Sahib
Zaildar Thatha Qureshi,
Muzaffargarh District

221

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram, F. 180-GG/3

TOP SECRET / MOST IMMEDIATE *26 November 1947*

No. 947

Begins: Forty-five million dollars short loan I understand was discussed and negotiated favourably with the State Department with hope that it might go through and that all information and material were given to you to pursue it without delay. Please report progress made up to date to me direct. Give this matter top most priority and get to Washington at once most important. Hope you will keep me in touch and report further progress.[1] *Ends:*

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]Hassan Ispahani informed Jinnah that immediate credit of ten million has been promised by the US Govt. See No. 237.

222

S. M. Yusuf to M. A. Latif

F. 150 (Vol. I)-GG/1

[KARACHI,]
26 November 1947

My dear Latif,

Please refer to your letter No. F.10-8/47 E-1 dated the 17th November 1947.[1] Herewith a message from the Quaid-i-Azam for the Educational Conference.[2]

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

M. A. Latif, Esq.,
Ministry of Interior (Education Division)

[1]See F. 150 (Vol. II)-GG/5. Not printed. Also see No. 164.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 222

Jinnah's Message to the All Pakistan Educational Conference[1]

F. 150 (Vol. I)-GG/3-4

I am glad that the Pakistan Educational Conference is being held today in Karachi. I welcome you to the capital of Pakistan and wish you every success in your deliberations, which I sincerely hope will bear fruitful and practical results.

You know that the importance of Education and the right type of education, cannot be over-emphasised. Under foreign rule for over a century, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people and if we are to make real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.

There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education we give to our children, and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education. There is immediate and urgent need for giving scientific and technical education to our people in order to build up our future economic life and to see that our people take to science, commerce, trade and particularly well-planned industries. We should not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction.

In short we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, integrity, self-service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully equipped in the various branches of economic life which will do honour to Pakistan.

[1]Also see the *Pakistan Times*, 28 November 1947.

223

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

NACIONAL HOTEL,
HAVANA,
27 November 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It was with the greatest difficulty and at much sacrifice that I was able to respond to the last-minute SOS of Government and fly to Havana to lead the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. Zafrullah Khan will no doubt tell you how difficult it was for me to leave the U.S. and particularly to protract my stay outside Washington for a further length of time. If I am to make my mission even reasonably successful, I have to devote more of my time to it. I have not yet carried out the elementary duties of Ambassador as all my calls on the heads of other missions in Washington still remain to be made. The Government have been informed that I can and shall be away from the U.S. for not more than 9 days. I am returning to New York on the 29th of November after participating in the general discussions and getting our delegation started[2] here on Committee work. I have no doubt that they will acquit themselves creditably. I shall only return if my presence is urgently needed between now and the last days of the Conference, otherwise I shall be present at the concluding stage of the work. This, of course, will hold good only if Chundrigar is unfit to travel to Havana. I learn that Chundrigar is suffering from heart trouble and Liaquat Ali Khan is also confined to bed with trouble of somewhat similar nature. I hope and pray that both will be restored to good health soon.

The United Nations is reaching the end of its deliberations. The only item left is the question of Palestine which will be presented to the Plenary Session of the U.N. either today or tomorrow. Every Muslim will pray that the Resolution for the partition of Palestine[3] does not secure the 2/5 [*sic*] majority.

Zafrullah Khan is scheduled to leave New York for home on the 29th of November and Ayub goes back on the 30th. I cannot help remarking that Zafrullah Khan has, throughout the session of the U.N. hit all round the wicket in perfect style. He has, with little effort, risen to the top-most men, and they are few, assembled in New York from all over the world. His speeches were always appreciated. His ability, clarity of thought and simplicity of expression have gained for him

and for Pakistan a host of friends. He is one of our able men and an asset. I have no doubt that you will utilize his ability fully. His stock stands high in the international market not through any boosting on anyone's part but purely on intrinsic worth and merit.

If I may be permitted the liberty of expressing an opinion, which I feel must be expressed in the interest of our country, I would say that our Cabinet requires expansion. Too many portfolios entrusted to an individual means doing injustice to important departments and branches of Governmental work. I am also of the opinion that younger men should be trained for assuming responsibility in the future. It would not be a bad idea if one such man is attached to each Cabinet Minister with the rank of Deputy Minister or some such status. I do not say that everyone of the persons so appointed will turn out first rate, but I feel confident that by such a process, you will be able to have at least a handful of 'coming men'. The Labour Government in the U.K. is following this policy as a result of which it has been able to train quite a substantial number of young men in the course of the last two years. Hector McNeil,[4] Bottomley[5] and Younger[6] can be counted amongst them.

The Indian Delegation is led by [C.H.] Bhabha[7] who will be returning to India in a fortnight. Bottomley who is leading the U.K. Delegation is returning on 30th of November.

Havana is less developed than Karachi. The weather we are having is like that of Bombay in the month of October. Havana is 5.5 hours away from New York by fast plane flying non-stop and about 8 hours distance when the journey is broken in two places *en route*.

I hope you are in good health. Please look after yourself and do not overstrain yourself. Your life is precious. Your nation needs your guidance and advice today more than it ever did before.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 553-5.
[2]See Annex for the statement issued by M. H. Gazdar, Pakistan Delegate to the Conference.
[3]Also see Appendix VII, Vol. V, 639-90.
[4]British Minister of State.
[5]British Under-Secretary of State for Dominions.
[6]British Parliamentary Private Secretary.
[7]Indian Minister for Commerce.

Annex to No. 223

PAKISTAN DELEGATE ISSUES STATEMENT ON INDIA SITUATION[1]

Statement by Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Member of the Federal Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and Delegate of Pakistan to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Employment at Havana

My attention has been drawn to a news item published in the *Havana Post* of Friday the 21st November 1947 under the caption "Civil War in India." The publication contains a queer mixture of half-baked propaganda and misleading statement of facts. The world knows that the British divided India into two Dominions of Pakistan (a Muslim majority State) and Hindustan (a Hindu majority State) with the consent of the two leading political organizations—the Muslim League and the Hindu Congress. As the Hindus always cherished the ideal of a United India with the dream of ruling us with their permanent brute majority over the Muslim nation, they left [*sic* for let] loose a war of nerves against the young State of Pakistan from the first day of establishment. The Muslims who remained within the borders of Hindustan and who supported the establishment of Pakistan, were persecuted and driven from pillar to post by the armed whip of the Hindu Military and the Police. The unparalleled massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent Muslims, men, women and children in Delhi (the Capital of India), organized under the very nose of the Government of the Indian Union soon after partition will be a standing evidence of bad faith of the Hindus. Even today the Hindu Congress is wedded to the idea of United India and the Indian Government is using every possible device to paralyse the lifelines of Pakistan. More than six million Muslims have crossed the borders of the Indian Union and have taken refuge in Pakistan as destitutes. It is as if the whole population of Cuba were uprooted and driven out of the Island or the whole continent of Australia were to be cleared of the white men at pistol point. History has no parallel to this great tragedy but Pakistan has a large heart and can take it. There has been no retaliation in Karachi—the Capital city of Pakistan—in spite of the gravest of provocations. There has been an exodus of Hindus from Pakistan but it is more due to a fear complex and an organized desire to disrupt the newly established administration of Pakistan.

As regards Kashmir, it is a princely state governed by a despot Hindu Maharaja. It has a population of four million, 90% of which is Muslim. It has no common boundary with India but is geographically contiguous to Pakistan. The British left the Indian States to decide for themselves and gave them the option of joining any of the two Dominions

of Pakistan and India. The Maharaja of Kashmir with the connivance and active intrigue of the India Government acceded to the Dominion of India without giving a chance to the Muslim population to express their popular will. This flagrant violation of the rudiments of democratic principles resulted in the revolt of the people of Kashmir against their despotic ruler and all the tyranny this Government stood for. The Indian Government as the ally of the Maharaja purposely sent battalion after battalion of Hindu and Sikh troops to crush the freedom movement. To justify their aggression the Government of India proclaimed that Pakistan was behind this revolt. Not a single soldier of Pakistan has stepped into Kashmir as our State stands for peace within and peace without. The India Union and their protege Hindu Ruler may succeed in shooting and killing the Muslims of Kashmir in Hitleranian [sic for Hitlerian] fashion but they can't kill the substance of the Muslim patriots who are defending their freedom with courage, faith and hope. The conscience of the world will one day stir up and history will pass judgement over the neo-fascist aggression of Hindu India cloaked in the hypocrisy of Gandhian "non-violence".

[1]The *Havana Post*, 25 November 1947, sent by American Embassy, Havana, to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., as Enclosure to the Despatch No. 4554, 26 November 1947.

224

Habib I. Rahimtoola to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, IU. 28/20

CONFIDENTIAL

LONDON,
15/16 FITZHARDINGE STREET, W.1.
27 November 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

With reference to your telegram of the 16th, from Lahore,[1] regarding giving publicity to a statement to be issued by you, unfortunately the same was held up due to an "error in transmission" and was only delivered on the 22nd afternoon, which, being Saturday, nothing could be done. I called a Press Conference yesterday and read your statement to them. I might add for your personal information that from reports reaching me it appears that Earl Mountbatten, when he was here, tried to do a lot of propaganda on India's behalf and has said that it has been very difficult to get Pakistan and Hindustan together. He has, in his confidential talks, tried to make out that we have been

unreasonable. He has held a Press Conference, and has, to say the least, done other things than just attend the Royal Wedding which was supposed to be the sole object of his visit. I have been seeing members of the Cabinet often and have, in unofficial and private talks with them, stressed the similarity of Nehru's moves with that of Hitler and the War of Nerves now being waged, based purely on their armed strength. *Generally speaking, in English circles here, there is a strong feeling in our favour over Kashmir.*[2]

In Earl Mountbatten's conversation with me, he still kept on harping on the great benefit that would have followed if he had also been made Governor General of Pakistan during this interim period. I am afraid I do not agree with him and told him so, saying that such an appointment would have hit at the very basis of the concept of two independent sovereign states and that it would have been impossible for us to have employed so many Englishmen in many responsible positions as such a course with him as Governor-General would have justified the Hindu propaganda that Pakistan was a foothold of British Imperialism in the sub-continent of India. The appointment of the Quaid as the Governor-General was, I told him, a very statesmanlike one from the British point of view, as he was undoubtedly [the] one who had the support and affections of the people and it gave some meaning to our independence and allowed us to blanket the appointment of so many Englishmen. I appealed to him at the end to see our point of view and to make the other side see reason as the continuance of the present state of affairs would have very serious world repercussions.

I might add that I have personally suggested to the members of the Cabinet including the Prime Minister, that it was not enough their saying that we should get together with Hindustan, but that it was most necessary that the British Cabinet should tell Hindustan not to use force and their armed might as a preliminary to discussions. I have also been in continuous touch with the Ambassadors of the Muslim countries who are all without exception very sympathetic.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Sidelined in the original.

225

Mian Bashir Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part I)-GG/251-2

ALMANZAR,
32 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
28 November 1947

My noble and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Since you came to Lahore, I very much wanted to meet you to pay my respects. But I have not thought it proper to trouble you by asking for an interview, at first because you were much too busy, and lately because you have not been too well. I hope to see you at the forthcoming meeting of the League Working Committee at Karachi. Like countless other Muslims I have been most anxious about your health and welfare. May I venture to suggest that it would be advisable for you to take a little more rest? Your health is a national asset. What burdens you have to bear! With your wonderful courage, you face every situation calmly. May God restore you to perfect health and protect you in every way.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

[MIAN] BASHIR AHMED

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M.O.A. Baig[1] to Robert A. Lovett

F. 180-GG/7-9

WASHINGTON D.C.,
28 November 1947

My dear Mr. Secretary,

I have the honour to write to you in connection with the negotiations[2] recently conducted by Mr. Laik Ali, on behalf of the Pakistan Government with the State Department, in connection with a short term 45 million dollar loan to permit the purchase in the United States of medicines, warm clothing and other articles urgently required for the saving of life and the rehabilitation of some 4 to 5 million refugees

who have poured into Pakistan in a destitute condition from India.

It is proposed to utilise this loan (if it can be arranged) as under:

	Cost
Blankets, 3,000,000 (army surplus and new)	6 million dollar
Medicines	2 million dollar
Clothing (second hand and army surplus)	4 million dollar
Agricultural implements and harvesting tools, etc., for rehabilitation of agricultural economy	12 million dollar
Essential housing material (including steel)	8 million dollar
Agricultural water pumping sets, electric generation equipment and municipal water supply and sanitary equipment	6 million dollar
Equipment for immediate and emergent repairs to railroads. Installations of rolling stock, telephone and telegraph lines and other public services	2 million dollar
Miscellaneous and unforeseen	5 million dollar
Total	45 million dollar

Pursuant to Mr. Laik Ali's discussions with Mr. Thorp, I have had the privilege of discussing the case further [with] officers of the State Department and of the War Assets Administration. I was informed that the War Assets Administration had already liquidated some twenty thousand million dollars worth of their stores and were possibly unable to meet our requirements up to the extent of 45 million. It was suggested that a 10 million dollar credit be asked for in the first instance and, if this should be entirely consumed, further credit would be available in conformity with our demands and the availability of War Assets supplies. I have made this request in a letter to Mr. Day, Director of the Credit Division, War Assets Administration, and await a formal reply.

My Government, however, would greatly appreciate it if you would be so good as to advise how we might obtain the full 45 million dollar credit immediately.

It is perhaps difficult to realize the enormity of the problem involved in keeping alive some 4 million destitute people, thousands of

them seriously ill or wounded, and for huge numbers of whom there are neither warm clothes nor shelter. We have been advised that every blanket obtained by us will mean a life saved. It is also to be remembered that these refugees have come from the warmer climate of the interior of India into the bitter Pakistan winter and apart from the question of physical acclimatization they have been able to bring away with them only just so much as they could carry on their persons. Generally speaking, they are all clothed in cotton and have nothing warm with them. To make matters worse, there is not a single woollen mill on the Pakistan side of the new frontiers that have been drawn. It is very urgently necessary for immediate action to be taken to supply these men, women and children with warm clothing, blankets, medicines, and all the paraphernalia necessary to keep thousands from dying from pneumonia and other diseases brought on by exposure and weakness. Any help or advice that you may be able to give in this hour of need will be gratefully remembered by the Government and people of Pakistan.

I take this opportunity of renewing to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. O. A. BAIG
Charge d'affaires

The Honourable Robert A. Lovett,
Acting Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

[1]Copy was sent by Ghulam Mohammed to S.M. Yusuf for Jinnah's information. See F. 180-GG/6. Not printed.
[2]Also see No. 191.

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Mir Qadir Bakhsh Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 820/18-24

[QUETTA,]
28 November 1947

Respected Sir,

We, the members of the Working Committee of the Baluchistan

Provincial Muslim League, most humbly and respectfully beg to lay down the following few lines for Your Excellency's kind perusal and sympathetic consideration.

1. That Baluchistan is divided into three main divisions:
   a. British Baluchistan, with an area of 9, 476 sq. miles, consisting of tracts assigned to the British Government by Treaty in 1879;
   b. Agency territories, with an area of 44,345 sq. miles, composed of tracts which have, from time to time, been acquired by lease or otherwise brought under control and been placed directly under British officers;
   c. The native States of Kalat, Kharan and Lasbela, with an area of 78,034 sq. miles.

2. That Baluchistan is bounded on the south by the Arabian Sea, on the north by Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province, on the west by Persia and on the east by Sindh, the Punjab and a part of the Frontier Province.

3. That the people of Baluchistan mostly belong to various tribes and their *Sardars* (the heads of the tribe) had been influencing their tribes both socially and politically. Before the advent of the British, these *Sardars* could be removed if they were found to be cruel or unjust; but the moment the British Government assumed power in Baluchistan their first and foremost policy was that they should encourage these tribal *Sardars* so that they may become powerful and thus control their respective tribes and have a close watch over the activities of their own people, lest they may unite and be the cause of the downfall of the British Government. To this end, they helped these *Sardars* in the form of giving them allowances on the one hand and giving them free hand over crushing their people and consequently bringing them under the thumb of these *Sardars,* e.g. they gave them civil and criminal powers under the cloak of the Frontier Crimes Regulation, so much so that the tribal people or the masses were always at the mercy of these *Sardars* with the result that the *Sardars* became powerful because they wielded all authority and power and used to decide their cases in *Jirga* or the Council of Elders. The British Government was very much benefited by this policy of encouraging these *Sardars* in crushing them because it was very easy for them to please a limited number of them (e.g. 40 or 50). Thus they strengthened their power in Baluchistan. These *Sardars* kept their people illiterate so that there should not be any education in Baluchistan, because if the people got education they would have demanded their civic rights and privileges. These *Sardars* purposely kept them in dark so that their influence

over their uneducated masses should not be decreased and that they should carry on with their own enjoyments and pleasures. The British Government also helped these *Sardars* in this respect because they knew and fully understood the strategic position of this Province as it touched the border[s] of Iran and Afghanistan, both free, sovereign, independent Muslim States. They also knew that Baluchistan is purely populated by Muslims and that if they are educated, there is every reason that they might make as [*sic*] some alliance with their Muslim brothers and may become a source of danger to India.

4. These tribal *Sardars* were very jealous of their people and they did not want that their influential people, i.e. *Maliks* or *Lambardars* should become the members of Shahi Jirga or the local *jirga* for the simple reason that if the number of the members of a particular tribe increased the influence of these *Sardars* might decrease with the result that even uptill now the fate of fifty or sixty thousand people is being decided by one man called the *Sardar* or the *Nawab* and all power and authority is vested in one man.

5. That these *Sardars* had a great influence over their uneducated and illiterate masses as they used to decide their cases both civil and criminal in *Jirga*. Thus the people were at the mercy of these *Sardars* and could not rebel against the *Sardars,* and to utter a single word against them would prove fatal for them.

6. That these *Sardars* used to realise the following taxes from their people against their wishes so much so that it had become tradition and an unwritten law that nobody could ever dare break them:

a. *Dino* — A milch goat from every family in the spring.

b. Pursi — A goat from each family on the occasion of death in the chief's family.

c. *Bijar* — A goat from each family on the marriage of the male member of the chief's family.

d. *Barpusht* — The *Sardar* was given one camel from each herd free of hire when required for the purpose of trade or travel. Whenever any *Sardar* wanted to build a house or dig a well or cut a jungle for cultivation, etc., etc., he used to collect one male member from every family for this work without any remuneration.

The above-mentioned taxes were realised through their favourites and special lieutenants from their respective tribes. Those who could not pay these taxes, were excommunicated and humiliated in the eyes of others and those who preached against the collection of such illegal taxes and inhuman behaviour of the *Sardars* were treated very harshly

and beaten openly before the public.

7. That the *Sardars* were consulted in marriages and no matrimonial connections could take place without the prior sanction and knowledge of the *Sardars* and if any connection were made by the family members or the relatives without the consent of the *Sardar* it was liable to cancellation. This was also a good source of their income. Thus these *Sardars* used to treat their tribes just as untouchables.

8. That all these above mentioned evils were removed by and by owing to the general awakening and education in the masses on the one hand and the efforts of the Muslim League which brought them under the flag of the All India Muslim League and which created a sense of consciousness among the illiterate masses to realise their worth and to unite under the leadership of Qazi Mohammad Isa, the President, Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League. But for his sincere and ceaseless efforts, and right and timely guidance, Baluchistan would have been a part of [the] Indian Dominion as these *Sardars,* the Congress and the British Government all were trying their best to weaken the Muslim League and ultimately Pakistan.

9. Under the guidance of Qazi Mohammad Isa, Bar-at-Law, the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League rendered the following valuable services to the nation:

a. Muslim League centres were opened not only in every district but also in the far off *tahsils*.
b. Liberated the common people or the masses through (*sic* for from) the clutches of the *Sardars* and removed the slavish mentality of blindly following their *Sardars*.
c. Did not allow the germs of the Congress to flourish in Baluchistan so much so that 99% of the population are Muslim Leaguers.
d. Removed the fear of British Government from the hearts of the uneducated people and created love for freedom and Muslim brotherhood among the general public.
e. Created in them a great sense of responsibility and confidence, in order to be prepared to sacrifice every thing for the achievement of Pakistan.
f. Created a great desire and unsatiable thirst for self-government.

10. That 90% of the *Sardars* had been strengthening the British Government as well as the Congress and made no sacrifice as would appear from the following:

a. None of the *Sardars* had purchased [*sic* for obtainted] the League ticket before the 15th of August 1947, and that none of them was a member of the Muslim League.
b. They never gave any financial support to the League.

c. Most of them never cooperated with the League.
d. They made no special sacrifices for the achievement of our cherished goal (Pakistan).

COMPOSITION OF *JIRGAS*

11. Hardly 12 out of 50 can be said as *Sardars* in strict sense of the word; majority of them elevated [*sic*] to this position for services rendered to the then alien Government. The popular desire among the masses is the removal of this evil system.

In case the Pakistan Government for reasons best known to them is not in a position to confer the franchise right on the adult population on the basis of franchise existing in other provinces of the Dominion, then we suggest that every village should have the free right of electing their *Maliks* and the *Maliks* to elect their District *Jirga* members and the district *Jirga* members on their turn to elect Provincial *Jirga* members. The word *Shahi* must go, because the very name is obnoxious (commemorates the memory of British imperialism) and along with that the Provincial Muslim League should be asked to give [*sic*] an equal number of representation in the districts and in province [*sic*].

This arrangement, though it will develop [*sic*] the number of the district and provincial *Jirga* members, yet it would [not] cost Government a penny more because the members are not paid anything and to authorise the Provincial *Jirga* to elect their leaders who should work as Ministers or Advisers to the Government [*sic*].

TRIBAL AREAS

12. The tribal areas of Baluchistan are just called the tribal areas for courtesy sake [*sic*]. They are in no way like the tribal areas of the Frontier Province. They have been administered more like the rest of Baluchistan and unlike the tribal areas of Frontier Province. Besides, the wise policy pursued by the Provincial Muslim League in 1939, the Muslim League very wisely put it in their constitution that the tribal areas should be considered as part and parcel of British Baluchistan and this constitution was enforced after its approval by the All India Muslim League. For this reason, the Muslim League enrolled members and established branches even in the so-called tribal areas and to this extent that [if] they would be treated differently now, would in the opinion of the Provincial Muslim League be a betrayal of the cause and the people who stood solidly by the Muslim League.

PRESENT POLICY OF THE *SARDARS*

13. To advance their own selfish interest, the so-called *Jirga* members and *Sardars* do not hesitate in misleading and even coercing the people [telling], that there is no difference between them and Leaguers, to

the great annoyance and displeasure of the very people who had thrown in their lot with the Muslim League. Taking them at their words, the Provincial Muslim League very wisely about a month ago, sent a personal letter to all the members of the so-called *Shahi Jirga* and *Sardars,* requesting them that it was gratifying to note that they have proclaimed themselves as Leaguers and to fullfil a formality they should sign the enclosed membership form [*sic*]. But no one responded. We also make it quite clear at this stage that a large number of even the present *Jirga* members are regular League members and they are prepared to throw in their lot with the masses. It is only the selfish who have neither any following nor any support and who were notorious for their cruelties and malpractices.

THE *SARDARS*

14. That the claim of the *Sardars* of Baluchistan to the effect that they voted for Pakistan is also not justified because the *Sardars* voted in favour of Pakistan not for the love of Pakistan but for fear of their awakened public who compelled their respective heads to vote in favour of Pakistan. All this was done through the genuine and sincere efforts of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League.

TRIBAL AREAS

15. That if the *Sardars* boast of referendum,[1] the Muslim League members are also proud of joining the All India Convention which took place in Your Excellency's presence at New Delhi where we solemnly declared on oath and signed the pledge with our blood that we would sacrifice every thing for the sake of Pakistan.

ELECTION

16. That the *Sardars* need not be afraid of election[s] when they say that the people are behind them and that they have got influence and command respect from their people; but on the contrary we, the members of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League, should have protested against elections as according to them we held no influence in the masses [*sic*].

NOMINATION

17. That as the *Sardars* are very unpopular and hold no confidence of the general public, therefore, they are afraid of general elections and demand that some of them should be nominated, and that power should be vested in them, as in the days of British Government, so that

they may again revive their old malpractices as enumerated in para 6 above.

OUR DEMANDS

18. That we, the members of the Working Committee of Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League, beg to request Your Excellency to kindly give sympathetic consideration to our following just and reasonable demands:

a. That we want responsible government in the shape of Legislative Assembly just as in other Provinces of Pakistan;
b. That there should be general elections for the membership of this Assembly and not nomination;
c. That the *Sardari* system should not be encouraged and that they should not be given full powers, as it would be detrimental to the interests of the general public;
d. That if it is not possible, for some reason, to confer the franchise rights, the method suggested in para 11 above for the appointment of *Sardars* to *jirgas* be adopted.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

[MIR QADIR BAKHSH KHAN]

Vice-President, Baluchistan Muslim League

[1]In the referendum, Baluchistan Shahi Jirga and the members of Quetta Municipality present at the voting decided unanimously, without a debate, to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. See Appendix VI. 1, Vol. III, para 15, 943.

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Zahid Husain to K. H. Khurshid

F. 784/251

No. G/3-27

NEW DELHI,
28 November 1947

Dear Mr. Khurshid,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 14th November 1947.[1] I did my best to arrange with the Indian Government for your evacuation from Kashmir, but I am sorry I failed. I have already taken up the matter with our Government for the evacuation of Pakistan nationals now in

Kashmir and I am writing to them again to speed up the matter. I hope some arrangement will be made for your evacuation in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Not traceable.

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M. A. Jinnah to Sheikh Hassan El Banna

F. 156-GG/5-6

29 November 1947

My dear Sheikh Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th of November[1] which was personally delivered to me by Mr. Saleh Ashmawi, sub-leader of the Ikhwan, and Mr. Abdul Qadar Hamza, Editor of *Al-Balagh*, with whom I had a long interview[2] in Lahore.

I appreciate your moral support to Pakistan, and I am grateful to you for your cordial good wishes for Pakistan and kind personal references to me.

I am confident that Pakistan will go forward from strength to strength, and with such deep sympathy and universal support from our Muslim brethren all over the world, it is bound to become one of the most leading nations, and will exercise and play an effective part in the comity of nations.

You must remember that Pakistan was born only a few months ago. We have to be vigilant and patient, and we have to handle matters in a statesmanlike way as at present our enemies are bent upon not only obstructing us but, if possible, they are out to paralyze Pakistan before it becomes greater and stronger. But I am sure they will fail in their efforts miserably.

As regards your reference to Pakistan Association at Cairo, it is not possible for me to recognize it directly or indirectly. When our Ambassador has been fully installed in Cairo, we shall have to consider matters of this kind through his reports. At present I know nothing about the constitution, aims and objects of this Association in Cairo, but there is nothing to prevent them from doing any good work,

which you say they are doing. I hope you do appreciate that it is not possible for me, as head of the Pakistan Government, to allow my name to be associated, directly or indirectly, with this Association, or any other political association that may be doing good work for Pakistan.

Thanking you again for the great services you have rendered to us already by sending two of your representatives as fact-finding mission, and I have no doubt that they will spread the real truth and make the people of Egypt understand how Pakistan stands. It stands like a rock and will continue to do so, but it needs all the sympathy and support and help of our friends, particularly at this critical moment.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sheikh Hassan El Banna,
Supreme Guide,
Muslim Brotherhood Association,
No. 2, Helmiah Gudidah,
Cairo

[1]No. 200.
[2]Not traceable.

230

M. A. Jinnah to Arthakitti Banomyong

F. 190-GG/4

29 November 1947

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th of November.[1]

It is somewhat difficult for us to follow the sudden developments that have taken place in Bangkok, and who is now in charge of the Government. When things are settled down, I have no doubt you will help us. All the same I thank you for your effort to secure 1,000 tons of rice for us, and for all your good wishes.[2]

I do not quite understand when you say that the Pakistan Government will have to communicate directly with the office of the Special Commissioner in South East Asia with a view to obtaining allocation for the rice in question. I thought we could deal with the Bangkok

Government who were an independent and sovereign State.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Arthakitti Banomyong, Esq.,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Bangkok, Siam

[1]No. 172.
[2]Copies of letters at Nos. 172 and 230 were sent to the Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Health for necessary action. See F. 190-GG/5. Not printed.

231

M. A. Jinnah to Muhammad bin Abdel Karim El-Khattabi

F. 156-GG/7-8

29 November 1947

My dear Amir Abdel Karim,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 18th of November,[1] and I am extremely thankful to you for your good wishes for Pakistan and kind personal references to me.

I am confident that Pakistan will go ahead from strength to strength, and let me assure you that it will not forget its Muslim brethren in other parts of the world. Morocco is present in my mind, and we will do all we can to help Musalmans, wherever they are, to realize their complete freedom and achieve all their national aspirations. But you must remember that Pakistan was only born a few months ago and time and patience are necessary as these questions are to be handled in a delicate and statesmanlike way to attain success.

I note your suggestion with regard to approach of the French Government. We have accepted their Ambassador to Pakistan, and I hope to see him and shall try and understand the views of his Government with regard to the various matters affecting the Musalmans and the French Colony and Protectorates—Algiers, Tunis and Morocco.

Yes, I know the position of the Musalmans who are under the subjugation of Spain. At present General Franco[2] is not accessible to us. As you know, he stands in an isolated position, but some way may

be found to establish contact with Spain also.

Thanking you again for your good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Amir Abdel Karim El Khattabi,
No. 10 Saad Zaghlol Street,
Cairo

[1]No. 209.
[2]Spanish Head of State, 1939-75.

232

Draft Address[1] of Welcome by the Municipality of Quetta

F. 216 (VI)-GG/19-20

QUETTA,
Undated [November 1947]

May it please Your Excellency,

We, the members of the Municipality of Quetta, respectfully offer to Your Excellency our most cordial welcome on your first visit to this town as the Founder and Governor-General of Pakistan.

Your Excellency's services to the Muslim world in general and Pakistan in particular are too well known to need repetition here. Your Excellency's policy of affording fullest security to the life and property of the minority communities of Pakistan has added to the glory already attaching to your name and it is no small tribute to Your Excellency that compared with the neighbouring Dominion, Pakistan is now enjoying peace and tranquility. This is no mean achievement for a State which came into existence but a few weeks ago and started from scratch. As a proof of our appreciation of your great services, we as a Municipality ask you kindly to accept the sum of Rs. 50,000 as a small contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.[2]

This Municipality of ours used to be a purely nominated body uptill 1946, consisting of 27 members. But in that year our constitution was revised and today we have ten elected and nine nominated members of whom nine are non-Muslim.

A great landmark in the history of this Municipality was the earthquake of 1935, from the after-effects of which we were just starting to

recover when the World War II intervened and the work of reconstruction had to be postponed, though the town planners had their blueprints ready on the most modern lines. Due to the after-effects of War and the shortage of building material rapid progress has not been possible and that is why our town still looks so tiny.

Despite this setback our finances have been making steady progress. Our receipts in 1934-35 just before the earthquake were Rs. 6,71,698 but in 1946-47 they rose to Rs. 14,35,457.

[*Next para omitted*]

But the most important feature of this Municipality of which we are rightly proud is the communal co-operation, harmony and complete absence of communal ill-feeling.

We do not wish to mar this happy occasion by dwelling on our troubles which are of very recent origin, created by the enemies of Pakistan. But we hope that the setback we have suffered due to dislocation of trade may be only a passing phase. We are looking forward to a bright future and we are sure that with "Unity, Faith and Discipline," we shall soon emerge triumphant and achieve prosperity.

We now conclude with a prayer that Your Excellency may live long to guide Pakistan and its people to the great goal set before us. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

Expressing our gratitude once again,

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Yours,
A. R. KHAN
Chairman, Quetta Municipality
and Others[3]

[1]The Resident in Baluchistan had requested Jinnah's approval of the address as well as an advance copy of his reply. See F. 216 (VI)-GG/18. Not printed.

[2]See Appendix I. 31.

[3]Other signitories included Fida Ali Alibhoy, Vice-Chairman; Abdul Ghafoor Khan; Jehangir Shah Jogezai; Henry Holland; K.A. Marker; Ali Bahadur Khan; Mohammad Azam Khan; Mohammad Isa Hazara; Mohammad Umar Khan Kansi; F.B. Patel; Saleem Ahmad and Yar Mohammad Khan.

233

Members, Utmanzai Tribe to M. A. Jinnah

F. 820/82

[NORTH WAZIRISTAN,]
Undated [*November 1947*]

Your Excellency,

With due respect we the members of Utmanzai Tribe of North Waziristan submit the following for favour of kind consideration of Your Excellency This request was also made to the Governor of N.W.F. Province when he saw the *Jirga* of North Waziristan tribes at Miranshah on 6-11-1947:

a. Since the Pakistan State was created in mid-August last the Officer Commanding, Tochi Scouts, has been intentionally visiting Thall from Miranshah much too frequently to bring his wife from Parachinar and to get her back there.
b. Because he is always accompanied by a large Scouts convoy large quantities of State petrol is wasted on these pleasure trips when it is most essential to save every drop of it.
c. We have been looking on British personnel with suspician hitherto and now any foreigner moving in our area, when the Pakistan State has been created, is unwelcome to us particularly when we see that he is doing an act against the interest of Pakistan.
d. The Officer Commanding's wife was present at Miranshah even on 6-11-47 but she was concealed from the Governor. She is also Mess Secretary of the Officers' Mess at Miranshah.
e. Ipi hostiles know about the frequent visits of Officer Commanding to Thall. It is very likely that his convoy may be attacked and our tribe will be unjustly punished.

It is, therefore, requested that in the interest of the Officer Commanding and the Pakistan State to transfer [*sic*] the officer from this Agency, as early as possible.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's loyal subjects,
MEMBERS, UTMANZAI TRIBE

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Ruler of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 7-GG/19

DARBAND (AMB STATE),
P.O. KIRPLIAN, HAZARA DISTRICT,
1 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The news of your indisposition at Lahore caused us great concern. I was to have the honour of meeting you at lunch on the 9th November at General Messervy's place at Rawalpindi and was very upset on 8th afternoon when I suddenly developed an attack of flu accompanied by high fever which naturally prevented my travelling to Rawalpindi on 9th November. The same night it was announced on the radio that you were indisposed and that your visit to Rawalpindi was cancelled.

On learning from the papers that you had been restored to health, I had a telegram sent to you from Peshawar on 21st November[1] which I hope you would have received in due course. Thank God you have completely recovered from your indisposition. I am also all right now.

I am also telegraphing you today[2] to find out the programme of your stay in Lahore as it may be easier for me to come down to Lahore to meet you instead of going down to Karachi later.

With best wishes for your continued health and welfare and with best respects to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
M. FARID KHAN

[1]F. 7-GG/18. Not printed.
[2]F. 7-GG/20. Ibid.

235

Bhagat Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/139-42

SUNDER NAGAR,
(VIA PATHANKOT),
1 December 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I am an inhabitant of Tehsil Shakargarh (West Punjab) which has

fallen in Pakistan. When I first heard of the partition, I thought that with this change of government, the life and property of the inhabitants would not be affected, but to my disillusionment, the life and property of Hindu and Sikh inhabitants has been seriously affected. Pressed by the communal frenzy and madness of the Muslims, the inhabitants of my village, Pindi Sainian, have been forced to leave the village almost naked, their property has been looted and lands and houses have been unlawfully occupied by them. The relations of some of the inhabitants have been brutally killed. The description which I have heard from my brother and others is so terrible and disgusting that it violates all rules of law, morality and religion. It is no time, and in fact useless, to dilate upon the causes of what has happened in my village and other villages of West Punjab and East Punjab.

I am a firm believer of communal harmony. Only recently I retired as a Sessions Judge from Kashmir State, where I had the reputation of rising above communal prejudices and decided important communal cases justly, irrespective of caste, creed or religion of the parties.

My views have received rude shock from the above happenings. I cannot believe that these sad events have your direct or indirect approval and I am sure that you must be seriously thinking how to end them and to make their repetition impossible. Although some of my friends think that the matter has advanced so far on either side that rapprochement is impossible, yet I am one of those who believe that if the people of both the Dominions have to prosper and enjoy a peaceful life, then the communal hatred and exclusiveness should be replaced by neighbourly love and regard. The move undertaken by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Sahib should be widened and strengthened. The Muslims of West Punjab should change their mentality and conduct; they should get rid of bestial and violent ideas and try to win the confidence of Hindus and Sikhs. They should invite them to their ancestral homes, where they have been living from [*sic*] centuries and generations after generations. It would be the duty of the Hindus and Sikhs, so returning, to owe allegiance to the existing government which shall be bound to look to the interests of the minorities. Similar change is desirable in the attitude and conduct of Hindus and Sikhs of East Punjab. If this change does not take place, the majority of the masses are prone to say that they were better without this freedom which has turned them out of their ancestral homes and environments and caused so much loss of life and property.

You are the head of the Pakistan Government; you are the founder of it and it is you who are maintaining it. You are the best person to give a proper lead to the Muslims of West Punjab. I am writing this

letter to you with the sincere hope that you will be good enough to give a proper lead to the masses so as to put a stop to the prevailing arson, murder and loot (of which we have had enough) and to inspire confidence. It is within your power to take steps so that the Hindus and Sikhs, who have evacuated, may return to their homes. No government has the right to be called a civilized government, on which this stigma stands, that almost half of its population, including women and children, were murdered, looted and dishonoured simply because they professed a different religion.

I beseech you in the name of humanity, I appeal [to] you in the name of religion, and I implore you in the interest of all to take early proper action in the matter. By doing so, you will be winning the gratitude of many innocent persons and a good name in the civilized world.

I shall be anxiously waiting for the reaction which this humble letter[1] of mine produces upon your noble mind. My services are at your disposal, if they can be of any use in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
BHAGAT RAM
B.A. LLB.
Chief Justice, Suket State

[1]The letter was acknowledged by F. Amin on 24 December 1947. See F. 120-GG/138. Not printed.

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Imam Yahiya to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 189-GG/1
[Original in Arabic]

[3 December 1947]

We have learnt from our son, Seiful Islam Ibdullah, of the noble defence you have put up at the UNO. This has placed us, all the Arab countries and the entire Muslim world, under a great obligation. Who could imagine that this Organisation formed for the establishment of world peace and order would be working for creating causes of enmity and disruption in the entire Muslim world, taking away the right of ownership and governance from those who have been legally entitled to it for more than ten centuries and partitioning off the country and making a gift of it to others which this Organisation has no right or reason [*sic*]. This can only be due to their hostility towards the Muslims and the Arabs and in order to humiliate them in case of a

showdown. We do not think the Muslims will agree to it or will be a party to it. We once more thank you and your distinguished delegate to the UNO [Zafrullah Khan] and offer you our respects and best regards.

[IMAM YAHIYA
King of Yemen]

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M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 180-GG/5

TOP SECRET WASHINGTON,
No. C-30 *3 December 1947*

Your telegram No. 947.[1] Have reported telegraphing Finance Minister my telegrams Nos. C 14[2] and C 18.[3] Called urgently for necessary information. Regret still unreceived. Have been promised immediate credit of ten million. Unable to move without essential information.

[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

[1]No. 221.
[2]No. 191.
[3]No. 207.

238

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

WASHINGTON,
3 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It pains me to trouble you but at times I am helpless. I returned to Washington last night and attended the President's Annual Diplomatic Reception. I have started serious work as Ambassador in Washington, only today.

[Mirza Osman Ali] Baig has already attended to your top secret telegram addressed to me through the Foreign Ministry. I have very

little to add. The position is, as I have intimated to you telegraphically today, that we have been promised immediate drawing facilities to the tune of ten million dollars. When we are in possession of the necessary information that we have sought, we shall not lose a minute in going ahead. Our need for blankets is most urgent. We know this as much as the Government at Karachi but we do not know how many blankets are required. Blankets are fairly costly and it would be waste of money to order a larger quantity than what is actually required. Baig has also informed the Finance Minister that vague generalizations cannot be attended to by the American authorities. Medicines must be detailed, dressings must be specified and widths and lengths declared and generally full technical details must be given against each and every requirement of ours. Over 3 weeks have elapsed and the Embassy is still without instructions!

On the eve of my departure you assured me that I could have officers of my choice on my staff. I asked for three. So far, one has arrived and he is not one of my choice. In fact he was appointed by the Ministry of Education in the face of my declared wishes to the Prime Minister as early as September 15, and also to Fazlur Rahman. I was given no opportunity of either approving or disapproving his appointment as I was informed telegraphically that the appointee was leaving Karachi almost immediately. I feel that such prior approval is my prerogative as the head of the mission.

There is no news so far of my Press Attache. I had fixed up Usman Ansari, Editor of the *Star of India*, who has worked with me and knows my requirements. I have sent repeated reminders without result. Apparently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not realize the importance of a Press Officer in an Embassy. Propaganda and publicity are essential background to diplomacy and if I am asked to do a good job without being given the minimum tools, how can I hope to fulfil your expectations?

I asked for Agha Shahi as Third Secretary of the Embassy. Liaquat Ali [Khan] also told me that there would be no difficulty. Uptil now, Agha Shahi has not arrived and I am informed that as he is not being released by the Government of Sind, a Major Sajjad Haider is being sent if his Minister will release him. Here again is an attempt to saddle me with an officer I do not know and have not asked for. Appointment of officers to my staff without even the courtesy of asking for my prior approval, places me in an impossible position which cannot be tolerated by any head of mission entrusted with his country's representation. I have been compelled to telegraph Foreign Ministry today asking them to withhold appointment until further advice from me. I now appeal to you to put an end to the policy of overriding the wishes of Ambassadors in matters

relating to their own establishments. I know Agha very well and consider him to be best suited to the work he will have to do in Washington. He is anxious to join me. I leave this matter, therefore, to your judgment, confident of your support. I need not tell you how necessary it is to have the minimum staff, composed of individuals who may be expected to function effectively as a team.

We are receiving very little cooperation from the Finance Ministry. It seems that at least officers of that Ministry who are assigned to American affairs fail to appreciate in any way what is involved in diplomatic representation abroad and the result of one false step on our national credit. We cannot work indefinitely without sanction being given to essential expenditure and you have no idea what we have to put up with sometimes. I assure you that the staff of the Embassy is absolutely the minimum necessary for conducting our day to day business. We are doing all we can to economise. We realise our dollar position. We realise our present difficulties, but I cannot help feeling that it is unwise and dangerous to be penny wise and pound foolish.

Colonel Fletcher, who has been appointed Officer on Special Duty in the Foreign Ministry, has certainly brought about an improvement in the almost total neglect and lack of comprehension with which we were being favoured. But, even so, one swallow does not make a summer and we expect, and rightly, proper cooperation from the Government as a whole and particularly from the Ministry of Finance.

I revert once again to the question of purchasing property for our Embassy. Permission to purchase has been refused and we are expected at the most to rent a house. No suitable house can be rented here for under 2 to 4 thousand dollars per mensem. If it is furnished, we should have to turn out a good bit for [*sic*] the furniture in order to fit in office equipment. If it should be unfurnished, we should have to carpet it, renovate it generally and purchase suitable furniture, other than office furniture which we already possess. The rent will amount to so much money thrown down the drain irretrievably, apart from the capital cost, which will certainly run into five figures. We should take a house immediately on a purchase basis, and [a] most excellent house, which I have repeatedly recommended to our Government, is still available for $150,000, the owners having agreed to reduce it from its original asking price of $200,000. The Burmese Mission, which only arrived in this country two or three weeks ago, have already taken a house. Why should our Government alone, out of all the Governments in the world, fail to understand the financial implications of international diplomatic representation and of maintaining missions abroad.

The house that we have in view is a bargain and is eminently suitable for our requirements. It is not pretentious nor is there more accommodation than is necessary to meet the requirements of the Chancery. Wherever I go, whether New York, Havana or Washington, I am asked if we have secured permanent quarters for our Embassy. I have always to give some excuse or the other for not having purchased a property. The excuse that I usually give is that I have been away and have not found time to look around and select a suitable building. Frankly, we cannot carry on in a hotel. Not having a permanent office of our own does damage to our credit and reputation and also to our diplomatic standing. In the U.S.A., more than in any other country in the world, as you know, money talks and the facade usually is an indication of the worth of the country. If we are to talk of big business and big financial deals, we must have the necessary prestige and the place to receive important persons. Small and comparatively insignificant countries have Legations, Chanceries and Embassies of their own. Even little Lebanon and Liberia have their own Legations. I hope Laik Ali, [Abdus Sattar] Pirzada and Zafrullah Khan have spoken to you about the imperative necessity of purchasing a Chancery building without delay. We must shift from this hotel, although we are comfortable here.

I am enclosing copy of letter written to Sir Zafrullah Khan[2] as the matter dealt in it is extremely urgent and important. I am ensuring against all delay by sending you this copy.

Kindly forgive me for the length of this letter.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 556-9.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 238
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. Zafrullah Khan[1]

NEW YORK,
1 December 1947

My dear Zafrullah,

Just as I was checking out of my hotel, your letter of November 2[2] was handed to me. I am dictating this note on board D.C. 4 on my way back to New York. I know that I have as much hope of catching you in New York as I have in laying my hands on one end of the rainbow. The

Havana Post, in its issue of November 29, reported that the Palestine vote on a French resolution was postponed for 24 hours. The A.P. report is rather disquieting as it makes us believe that the pro-partitionists have been able to secure a majority. I sincerely hope this is not true. I shall know the result of the vote when I reach New York tonight.

You will be glad to hear that our delegation has not made too bad a start and all the members except myself are as keen as mustard on doing a real good job. Hasnie[3] is a capable officer and Dr. Usmani[4] is full of life and enthusiasm. If Chundrigar is unable to go to Havana, I shall have to return there at the concluding stages of the Conference. I participated in the general debate. You will be glad to hear that almost all the speeches so far have kept within the 15 minutes limit. I am enclosing a copy of my speech[5] for your perusal. I had a telegram from Washington asking me to return as soon a possible as there was an urgent message of a confidential nature from the Quaid-i-Azam waiting for me.

I shall be returning to my 'home', the Barclay, only to find that the cheerful faces that met at breakfast every morning will not appear in the dining room at 8.30.

I hope you will meet Quaid-i-Azam soon after your return to Karachi. I am told he is at present in Lahore. I am sure you will have plenty to tell him concerning the improvements that are necessary to make our Embassy a first-class outfit. We must purchase a suitable building for our Chancery without delay. As you know the reasons, I shall not repeat them.

I need not tell you how happy I shall be to receive a line or two from you whenever you have the time to dictate them. I shall also look forward to welcoming you back to the United States at a not too distant date.

With my warmest regards,

Affectionately yours,
HASSAN

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 559-60.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]S. A. Hasnie, Secretary, Commerce, Industries and Works.
[4]Dr. I. H. Usmani, Deputy Secretary, Commerce, Industries and Works.
[5]Not traceable.

239

G. H. Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1108/168

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE,
KARACHI,
3 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose, for your consideration, a copy of His Highness the Aga Khan's reply[1] regarding the two institutions in which he is interested.

I delayed sending the letter to you as you have been away.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 239
Aga Khan to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 1108/167

MONTREUX-PALACE,
MONTREUX,
SUISSE,
Undated [*December 1947*]

Dear old friend,

Now I must first tell you about myself before I reply to the Quaid-i-Azam's suggestion about the foundation of two institutions like the Zurich Polytechnic. But there is one point I want to make clear at once. I do not want my name in any way associated with these institutions. I think the East Bengal be better called the Muslim East Bengal Institute of Science Research and the West one in Sind be called the Mohamedie, after Mohamed ibn Qassim ibn Yusuf Thaqafi, the first Muslim conquerer in India of whose memory this would be a worthy monument. Indeed when we raise the Quaid-i-Azam's statue in Karachi, it would be a splendid idea to have one of Mohamed ibn Qassim on his flank. I hope the bigoted *maulvis* and *mullas* do not oppose statues for in Cairo the very heart and capital of Muslim Arab lands, statues have been raised to all national leaders for the last 50 or even 100 years.

Now about the suggestion of the Quaid-i-Azam's letter. You can be

certain that it is not possible for me to write a cheque and get 40 lakh. The money will have to be collected, the technical difficulties removed and then only placed with Quaid-i-Azam on deposit with the distinct condition [that] if the crore in each case [is] not found the 40 lakh to be returned to me or my estate if I am dead. But the whole of Muslims in India, if they get [*sic* for give] a rupee to 10 rupees [they] can raise the amount. There are other Muslim countries and, if Muslims in India refuse to subscribe, it will be easier for me to help Islam in Africa and Palestine. I will write you fully when I leave hospital.

Your old friend,
AGA KHAN

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Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, AFM, 295/3

WESTERN COURT,
NEW DELHI,
3 December 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to the announcement that the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the Muslim League will be held at Karachi on the 13th and 14th instant, some members of the Council, who are at present in Delhi and who desire to allow [*sic* for attend] the above meeting, are anxious to know what arrangements have been made for their stay in Karachi. This information has to be announced immediately. Syed Mohammad Saadullah Sahib[1] and many others are awaiting this information before booking their passages.

An announcement on this subject may kindly be issued through the API to the Indian press. A telegram at the following address will be communicated to All Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly. Address for telegram:

Western Court, New Delhi

Awaiting your announcement anxiously,

Yours sincerely,
HAJI ABDUL SATTAR

[1]Former Premier of Assam.

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President, Anjuman-i-Azizia, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/70
[*Original in Urdu*]

LIAQATABAD,
KARACHI,
4 December 1947

No. 16

Amirul Musalimeen and Amir-i-Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam

Sir,

With due respect, it is stated that I had offered my services as well as the services of Anjuman-i-Azizia for joining the Pakistan National Guards or Home Guards to the Collector, Karachi, through letter No. 14, and to Additional Inspector-General Police, Karachi, vide letter No. 15. But unfortunately I have not, as yet, been favoured even with interview.

Your Excellency, I reiterate my offer as well as the services of 750 members of the Anjuman to the Government of Pakistan. Please inform us of the acceptance of our offer and give us an opportunity to serve our motherland, Pakistan.

Our offer of services is free and without any claim for recompense. We shall be grateful to be called for guidance, in making use of our services.

Yours,
President,
Anjuman-i-Azizia

242

F. Amin to S. A. Jawad

F. 125 (11)-GG/15

4 December 1947

Dear Mr. Jawad,

I enclose a copy of the address[1] presented to the Quaid-i-Azam by His Excellency Sardar Najibullah Khan, Special Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, to Pakistan, at the time of presenting

his credentials to the Quaid-i-Azam at 10.45 a.m. today. The Quaid-i-Azam's reply[2] is also enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

F. AMIN

S. A. Jawad, Esq.,
Principal Information Officer,
Karachi

[1&2]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 242
Speech by Najibullah Khan on Presentation of Credentials

F. 125 (11)-GG/8-9

[4 December 1947]

Your Excellency,

I have the great honour to be the first Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan to our brother and Islamic country of Pakistan, and also of presenting my credentials, signed by my august Sovereign, to Your Excellency, the champion of the independence of the largest Muslim community and the founder of Pakistan.

It is an object of great glory to me to take this opportunity to convey the most cordial congratulations and the warmest expectations of His Afghan Majesty to Your Excellency and the best wishes of my Government and the Afghan nation to the Government and all the people of Pakistan.

I assure Your Excellency that the independence of the Muslims of this country has always been a sincere desire of Afghanistan and its achievement is the most happiest [*sic*] moment of the contemporary world for our people.

Your Excellency, I recognize this fact and am fully aware of the importance of my great and sacred mission, which surely secures and guarantees the favourable and firm foundations for the establishment of the solid relations and the cooperation between the Governments and the people[s] of our two countries.

The Afghan nation and the Government of Afghanistan wish eagerly and urgently the establishment of relations and cooperation between the peoples of these two lands.

Afghanistan is sincerely desiring to hold such a strong tie and relationship, which may not be founded on the temporary diplomatic arrangements which can be shaken and disturbed by small events and

the slight wind of affairs; but on the contrary, she wishes to build these relations on the basis of mutual understanding, reciprocal confidence, and perpetual needs of both the countries, necessary for the eternal and common existence of the people of these two neighbour States.

I assure Your Excellency that my country never believes that our interests are contrary to those of Pakistan, but Afghanistan expects that all the vital problems between the two countries will be solved in this spirit. I trust the results will secure and gain for we [*sic* for us] all, an everlasting peace and prosperity for the present and the future.

I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to provide me all necessary help and the kind cooperation of the Government of Pakistan [so] that I may be able to carry out my mission towards the goal of success, and thus to achieve my high aims. *Insha Allah.*

In conclusion, Your Excellency, I have to express my sincere and most hearty thanks to the Government and the people of Pakistan for their very cordial feelings, hospitality and kindness, and wish the welfare of Your Excellency and the prosperity of Pakistan.

Enclosure 2 to No. 242
Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Najibullah Khan's Speech

F. 125 (11)-GG/10-4

[*4 December 1947*]

Your Excellency,

It has given me indeed very great pleasure to welcome you and to receive through you today the gracious message of good wishes from His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. May I take this opportunity of asking you to convey to your august Sovereign my highest regard and esteem for him, and to the Government and the people of Afghanistan most cordial good wishes on behalf of myself, my Government and the people of Pakistan. I would also ask Your Excellency to convey my thanks to the Government of Afghanistan for the cordiality, hospitality and friendship that was extended to my Personal Representative, Nawab Saidullah Khan, during his stay in Kabul.

The Government and people of Pakistan entertain nothing but feelings of warmest friendship towards the Muslim Kingdom of Afghanistan which is our closest neighbour and with whom for many centuries and for many generations the people of Pakistan have had countless religious, cultural and social ties. It is doubtless known to Your Excellency that the people of Pakistan have always admired the spirit of independence of the Afghan nation and its great strength of character.[1]

I desire that the relationship between these two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two Governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill, for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist.

I cordially welcome you as the first Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on behalf of our brotherly Islamic neighbour to Pakistan, and I assure you, on behalf of my Government and myself that, we shall extend every assistance, co-operation and goodwill to you. May your stay in Pakistan be pleasant and happy!

[1]See Annex.

Annex to Enclosure 2 to No. 242
FOA, I.77/X
[Translation]

FRIENDLY FEELINGS BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN[1]

This week has witnessed the pouring in of a number of "cuttings from the Pakistan Press" connected with the visit of His Excellency Najibullah Khan as His Majesty's Special Representative with His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan.[2] All these cuttings indicate the most friendly, brotherly and cordial sentiments expressed by the Quaid-i-Azam, about His Majesty's person and Afghan nation, at the time of His Excellency Najibullah Khan's presenting his credentials. These cuttings are also indicative of the warm cordiality accorded to the Representative of our country—His Excellency Najibullah Khan—by the official quarters of Pakistan and her press.

At the time when the Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan presented his credentials to the Quaid-i-Azam and expressed the noble feelings which His Majesty the King, Afghan Govt. and Afghan nation entertain towards that young and newly sprung up Islamic country (Pakistan), the Quaid-i-Azam after expressing good wishes with regard to the good relations between both the Governments (of Afghanistan and Pakistan) replied as follows:

> I wish the relations between these two brotherly nations to continue for ever and to remain important as ever. I hope that both the Governments will soon be able to settle all the questions requiring immediate attention, in a spirit of cordiality. I have a sanguine hope that the

coming negotiations would secure and strengthen the cordial and friendly feelings already obtaining between the two countries.

Really it is so and we believe that with all his far-reaching wisdom and unprecedented intellect the Quaid-i-Azam has realised that Afghanistan is a sincere friend of Pakistan and that by reaching an agreement with a friend (Afghanistan) whose sole desire at heart centres round Pakistan's prosperity, he should solve the difficulties in an atmosphere of cordiality.

In the Afghan-Pakistan relations there exist no such difficulties which are incapable of being solved, because the question relating to the Afghans living on that side of Durand Line and the question of the conferment of the right on them—with a view to enabling these Afghans to decide and determine their political destinies—under circumstances when the Quaid-i-Azam himself has made a reference to the possibility of settling the matters in a spirit of cordiality, are indeed among such problems as can be solved by a single act of friendship and cordiality—a fact which would tend to remove the partial deadlock which has unfortunately created misunderstanding between the two countries during the last few months.

It may be that our nation is happier than all others over the prosperity and advancement of the Islamic State of Pakistan. We wish and hope that just as they have honoured and treated our Representative as their very dear guest, and have invited him to several parties and meetings, the Pakistan Dominion would likewise pay its kind attention to our legitimate objectives which constitute but a natural fact as far as the vast Dominion of Pakistan is concerned and thus become instrumental in instituting friendly, extremely good and noble relations between the two important Islamic countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Similarly, we highly appreciate and reciprocate, by means of friendly and brotherly feelings, the noble and cordial feelings of the daily *Dawn* which has done honour to a Representative from a friendly and brotherly State (Afghanistan) and has thus expressed its friendly feelings and cordiality in an exhaustive article, the concluding portion of which runs as follows:

> We believe that all the difficult questions pertaining to the mutual relations existing between the two States would soon be settled satisfactorily and that the less important questions would be taken into consideration with the passage of time.

The opportunity before us and Pakistan is indeed a very great one and the authoritative and political circles of both the countries, which naturally have no desire other than that of prosperity and good name

for their respective nations, should consider it as a better opportunity and thus take advantage of it by moulding the relations of both the countries in their best interests, so as to ensure that, by virtue of their unity and harmony, these two neighbouring Islamic countries which have in fact been living in common glory and friendly relations for the last thousands of years, flourish once again in this bountiful corner of Asia and become the source of the glittering deeds which would assist in preserving peace and comfort of mankind.

We appreciate all the friendly announcements and the brotherly statements made at the time of the arrival of our country's Representative in Pakistan and again at extending of invitation to him in that country.

We pray to God Almighty for the success of that young and newly formed country—Pakistan—in her good intentions and noble aims to ensure that from now on, a basis for the fruitful and unshakable friendship is established between Afghanistan and Pakistan, within an atmosphere in which rights of both the countries are equally recognised and that the results of this basis of friendship prove helpful and hopeful for both of these countries, for all times to come, because tomorrow's international life would be quite different to that of yesterday and today and the good neighbours are bound to have undeniable effects on one another's destinies.

[1]The *Islah*, 21 December 1947.

[2]An identical article also appeared in the *Anis*, 25 December 1947. See No. *FOA*, I-1/X. Not printed.

243

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah[1]

WASHINGTON,
4 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have received through the State Department a message reading as follows:

> Reference Laik Ali's negotiations. Pakistan Government now prepared to send a mission led by Finance Minister with three or four experts to carry on further negotiations. Please ask State Department if they are now prepared to receive this mission. Please also press for the despatch of the draft commercial treaty as promised to Laik Ali.

We have addressed the State Department officially in the matter

and at the same time have been carrying on informal discussions. The reactions of the State Department, also conveyed to us informally, are that such a visit at this juncture would be decidedly premature and would serve no useful purpose whatsoever. The State Department which is sympathetic to our needs and seems anxious to help, considers that this is not the method to obtain what we want. The amount involved is very large and the whole idea will have to be 'sold' to the American public whose representatives will vote on it in Congress. It has also been said that Pakistan is an area of the world where the Americans have very little business experience. A high powered mission coming here would merely be carrying out a brief intended to convince Americans that Pakistan will use the two thousand million dollars, asked for, fruitfully. The Americans being hard boiled businessmen would prefer to examine conditions on the spot for themselves. The State Department feels that the correct approach to this problem would be for our Government to invite a Trade Mission of the highest standing to visit Pakistan and to study the prospects of potential development in order to satisfy themselves that the money they are being asked to advance will not be at least partially lost through our inability to develop our resources and pay back the cash.

I request that so far, these discussions have been informal and we await an official reply to our enquiry whether the State Department would be prepared to receive the mission you propose to send. I felt it my duty to inform you of the reactions as early as possible. But I would, at the same time, request you to defer making any decision until we receive an official reply to our letter to the State Department on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 561-2.

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Habibullah Bahar to M. A. Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 151 (1)-GG/3

DACCA,
[*4 December 1947*]

Bengal Provincial Muslim League Working Committee represents

that train journey to Karachi being unsafe members of All India League Council from Bengal and Assam unable attending Council meeting. Air passage unavailable and prohibitive. Request holding meeting at Dacca or postponing decision regarding future of League. East Bengal vitally interested.

HABIBULLAH BAHAR
Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

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Archibald Rowlands to M. A. Jinnah[1]

No. 229/AGG

MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
4 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose a report[2] which I thought it might be useful for me to write on my judgment of the economic prospects of Pakistan.

Section II is, of course to some extent, already out of date, because of the agreement which the Finance Minister and myself were able to negotiate with the Hindustan Cabinet in Delhi last week.

I need hardly tell you that my activities during the three months that I have been in Pakistan have not been limited to the matters dealt with in my report. I have, for example, discussed with scores of representatives of Industry and Commerce the prospects of establishing factories and offices in Pakistan. For the most part these representatives have been from the United Kingdom and I found them most anxious to do all that is reasonably possible to help Pakistan to develop its Industry and Commerce. I have also had several representatives of the overseas press to see me. In every case I think I have, with honest convectional [*sic*], been able to persuade people whom I have seen that the prospects of Pakistan in the economic field are bright and hopeful, subject to the fulfillment of the conditions which I have set out in my Report.

I have ventured to send a copy of my report to the Finance Minister and to the Secretary-General to whom you will doubtless issue instructions as to what further circulation, if any, should be given to the Report.

It has been a great privilege and honour to have been allowed to help, even in the smallest way, the Dominion of Pakistan at the outset

of its career. I am deeply grateful to yourself, the Finance Minister and the members of the staff of the various Ministries with whom I have dealt, for all their encouragement and help.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Yours very sincerely,
A. ROWLANDS

[1]*Rizwan Collection*, 257-8.
[2]Appendix IV.

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Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 120-GG/26

ALMANZAR,
32 LAWARENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
5 December 1947

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I do hope and pray that you are feeling much better and stronger by now. May the Almighty grant you perfect health and strength and may you live long to see Pakistan a prosperous, strong and progressive State.

Please allow me to present to you a very short report of Punjab Muslim League Women's work in the present emergency. As soon as the stream of Muslim refugees from the East Punjab started pouring into the West Punjab, the Muslim League Women's Committee realised the necessity of doing all they could to alleviate their suffering. Since the riots broke out from the beginning of March, Muslim League Women's Committee had been doing relief work in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Gujranwala and other districts. From the second week of August, well-known League workers worked day and night on their own. Then early in September the Provincial Muslim League Women's Committee organised different sub-committees such as (1) Hospital Committee and Nursing Division (2) Camp Corps (3) Station Corps (4) Sewing and Work Parties.

The Committees had begun their work and volunteers had already started work in the Camps and at the Station when Begum Liaquat Ali arrived in Lahore and her presence gave great impetus and encouragement to the workers. Begum Liaquat Ali helped us to get trucks

and petrol for the Volunteers Corps from the official authorities.

A meeting of the office-bearers of the Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee and other prominent League workers together with the representatives of other women's organisations like the Red Cross, the Y.W.C.A. and the Girl Guides was convened at Government House on 16th September and it was decided to turn this representative gathering into Quaid-i-Azam Provincial Women's Relief Committee, and Miss Macqueen was asked to act as temporary chairwoman. It was agreed that the work of this Committee should be carried under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee.

On the 17th September, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan and Miss Macqueen met the representatives of the Women's Sub-Committee at Begum Shah Nawaz's house and an informal discussion took place. It was decided to convene a Provincial conference to which prominent Muslim League workers and secretaries of district Muslim League Women's Sub-Committees should be invited. This conference met at Govt. House on 21st September. Representatives from most of the districts of West Punjab and some of the districts of East Punjab and well-known workers of Lahore also attended.

In the morning session Begum Liaquat Ali Khan made a stirring appeal to the women for doing more and more work for the refugees. Begum Shah Nawaz then addressed the audience and explained the urgency and importance of the refugee problem. Fatima Begum[2] spoke on behalf of the Women's Sub-Committee. A scheme of work was then presented to the audience by Mumtaz Shah Nawaz. This comprised

Pakistan and Hindustan.

GHIASUDDIN
General Secretary,
Provincial Muslim League, CP & Berar

[1]F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's regrets to grant interview due to ill health. Suggested either to send his proposals in writing or see the PS to Jinnah. See F. 25(2)(Vol.I)-GG/117. Not printed.

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, IU. 28/20

15/16 FITZHARDINGE STREET, W. 1.,
LONDON,
6 December 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

At a reception held by Their Majesties on the 3rd December, at Buckingham Palace to meet the Foreign Ministers, my wife and I were presented to Her Majesty the Queen by Mr. Bevin, the Secretary of State, as distinct from Menon,[1] who was presented by the A.D.C. Bevin emphasized in this talk how great was Pakistan's influence with the Muslim States and suggested that it would be very nice indeed if Their Majesties could visit Pakistan in the near future to cement the great solidarity and unity of the Commonwealth. I said that I was sure that the Government would be very happy indeed. This, of course, was not a form of invitation or anything of the sort, which could only come from the Governor-General or from you, but I just mention this incident to show you how the Government's mind is working. Since my arrival I have emphasized with Bevin, and he concurs with me, the great role Pakistan can play in the preservation of peace amidst the conflict of ideologies prevailing in the world at present, because of the sympathy and friendship of all the other Muslim States in the world. He has become personally very friendly.

I was also received by His Majesty the King on December 2nd. We had a long talk for twenty minutes. His Majesty was very charming, informal and friendly and I took the opportunity of explaining to him

our case in the various disputes over Kashmir and Junagadh. His Majesty was keenly interested.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA
High Commissioner for Pakistan

[1]High Commissioner for India in London.

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S. M. Yusuf to Habibullah Bahar

Telegram, F. 151 (1)-GG/4

IMMEDIATE *7 December 1947*

Your telegram of 4th December.[1] It is impossible to postpone meeting of League Council. You should send as many representatives of yours as possible to enable them to express views of East Bengal.

[S. M. YUSUF]

[1]No. 244.

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M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/11

8 December 1947

His Highness Aga Khan, Marseilles

Your cables [received on] sixteenth[1] and seventeenth[2] November noted. All I can [say] is that money is urgently required. Therefore please remit it.[3]

As to what arrangements you should make and how, it is for you to decide.

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

[1]Aga Khan suggested that he would raise the money either by mortgaging his property in Karachi or through auction of his race horses. See No. 199.

[2]Aga Khan offered to pay half of his donation, i.e. Rs 2.5 lakh before Xmas and the second half later in Junagadh. See No. 272.

[3]Aga Khan intimated that the donation will be deposited with National Bank in the name of Jinnah. See No. 290.

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Ziaul Islam to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/67

19 KUTCHERY ROAD,
KARACHI,
8 December 1947

Dear Sir,

I would be most grateful if you would kindly lay before the Quaid-i-Azam the copy of my book *Sidelights on Muslim Politics* which I am sending you herewith.[1]

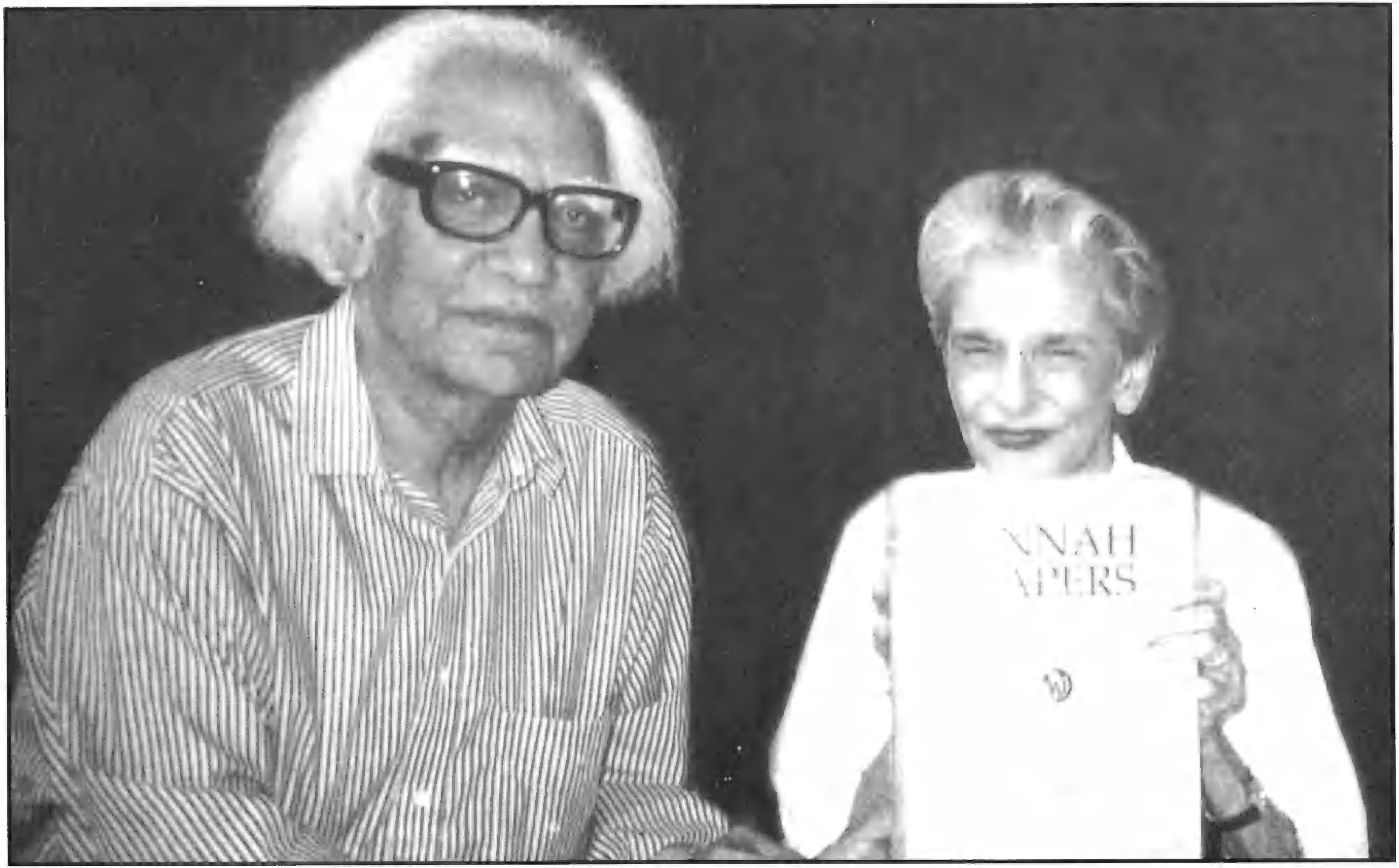
This book was printed at Allahabad and the intention was to publish it from Karachi. While it was under binding, Government seized it and banned it in the U.P.

As the book was dedicated to Quaid-i-Azam, they declared it a seditious publication and issued a warrant for my arrest and trial for sedition. The last article—*The Contrast*—was considered particularly objectionable by the U.P. Government. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Allahabad demanded that action should be taken against the author for dedicating the book to the Quaid-i-Azam and for the article on page 102 of this collection.

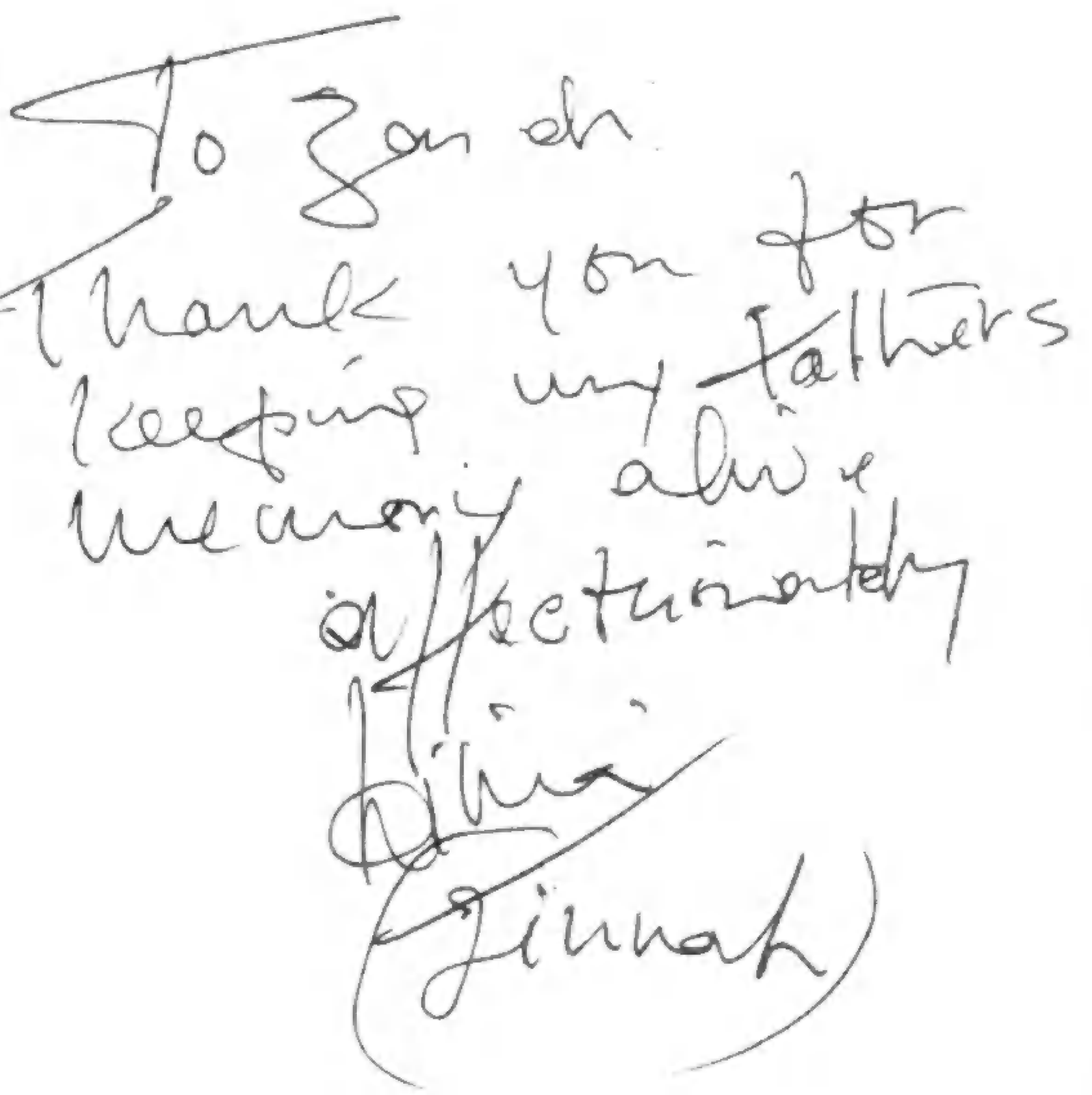
I was an officer in the PCS in the U.P. and had to resign owing to the Government's policy of persecution and victimisation of Muslim officers with a view to reduce [*sic*] their representation to 14%.

Yours faithfully,
ZIAUL ISLAM
former Radio Producer, Delhi/Lucknow

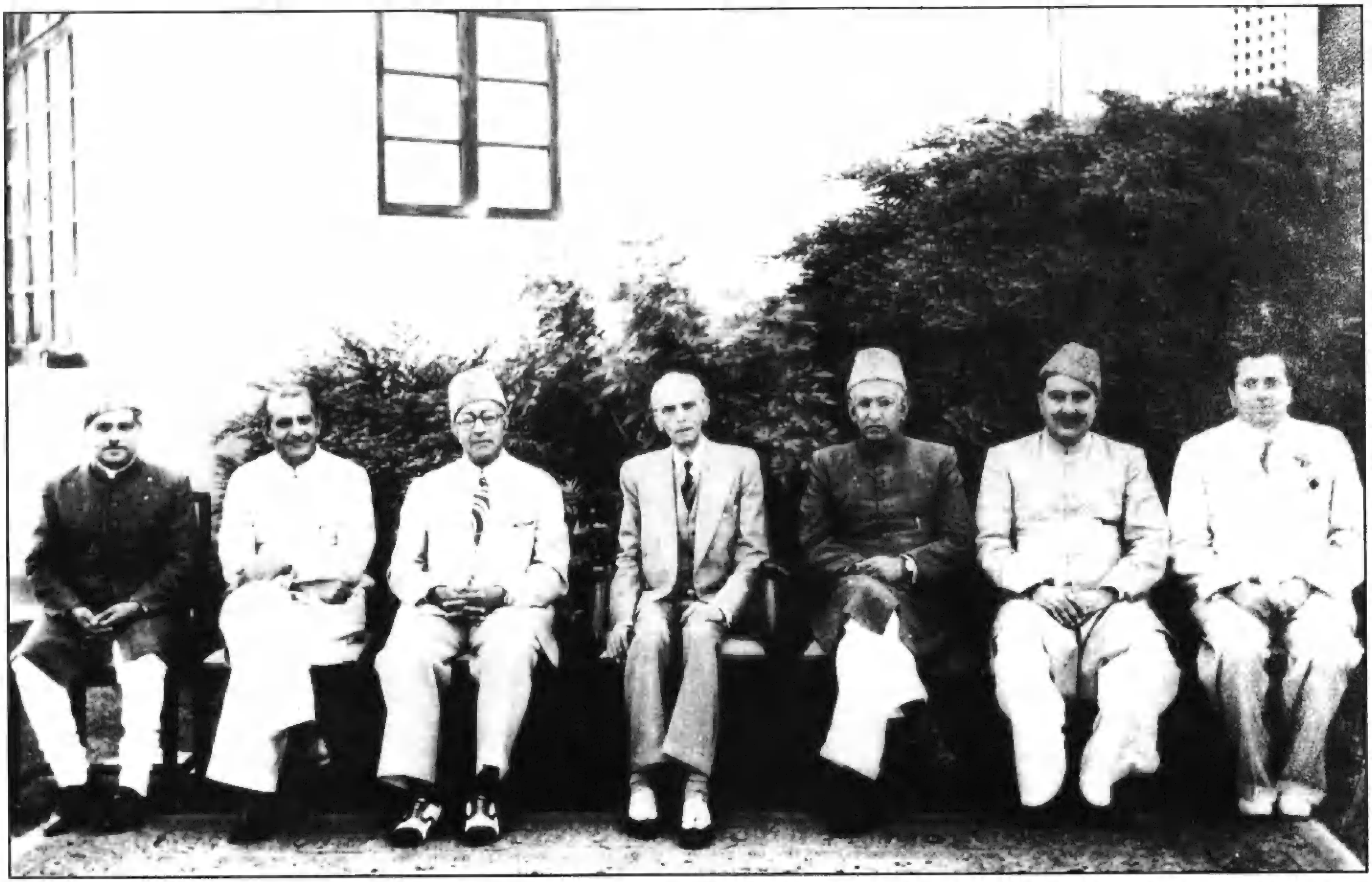
[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/66. Not printed.



Dina Jinnah holding Volume V of the *Jinnah Papers* after its presentation to her by Dr. Zaidi, Editor-in-Chief



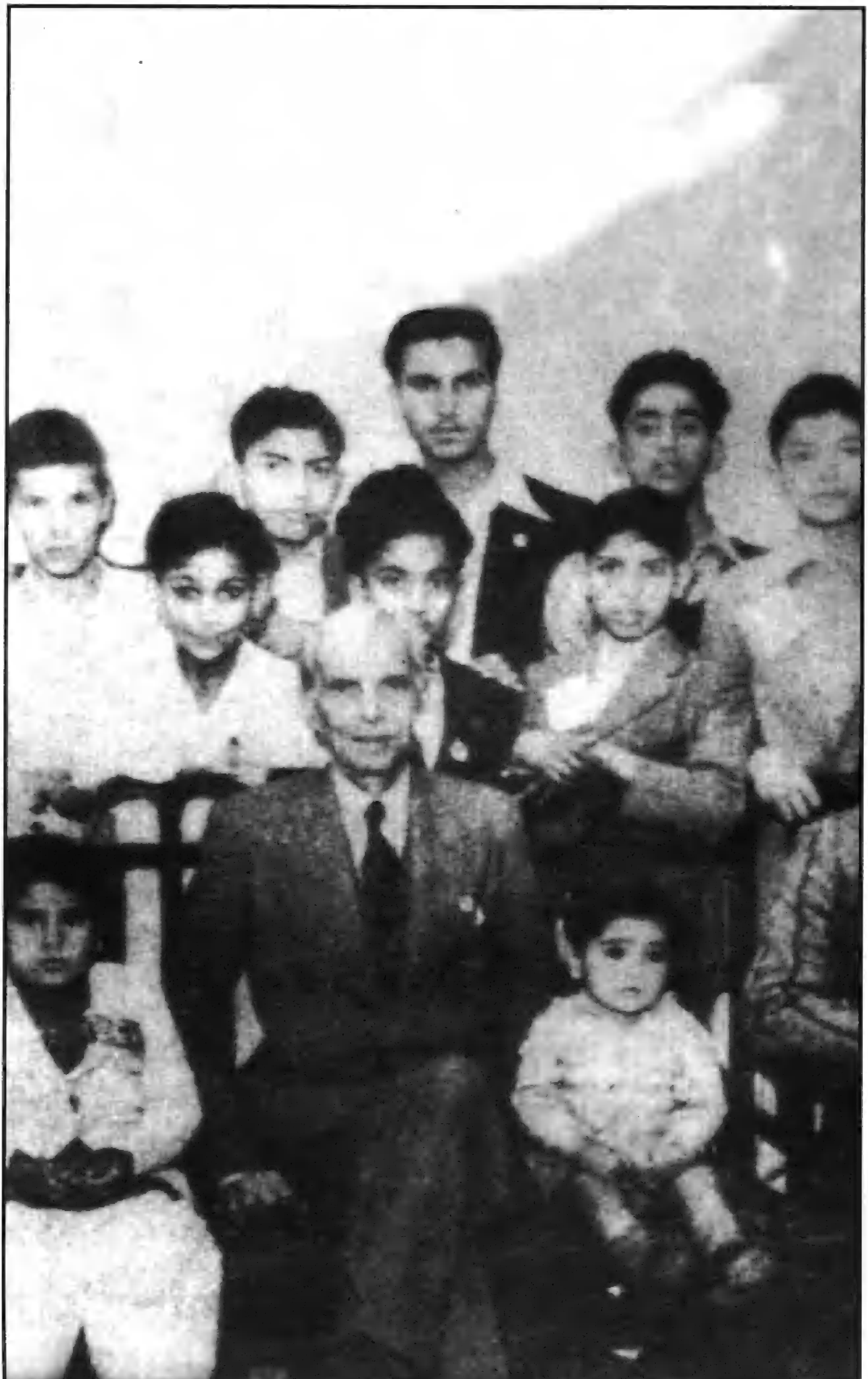
Facsimile of observation made by Dina Jinnah on 9 September 2001
while talking with Dr. Zaidi



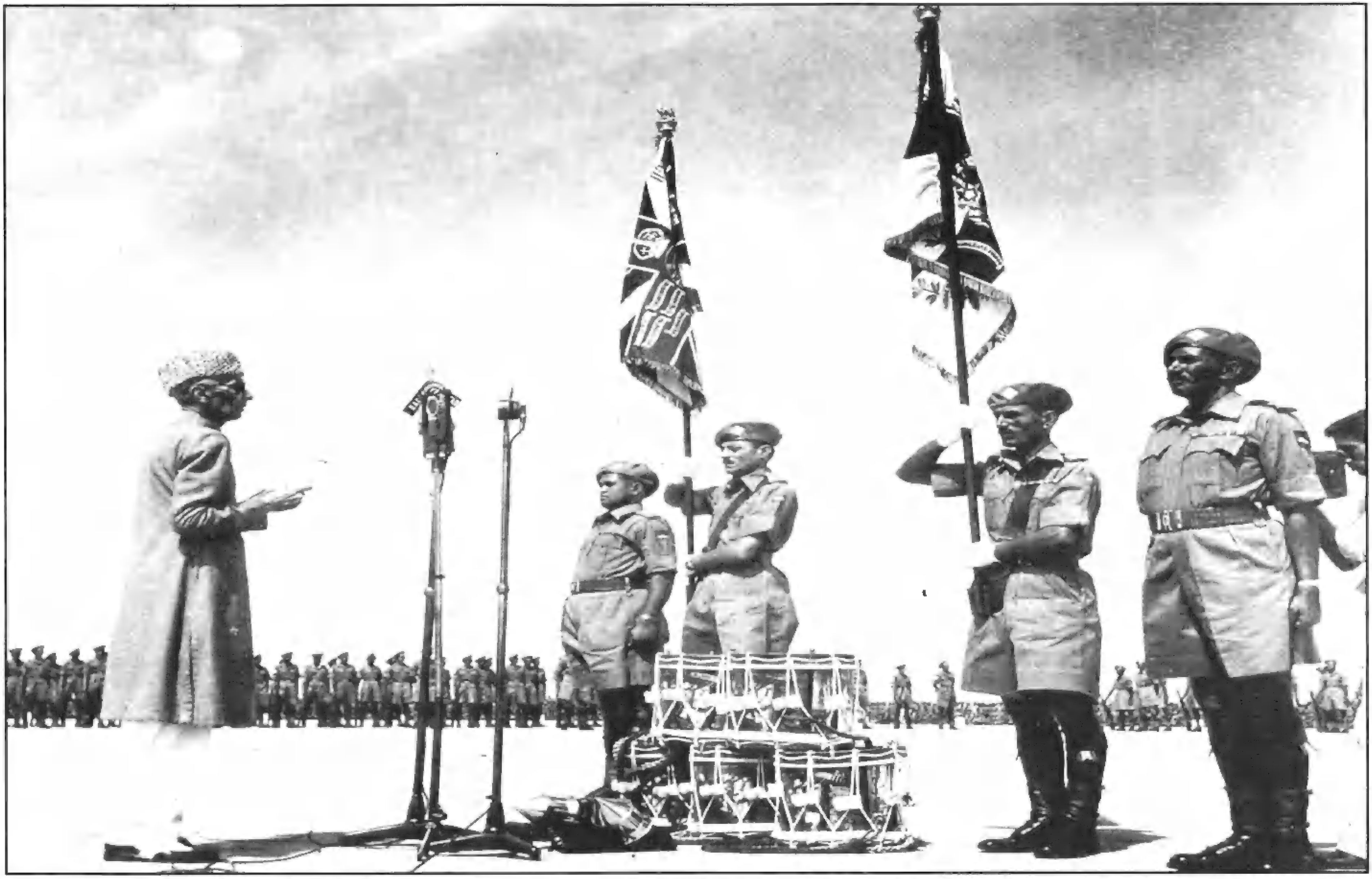
Jinnah with members of the Cabinet

Jinnah reading out his message after being sworn in as Chief Scout of Pakistan at Karachi

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah in a Lahore garden

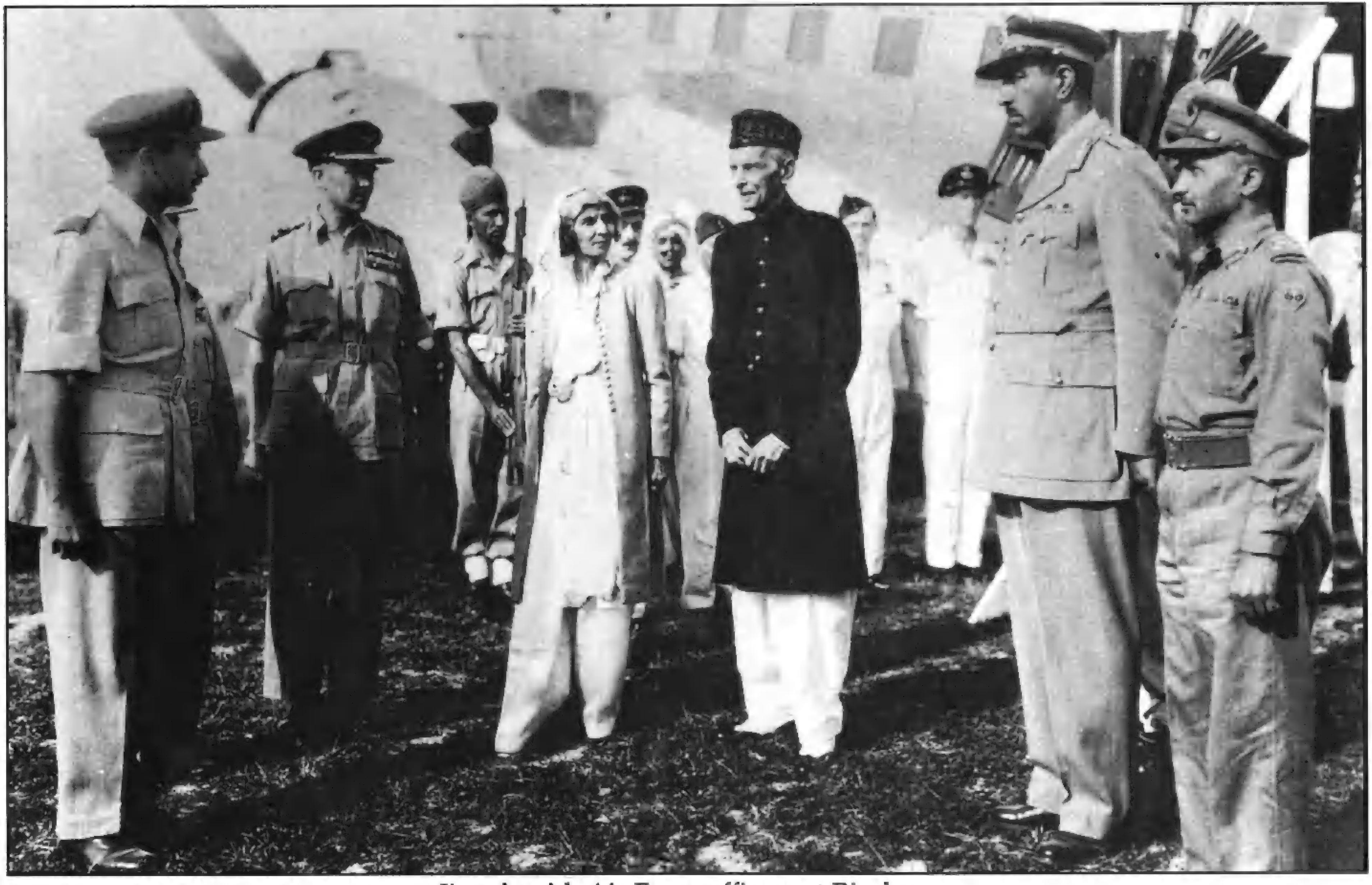


Jinnah with a group of children in Lahore

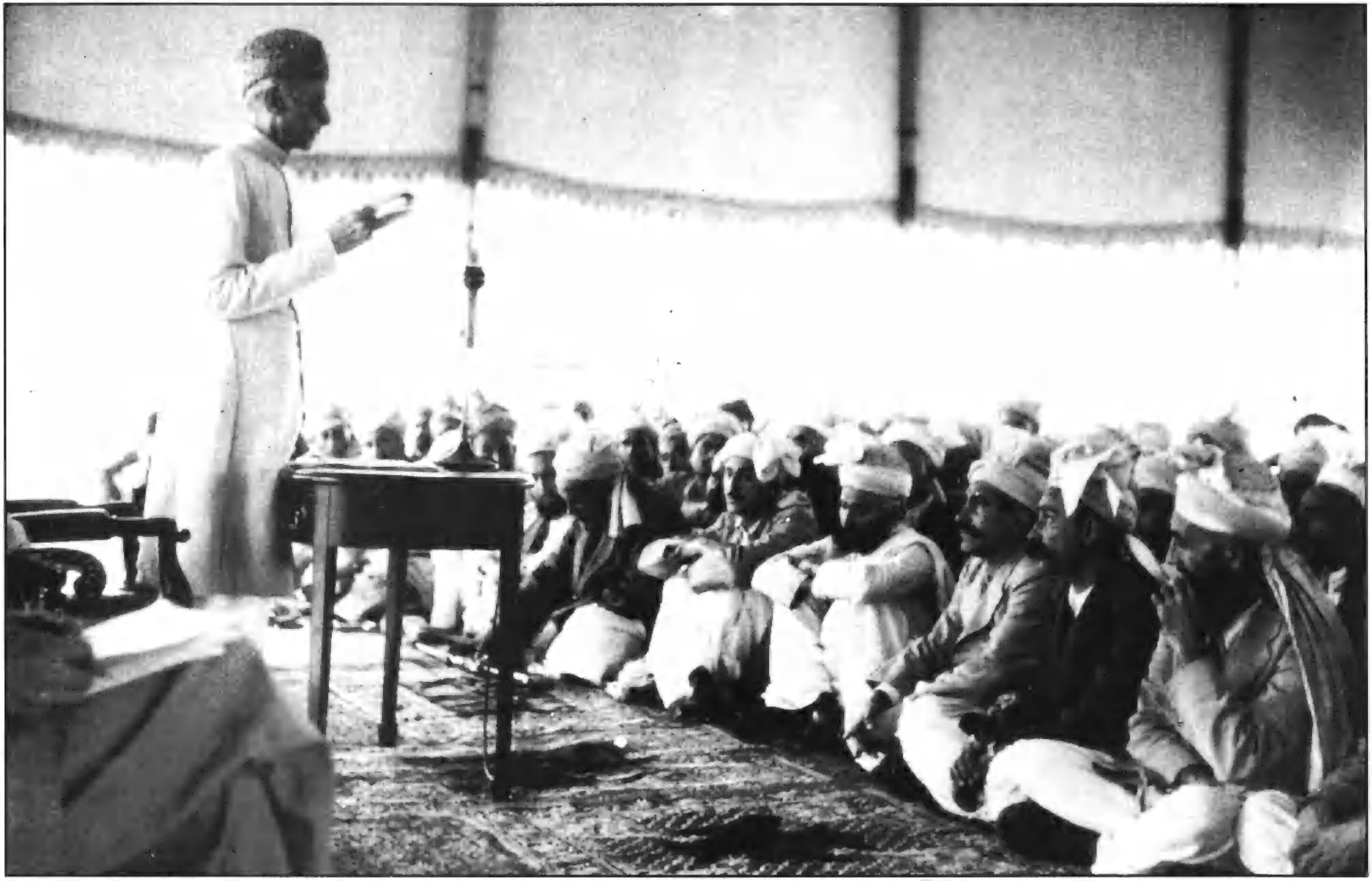


Presentation of Colours by Jinnah to 2/15 Punjab Machinegun Regiment

Jinnah meeting representatives of non-Muslims in D.I. Khan



Jinnah with Air Force officers at Risalpur



Jinnah addressing a tribal Jirga in Peshawar

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, IU. 28/20

CONFIDENTIAL

16 FITZHARDINGE STREET, W.I.
LONDON,
8 December 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

I have delayed sending my first report knowing how very busy you are with the Refugee, Kashmir and Junagadh problems. Ever since my arrival I have engaged myself in seeing everybody here who is of any consequence. The first impression I got was that Members of the Government, taking it for granted that Pakistan would remain in the Commonwealth, played up to the other Dominion—Hindustan. I emphasised on Henderson on several occasions whilst he was Minister for Commonwealth Relations that it was wrong politics to ignore one's friends and take them for granted, particularly in this case, since the decision as to whether we were to remain in the Commonwealth was to be taken later and would be based on whether it was worthwhile to remain in the Commonwealth or not; this has had some effect on their general attitude.

In my talk with Bevin, the Foreign Minister, he concurred with me completely in laying a lot of stress on the importance of the Muslim bloc of countries in the present conflict of ideologies. I reminded him of the great enthusiasm with which these Muslim countries had greeted the birth of Pakistan. I then stated that, in my opinion, if Pakistan was properly developed, she would play a very great role in the preservation of peace because of her strategical and geographical position and because of the great goodwill that she had, particularly from the Muslim belt of countries. I have been seeing him quite often after that and can say that he has become very friendly. He is very powerful in the Cabinet as he is the head of the Trade Unions and having him on our side I think will help us considerably. He had very strongly supported Pakistan's right to be on the Peace Conference for Germany and has, I am glad to say, succeeded in convincing all the others.

When I saw the Prime Minister officially for the first time on the 15th September 1947, it was principally to talk to him about my accommodation difficulties. I had, however, taken that opportunity of emphasising to him the role that the Sikhs had played in the present difficulties and that, in my opinion, the Congress—which had been

bred on lawlessness—had made heroes of the indisciplined I.N.A. personnel— were now finding it difficult, even if they were trying, to control them. I compared the disorders in Delhi and Karachi as handled by the two Governments and showed the great importance we attached to the maintenance of law and order. He agreed with me and went so far as to say that because of the background he rather apprehended trouble for the Congress from themselves. I was very sarcastic about a Government being unable to maintain law and order in its own capital.

When I saw Mr. A. V. Alexander, the Defence Minister, he referred to the reference[1] you had made to the Commonwealth in putting a stop to the Punjab disorders and said that they would have found it very awkward indeed to have interfered unless both the sides had agreed to that procedure. Unfortunately, because of the official orders of the Secretary of the Foreign Ministry to the Commonwealth Relations Office that I was not to be supplied with copies of telegrams exchanged between the two Governments for the time being (as is the usual diplomatic procedure), I had no knowledge whatsoever of your move except what I had been told by the Cabinet Ministers themselves, and therefore I could not do anything in the matter. I might here draw your attention that I consider it highly undesirable that such an order should be left on record and I have to request you to immediately have it rescinded, or an explanation sent to me by your Secretary as to why it was considered necessary. In this connection I might mention that in my personal talks with these Ministers over that particular question I had emphasised that our attitude was most correct as we had taken them at their word when they had said that the Commonwealth was a family of nations and, therefore, it was appropriate that any quarrels in the family should first be referred to the family council. I added that, if anything, it had proved beyond any doubt whatsoever that our conscience was completely free about the disturbances. Incidentally when it was too late for me to do anything effective to help and after the British Government had finally decided, the Minister of State sent me copies of telegrams exchanged.

The Cabinet here is getting appreciably friendly and I was one of the very few who knew some of the changes in the Cabinet the day before they were announced.

I have praised to the members of the Cabinet their statesmanship in having appointed the Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General, which appointment not only delighted our people to a man, but has enabled us to blanket the appointments of so many Englishmen to important posts; it might interest you to know that at several functions which I

have addressed I have been cross-examined about these appointments and have explained that our only desire was to build up Pakistan into one of the greatest States in the world in the shortest possible time and that the only premium was on efficiency, and since these Englishmen were rich in administrative experience and in efficiency, their services had been welcomed. This went down very well with the Englishmen and acted as effective counter-propaganda to the Hindus who had been accusing Pakistan of being a foothold of British Imperialism in the sub-continent of India.

About the economic problems, I have been able, largely because of my business background, to effectively counteract the propaganda that we were an uneconomic [*sic*] state. I have been convincing my audiences that Pakistan offers the greatest possibilities of industrial development and that having the most important raw materials, like wheat, cotton and hessian, we are in a very strong position to-day because of the great shortage of raw materials in the world. I have been Guest of Honour and have spoken at several functions, at City Guilds, The Thirty Club and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, etc., on Pakistan, and have, I am glad to say, succeeded in some degree in getting Pakistan better known. On the whole, I can say that there is a lot of goodwill towards Pakistan and that it will now be easier for us to get industrialists, interested in Pakistan than anybody else. Of course, the unfortunate happenings of the last few months are holding up any immediate action. You will be glad to hear that we have been succeeding in getting earlier deliveries of capital goods than would have been possible, and I have been keeping up pressure at Ministerial level with the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Economic Affairs that it is not enough to say that they have got goodwill for Pakistan, but that it must be translated into action such as diversion of capital goods required by us from other places and ranking us in priority over all others. We have had some immediate results of this pressure in the availability of textile machinery and radio transmitters, etc., which have been diverted from Singapore and I hope we shall be able to do much more. On the whole my impression is that the Hindus and the Hindustan Government are working on a definite plan of trying to panic us into giving up Pakistan. It is also my impression that the disturbances in the Punjab, then in Junagadh and in Kashmir, and the forcing of refugees on to a new administration, in millions, were all calculated to break down our administration. From reports received, I believe that their next intention was to concentrate on East Bengal which is the main source of our foreign exchange. I am not worried about East Bengal at all as the partition that they forced on to it has left

a very strong and 100% pro-Pakistan population in that area. I am afraid they have been short-sighted as the policy that they adopted did one thing, if anything, and that was to make the people of Pakistan much more united and has put up the backs of the rank and file thus helping us.

May I add how glad I am, you have taken up a very firm stand as regards Kashmir, as that has put a brake on their ambitions and has also exposed them to the world. British opinion to-day, and I think world opinion, is very strongly in our favour over Kashmir because of the glaring inconsistencies of the policy of the Hindustan Government in this regard are realised [*sic*]. I have taken every opportunity, right from His Majesty the King, down to every man I talked to of rubbing this in and I hope it has been of some effect.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Prime Minister,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

[1]See No. 225, Vol. V, 226-9.

253

M. Abdul Hamid Qadri Badauni to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/265

OLD JAIL ROAD,
NEAR ADAM MASJID,
KARACHI,
8 December 1947

Reverened Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have reached Karachi ten days before the notified date of the meeting of the All India Muslim League with the sole object of voicing the present feelings and desires of the Muslims of U.P., Delhi, Rajputana and other parts of Indian Dominion,[1] where as you are no doubt aware that the Muslims are overwhelmed with untold misery.

But still it is their grim desire to keep the Muslim League alive and with that end in view it is their hope that in Pakistan you will not deny them your inspired guidance.

I had intended personally to submit to you the various problems facing Indian Muslims at this critical juncture but in case it is not possible for me to draw on your precious time for reasons of your health, my request to you is that you will kindly favour me with your guidance on the resolutions[2] of which I have given notice for the next meeting of the All India Muslim League Council and copies whereof I beg to enclose herewith for ready reference.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ABDUL HAMID QADRI

[1]Annex.
[2]Enclosure.

Annex to No. 253

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/265

BIG QUESTION BEFORE INDIAN MUSLIMS[1]

To Wind up League or Continue

By

Yusuf Afghan

The Council of the All India Muslim League will soon be meeting in Karachi. In the meanwhile, speculation is rife in the press.

LIQUIDATION OF THE LEAGUE

The All India Muslim League is to be wound up, says an A.P.I. report with a Lahore dateline. Agra Muslim League has been dissolved; Muzaffarnagar District Muslim League has been liquidated. The destiny of Indian Muslims hangs in the balance, so we are told. Pandit Pant will not be placated; Patel refuses to be pacified. The heroes of Delhi carnage will not be satisfied unless the Muslims go to them on their bent knees and repudiate the two-nation theory.

Commenting on the liquidation of the Agra City Muslim League, a certain rabidly communalist daily of Calcutta sermonised:

> The Agra City Muslim League Council has been dissolved. The line of argument that the Council has chosen is this. The Indian Constituent Assembly has abolished separate electorates and the Muslim League has accepted the decision. In the absence of separate electorates a communal organisation like the Muslim League can serve no useful purpose. It is not enough to dissolve the Muslim League. If the Leaguers, including those who are now breaking away from the League, want to avoid political extinction and to serve their country truly and well, they must openly

repudiate all that they had preached to their followers for so many years. Instead of hatred which they had preached so long, they must preach love.

A couple of days earlier, the same newspaper had the following piece of advice to tender to Muslims:

Now that foreign rule has been eliminated, the Congress will have the opportunity of devoting its time and energy to the re-organisation of the country's socio-economic structure. If the Muslim Leaguers have at their heart the real interests of the Muslim masses, the large majority of whom are poor and illiterate, they should unhesitatingly liquidate the League and join the Congress where they will have ample opportunity of serving their brothers-in-faith. Those who still talk of "Muslim solidarity" and have neither the courage nor the honesty of repudiating the two-nation theory, are camouflaged saboteurs not only of Muslim interests but of the interests of the country as a whole. Our countrymen generally and our Muslim countrymen in particular should beware of them.

My only excuse—and apology—for quoting at length is to indicate into which channels of thought the Hindu mind keeps running.

We are told it is not enough to liquidate the Muslim League. The Muslims should go through a term of penance for their "Partition" by joining the Congress and denouncing the two-nation theory. Nobody so far has taken the trouble to explain what benefits will accrue from the repudiation of the two-nation theory by the Muslims, except that of pandering to the ruffled vanity of the Congress. But that is not the interesting part of the affair.

The really interesting part lies in the fact that no Congress leader has thought it necessary to ask the "Vir" V. D. Savarkar to renounce the two-nation theory, and, yet the fact remains that "Vir" Savarkar has had a brilliant career as the loudest propagandist of the two-nation theory. Why should not "Vir" Savarkar and his followers be subjected to the same acid-test of patriotism which is prescribed for the Muslims.

Or, are we to take it for granted that the Congress cannot stomach the two-nation theory only when it is espoused by the Muslims and has absolutely no quarrel with it when it is upheld by the Hindus? Then, why fool the masses by telling them that India is going to be a "secular" state? and, why should the masses allow themselves to be fooled so blatantly and in such broad day-light?

The Congress will lay itself open to the charge of undisguised or rather, ill-disguised communalism if it chooses to stiffen its attitude when dealing with the Muslim Leaguers or prefers to soften its alleged dislike of communalist organizations when confronted with the Maha Sabha spectre.

[*3 paras omitted*]

The Council of the All India Muslim League, which is scheduled to meet in Karachi in this month is, no doubt, fully aware of the gravity of the situation which they are called upon to tackle.

It is as clear as the writing on the wall that the Muslim League cannot function both in India and Pakistan. Its continuation as spokesmen of Muslim opinion in both the Dominions will result in a number of paradoxical complications in future. As it is, the Muslim loyalty is a suspect in India. The Muslims are being systematically harassed and victimized in the Indian Union for the support they lent to the demand for Pakistan. Although the Mountbatten Plan never contemplated the transfer of population, and although the A. I. C. C. has expressed itself unmistakably against the migration of Muslims to Pakistan, it is an everyday experience of Muslims to be told to go to Pakistan which is supposed to be the land of their creation. They are made victims of a deliberate policy of harassment born of intolerance. At the same time, it is evident that these terror tactics will last only for the period of transition.

What the Indian Muslims need at this critical juncture is an effective organization to safeguard their rights; political, religious and economic. The Congress has proved to the hilt that it is not powerful enough to offer needful security to Muslim life, property and culture. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's is a lone voice in the wilderness of Hindu communalism; Mahatma Gandhi does not seem to have any energy left for anything more profitable than the agitation for decontrol of essential commodities; and, the "Iron Man" has made up his mind about what he wants to do. The Muslims in India will have to take into account all these factors before deciding whether or not to wind up their organization in this country. As for Pakistan, it has already been reported that plans are underway to set up Pakistan National League which will be open to all castes, communities and sections.

Under these circumstances there is nothing to prevent the retention of the Muslim League in India.

[1]The *Deccan Times*, 7 December 1947.

Enclosure to No. 253

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/266-8

RESOLUTION I

The All India Muslim League, since long, has been supporting the legitimate demands of the Palestine Arabs. It is of the considered opinion that if the Holy Land of Palestine which bears a mark of

religious and spiritual significance for the whole of Islamic World, and to which ancient historic traditions of the Musalmans are deeply associated, is converted into a Jewish Native Land by putting aside the legitimate demands of the Arabs, then it amounts to an insult to the unanimous sentiments of the Islamic World. This meeting of the All India Muslim League Council strongly deprecates and records its heartfelt resentment on the proposal of the division of Palestine, and further expresses its total disapproval of the unjust decision taken by the U.N.O. This meeting assures the Arab League that the eight million Musalmans of India and Pakistan under the orders of their beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor General of Pakistan, are ready to make every sacrifice in defence of Palestine.

This meeting emphatically appeals to all the Muslim countries of the world to strengthen the hands of the Arab League in order to make its colossal struggle a grand success.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting of the All India Muslim League Council expresses its due sense of sympathies [*sic*] to the Muslims of Delhi, U.P., Rajputana, Punjab, etc. who have been the victims of actrocities prepetrated in their areas. The organised activities that have been perpetrated to crush and annihilate Muslims are unprecedented in the annals of history. In a historical city like Delhi which is the capital of Indian Government, lawlessness has been prevailing and Indian Government have deliberately been overlooking the complete destruction of the Muslims as a result of which Muslims have suffered 1000 of crores of rupees [*sic*] and thousands of lives. Similarly Muslims have been crushed and annihiliated in the United Provinces, Rajputana and many other places. Idols have been placed in the mosques and searches and arrests of Muslims have been brought out [*sic*] and encouragement had been given to the rioters and even now these atrocities are continuing. All this has been done because the sufferers are Muslims and they have rendered valuable services in erecting the glorious edifice of Pakistan. It was the duty of the Indian Government to do justice to the Muslims and thus to win their hearts. Instead they are being threatened even now and this is why the Muslims all over India are being forced to migrate. This meeting of Council emphatically draws the attention of the Indian Government to change their present attitude towards our community so that the Muslims of India may, as free loyal citizens of the country, take adequate part in the economic and political struggle of India. This meeting of council assures the Muslims of India that the All India Muslim League can in no way forget them

and that it will do its utmost to protect their religious, national, linguistic and cultural rights. This meeting of the Council of the Indian Muslim League advises the Muslims of India to pass the present critical period with patience and preseverence and to strengthen to the utmost the organization of the Muslim League. They should as free and loyal citizen of India take part in the constructive national stuggle in accordance with the revised programme of the Muslim League. All India Muslim League will, in the near future, be nominating such persons in every province who, in consultaion with the officers of the India Provincial Government, will be able to settle all their affairs. This meeting of the Council advises the Muslims of India not to persue the policy of migration.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting of the All India Muslim League Council expresses its condemnation on the policy of the U.P. Government in deciding to discontinue, in spite of criticism from Gandhiji, the historical language of Urdu, which used to be mother tongue of both Hindus and Muslims as *lingua franca* and substituting it by a language which besides the common people the official staff can also neither understand nor write. This meeting expresses its satisfaction on the statement of Gandhiji which he has published for the continuance of Urdu and emphatically appeals to the U.P. Government to continue Urdu which is the common language of both Hindus and Muslims and not to spoil the atmosphere of the Province by ill-treating this old language.

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J. D. Shuja to S. M. Yusuf

F. 155-GG/68

127 INTELLIGENCE SCHOOL,
NEW QUEEN'S ROAD,
KARACHI,
9 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I have pleasure in enclosing a copy of the minutes of the All-Pakistan Scouts Conference held in Karachi on December the 1st, 1947, together with Parts I&II of the P.O.R., the Association's Constitution.[1] I should be most grateful if you would place these papers before the Quaid-i-Azam for his perusal.

Under Resolution 6, it was agreed unanimously that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah be requested to honour the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association by becoming its Chief Scout.[2] Would you be good enough to convey this request of the Headquarters Council to His Excellency or would it be preferable that a letter were addressed to him direct? If the Quaid-i-Azam agrees to become our Chief Scout,[3] would it be possible for me to see him to present him with the Scout Badge and to obtain his signature on the Charter of the Association.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
J. D. SHUJA
General Secretary,
Pakistan Boy Scouts Association

[1]F. 155-GG/69-86. Not printed.
[2]S.M. Yusuf intimated Jinnah's approval to J.D. Shuja. See F. 155-GG/87. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah took oath as Chief Scout on 22 December 1947. See F. 155-GG/93-4, ibid.

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M. O. Kokil to Liaquat Ali Khan

AFM, 295/13

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY 3,
9 December 1947

Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith[1] please [find] a resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Bombay City Muslim League at its meeting held on the 8th instant. I am forwarding the same to you to place the resolution before the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and to take necessary action in the matter.

Yours faithfully,
M. O. KOKIL
President,
Bombay City Muslim League

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 255

AFM, 295/14

RESOLUTION OF BOMBAY CITY MUSLIM LEAGUE

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD
BOMBAY 3,
9 December 1947

RESOLUTION

The Committee of the Bombay City Muslim League request the Council of the All India Muslim League not to take any decision regarding the future constitution, policy and programme of the Muslim League of Indian Union.

The Committee further invites all the Provincial League representatives to come to Bombay and decide the future policy and programme of the Muslim League in the Indian Union.

The Committee appoints Mr. M. O. Kokil and two others selected by him to place this case before the All India Muslim League Council.

M. O. KOKIL

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D. H. Daruvala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/416

MERCANTILE CHAMBERS,
MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 December 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

As desired by Miss Jinnah on phone about 4 days back that you would like to know if there are some good properties for investment up to 10 to 15 lakh of rupees [*sic*]. So far R. B. Shivrattan has not sold his Chartered Bank property (Mohatta Building on McLeod Road). If you are interested in this property it will be possible to close it for about 10-1/2 lakh[s] to 11 lakh[s] of rupees. The total rent realised is about Rs. 7737 per month and the area of the plot is about 4455 sq. yds.

There is also another property newly built with ground and two upper floors on Victoria Road (shop locality) used as shops and residence.

This property consists of three buildings on plot Nos. 284, 285A and 285B, Karachi Estate Board, opposite Ilaco Building. The area is about 2,800 sq. yds. and the rent realised is about Rs. 5,300 per month. The property belongs to R.S. Kallumal and he wants about 8-1/2 lakhs of rupees.

If you are interested in any one of the above properties, you send me a word and I will come and see you personally.

Yours sincerely,
D. H. DARUVALA
B. E. (Civil)., M.I.E. (Ind.)
Chartered Engineer

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Josh Maleehabadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/9
[Original in Urdu]

JACOB CIRCLE,
BOMBAY,
10 December 1947

My esteemed Sir,

How surprising that a man like you should fail to respond to a letter![1]

I wish you thought it over.

Humbly yours,
JOSH

[1]F. Amin informed him that Jinnah had noted the contents of his two letters. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/10. Not printed.

258

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Amb

F. 7-GG/21

10 December 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 1st of December[1] and I am glad to inform you that I am quite all right now. I am sorry that you

were not well, and thus we missed meeting at Lahore. I do hope that you have fully recovered.

About your telegram, now-a-days you know they do not reach, or they reach after days. My programme now is to stay at Karachi, and I am not likely to come to Lahore in the near future. If you can come to Karachi, I shall be very pleased indeed to meet you, and perhaps you would do me the honour of staying with me as my guest.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Nawab of Amb State,
Shergarh, Hazara District, N.W.F.P.

[1]No. 234.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani[1]

KARACHI,
11 December 1947

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letters dated November 20,[2] 27[3] & 30[4] and I thank you for them.

With regard to your letter dated November 20, I entirely agree with you in what you have said, and I hope that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan will clarify matters for you and let you know as to how you should act in future.

As regards your letter dated the 27th, I know how reluctant we were to force you to go to Havana. I was against it, and my view is that you must stick to your Mission in Washington strictly and perform your duties as an Ambassador, and not be diverted from your activities. But, unfortunately, Chundrigar was laid up and could not go and we thought that your presence there would give the necessary status and position to our Delegation.

Zafrullah is back and I had long talks with him. Yes, he has done well.

As regards other matters mentioned in your letter, they will receive my consideration. Many thanks for your kind enquiries about my health, and I am glad to inform you that I am quite all right now.

As regards your letter of the 30th of November, I thank you for sending me two boxes of cigars from Havana. It was very kind of you

to think of me and especially to send me cigars which are not now-a-days easy to get. I appreciate your kind thought very much.

With kind regards,

[*Last para omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence,* 562-3.
[2&3]Nos. 204 and 215.
[4]Not traceable.

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Mahmud Brelvi to Farrukh Amin

F. 25 (2)(Vol. I)-GG/94

C/O A. R. SHAIKH,
IMPORT DEPARTMENT,
CUSTOM HOUSE,
KARACHI,
11 December 1947

Dear Faruq [Farrukh] Amin Sahib,

I am an author-journalist, and am credited to have been consistently loyal to the creed and programme of the Muslim League. I have been a great admirer—almost a devotee—of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

I am an ex-Professor of the Doon College, Dehra Dun, an ex-Editor of the O.P.I. for U.P. at Lucknow, and, very recently was the Commerce Editor of *The Star,* Muslim League organ of Bombay.

During the past few months, I have taken great pains in compiling a political history of our new State with the name of *Pakistan-Muslim India Rejuvenated,* with a view to present it to our Quaid-i-Azam. As a literary man has no better offering to make to his Quaid-i-Azam, I am keen to obtain an opportunity to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam, for the sake of this presentation.

Will you, therefore, be so good as to help me in procuring for me the honour of paying my homage to our revered leader, for a few minutes? Any time and date that suits the Quaid-i-Azam will suit me too.[1] I am prepared to call on your goodself, together with the manuscript in question, prior to my acquiring the requested interview with Quaid-i-Azam, if I am intimated by you to that effect.

Hoping to hear at your earliest convenience. I have the honour and privilege to sign myself as,

Yours fraternally,
MAHMUD BRELVI

[1]F. Amin regretted that no interview could be arranged due to Jinnah's ill health but suggested that he might see his PS. See F. 25 (2) (Vol. I)-GG/95. Not printed.

261

Muhibbur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/103-6

MOST URGENT

SYLHET,
11 December 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am sending a copy of the memorandum[1] submitted under signatures of leaders, professors, educationists, lawyers, and journalists of Sylhet to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, East Bengal, for making Urdu the State language and medium of higher education in East Pakistan, for favour of your kind information. The memorandum has been prepared and submitted at the initiative of the Planning Committee of the S.D.M.S.F. [Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation]. Further, I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolutions[2] passed by the Executive Committee of the Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation regarding prevalence of rampant corruption in the East Bengal administration, and certain other burning problems confronting Muslims of East Pakistan.

In this connection I beg to draw your kind attention to the following problems facing East Pakistan, upon whose proper tackling and solutions the welfare of East Pakistan—nay—its very existence and future depends. I am mentioning the problems in order of preference with short comments on each:

CORRUPTION & INCOMPETENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION

Your goodself may be surprised to learn that corruption reigns supreme in East Bengal almost in all the departments of the administration. Due to patronage and encouragement direct and indirect, by some of the Ministers of the Cabinet, jobbery, corruption and nepotism have become order of the day in East Bengal. Whenever any honest officer wants to raise his voice against corruption, etc., he finds himself arrayed against

his superiors and even Minister of the department. For your kind information I am citing only two instances in this respect from the Civil Supplies Department.

i. Syed Mohammad Maqsood, who had been Deputy Director, Procurement, Surma Valley, under the last Government of Assam and was instrumental in winding up the notorious Rice Syndicate of Surma Valley, the then procuring agency of the Assam Government, which had cheated peoples of Surma Valley and Assam Government to the extent of seventy lakhs of rupees, was posted as Deputy Regional Controller, Procurement, Sylhet, by the Regional Controller, Sylhet and Mymensingh of the East Bengal Government, after amalgamation of Sylhet with East Bengal. Barely Mr. Maqsood could settle down in his new post [when] he was reverted, under the direction of the Minister, Civil Supplies, for his failure to carry out the wishes of the Hon'ble Minister concerning certain matters of a relation of the Minister. It may not be out of place to mention that Mr. Maqsood is one of the most honest and capable officers of the District of Sylhet.
ii. Sometime past a shopkeeper of Sylhet Town was caught red-handed while black-marketing by the town rationing staff and they prosecuted him. The case is still *subjudice*. The person concerned went to Dacca and approached Mr. Nurul Amin, Minister, Civil Supplies, who, without even asking for a report from the District Controller on the matter, rebuked the rationing staff in a most uncharitable and indecent language for instituting [a] suit against the black marketeer. I have enclosed a true copy of the remarks of Mr. Nurul Amin for your kind perusal.[3]

Regarding distribution of contracts and the other kinds of patronage to relations and partisans in the departments of Mr. Hamidul Haque Choudhury, the less said the better. The Ministry is wasting huge amount of money in unnecessary paraphernalia, top-heavy administration and superfluous staff in the Civil Supplies Department. Above all, it has saddled East Bengal with 15 Parliamentary Secretaries—which to my mind has hardly any parallel in any other province either in Pakistan or Hindustan.

The administration is not only corrupt but thoroughly incompetent. Your noble self may be shocked to learn that if to-day Assam and the Tipperah State were to lead an expedition against East Bengal, they would overrun the whole of Eastern Pakistan as no arrangement has yet been made by the East Bengal Government to guard the frontiers of the State.

2. PROVINCIALISM

Your august self may be pained to learn that the whole atmosphere of East Bengal is now surcharged with provincialism and bias against non-Bengali Urdu-speaking people and Urdu language. *Azad,* the daily paper of Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan, the daily *Ittehad,* Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Mr. Nurul Amin and Dacca Station of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service and certain high Bengali officials have taken a lead in this nefarious task. Believe me, revered Quaid-i-Azam, when I say that these people, being blind [*sic*] by their personal and commercial ends, have become tools in the hands of Communists and protagonists of united Bengal and are bound to bring wrath of *Allah* and the holy Prophet upon themselves and Musalmans of East Pakistan, unless their activities are checked here and now.

3. SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES ON THE PART OF COMMUNISTS AND ENEMIES OF PAKISTAN

The Communists have been carrying on systematic propaganda and activities to create dissatisfaction among different classes of people in East Bengal by creating agrarian troubles all over East Bengal, specially in the District of Sylhet. They have been trying to set Muslim tenants against Muslim zamindars everywhere but nowhere they have done anything to disturb Hindu zamindars. These people are also inciting Muslim public to revolt in case Urdu is made State language in East Pakistan.

The letter has already been [*sic*] long so I have cut it short leaving various other important matters. How I wish I could personally pay you a visit and acquaint you with prevalent state of affairs here, but poor as I am, it is not possible for me to arrange money to come to Karachi.

Father of Indian Muslims, I appeal to you in all earnestness and sincerity to make [*sic*] time by all means to pay an immediate visit to East Bengal, if this poor Province is to be saved. In this connection I can assure you, most beloved Quaid-i-Azam, that the people of East Pakistan and specially its youth are ever ready to purge their society and State of all the evil elements at any moment at your bidding. They are most anxiously looking forward to you for direction and guidance.

Before I conclude I would most earnestly crave your kind indulgence to forgive me for encroaching upon your valuable time with this humble note of mine.

I may be allowed to add that I have addressed this letter in all good faith and sincerity for the welfare of the State in my own humble light.

May the Almighty *Allah* grant you long long years to complete your noble mission in life.

With respectful *taslimaat,*

Yours ever at command,
MUHIBBUR RAHMAN
B.A.
Chairman, Planning & Anti-Corruption
Special Committee,
Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation

[1,2&3]Enclosures 1 to 3.

Enclosure 1 to No. 261

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/108-9

MEMORANDUM FOR MAKING URDU THE *LINGUA FRANCA* OF EAST PAKISTAN

[SYLHET
Undated 1947]

Hon'ble Prime Minister of East Bengal

Sir,

A vigorous propaganda offensive is being launched against Urdu through Press and Platform in East Bengal and a group of people styling themselves as great literatures [*sic*], artists and scholars are out to denounce the language as anti-national and foreign with the preposterous presumption that people of East Bengal themselves constitute a nation. People with a limited vision and circumscribed outlook, masquerading under the garb of territorial patriotism have raised a hue and cry to make Bengali the State language of Eastern Pakistan, and pretend to voice public opinion in their self-appointed protagonism of Bengali—a language which falls far below the standard of becoming a national language of a Muslim State. Such brazen-faced denunciation of Urdu, the glorious heritage of Muslim culture, is not only disintegrating, but also retrograde, regressive, reprehensible and what is more, a challenge to Islamic universal brotherhood.

It would have been quite understandable had the move been for making Bengali the medium of instruction up to a certain stage of education leaving Urdu as the State language to occupy the place of English. But the protagonists of Bengali want to drive away Urdu from East Bengal and this, in our considered opinion, is nothing but a

cultural suicide for the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan. While we advocate the cause of Urdu as the State language and medium of instruction for higher education, we do not deny Bengali the place it should occupy in East Pakistan. We are of firm opinion that the medium of instruction up to the secondary stage of education must be Bengali and that English as at present stands—must be replaced by Urdu.

In support of our contention for making Urdu the State lauguage of the Eastern Pakistan we beg to advance the following grounds:

A GREAT RENASCENT FORCE

The importance of Urdu as a great inspiring force in rebuilding the Muslim nationhood can hardly be overemphasised. The recent Muslim renaissance drew its inspiration from the national literature of Sir Syed, Hali, Dr. Iqbal and other great builders of the Muslim nation. If we disown Urdu as anti-national we stand traitors to ourselves and disown our own [*sic*]. This disintegrating tendency will shatter the very foundation of our Muslim nationhood, and destroy our separate entity. Urdu is still the inspiring force which can unite the hundred million Muslims of this vast sub-continent and make them sink or swim together. If we revert to Bengali—which gets its inspiration mainly from the *Ramayana,* the *Mahabharata,* the *Upanishadas,* the *Vedas,* and other Sanskrit literature,—neglecting Urdu which derives its inspiration from the holy *Qur'an* and other Islamic literature—we disown our very nationhood.

The very conception of Pakistan is based on the Muslims of India being a separate nation—with its distinct culture, history, tradition and outlook of life and on life. Urdu as the national language of the Muslims—with its very rich literature on both Islamic and modern scientific subjects—would be best suited to become the State language for Pakistan—both West and East.

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT

The advocates of Bengali pretend to represent public opinion in East Bengal, and with their advantage of press, platform and broadcasting, try to convince the world that the people are with them. Nothing can be farther from truth. The Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation, the Bengal Provincial Jami'at-i-Ulama-i-Islam conference at Sarshina, the *Jugaveri,* the mouthpiece of 20 lakhs of Sylhet Muslims, the *Assam Herald,* the only Muslim weekly of East Bengal, are strongly in favour of Urdu and have already placed their demand for making Urdu the State language of Eastern Pakistan. Great Muslim educationist like Dr. Ziauddin and others have already supported the claim of Urdu and Janab Fazlur Rahman, Minister in the Central Government of

Pakistan, has expressed in unmistakable terms his zeal for Urdu as the State language of Eastern Pakistan. During the last Urdu-Hindi controvesy over the *lingua franca* of India, Urdu had the unanimous support of the whole of Muslim India. The anti-Urdu malancholla [*sic*] is recent innovation and a product of provincial exclusiveness.

LINK WITH THE CENTRE

The very idea of having one language as the State language of the Centre and another as that of Eastern Pakistan is the very negation of our united nationhood, and is a disintegrating factor which brings in its train all the discarded evils of narrow provincialism—if East Bengal adopts Bengali, Sindhis the Sindhi, Punjabis the Punjabi, we lose the very unifying force that can rally us under one banner as members of the same nation. We shall have to live as foreigners in Pakistan without understanding each other. East Bengalis will need translators to understand the viewpoint of the Centre or that of Western Pakistan, as we shall go on forgetting and unlearning Urdu. Thus we lose the golden link that can make us think as members of the same nation. We shall cease to think in terms of being Pakistanis, but in terms of Bengalis, Sindhis and Punjabis.

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

Those who make a boisterous claim as Bengali being the language of eight crores of people, conveniently forget that these eight crores are not inhabitants of Pakistan, and the question is about the State language of Pakistan. Across the borders of Calcutta, Bengali is seldom spoken and rarely understood. But there is not a single soul in Eastern Pakistan who will not roughly understand Urdu or cannot speak broken Urdu. Urdu is not only spoken and understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan, but throughout the whole Muslim world. While the Muslim world is fast moving towards unification, we cannot have a regressive step towards isolationism.

A MARTIAL LANGUAGE

To sing eulogies in praise of Bengali as the language of Rabindranath and Nazrul, may be a convenient task of provincial patriotism, but as the language of a virile martial people, Bengali falls far below the standard. Bengali fits well as the language of a bashful bride when she speaks in her half-articulate tone. Bengali has a feminine ring, a marshal cannot order his forces in Bengali. Urdu in contrast is a martial language and possesses a masculine character.

FACILITIES OF LEARNING

Every Muslim child has to undergo a compulsory course of religious

training and generally mosques are the training centres. They learn Arabic alphabets and read the first course of Urdu. If they read a few more books, they will be able to read and write Urdu. Thus making Urdu as the State language of East Bengal will bring no unnecessary strain upon the East Bengal people.

Due to the efforts of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu and patriotism of the Nizam's Government, Urdu has become the richest of all the Indian languages. Urdu is the only Indian language in which text-books on subjects like Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Botany, Biology, Zoology, Geography, History, Economics, Medicine, Engineering, etc., are available. The Osmania University of Hyderabad teaches all these subjects through the medium of Urdu and confers degrees up to the highest [level].

Now, therefore, if Urdu is made the State language and the medium of higher education, we can very easily utilize the existing literature of the Osmania University for our State colleges and universities.

MUDABBIR HUSSAIN
MLA
AND 33 OTHERS

Enclosure 2 to No. 261

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/110-1

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYLHET DISTRICT MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

SYLHET,
9/10 November 1947

An emergent meeting of the Sylhet District Muslim Students Federation [SDMSF] Executive Committee was held on the 9th and 10th Nov. 47, at Sylhet under the presidency of N.A. Fazlur Rahman, President, S.D.M.S.F. Members from the different parts of the district attended the meeting. Quazi Muhibbur Rahman and Dewan Talebur Raza, M.A., L.L.B., being specially invited, also attended the meeting.

Various matters were discussed in the meeting and the following resolutions were passed unanimously.

The S.D.M.S.F. reviewed very carefully the activities of the Communists-sponsored Democratic Youth League of the Eastern Pakistan and has come to the conclusion that the promoters and organisers of the said Youth League are being patronised, financed and guided by the Communists, Radical Democratic Party and Mr. Abul Hashem, etc., who had always been opposed to the ideals of Pakistan and who are

even now the advocates of the united Bengal. This meeting warns the Muslim students and the public against the saboteuring [*sic*] activities of this Youth League and requests them to be very vigilant about their activities. Further, the members of the S.D.M.S.F. are directed not to keep any connection with the said organisation.

The S.D.M.S.F. congratulates both the East Bengal and the West Bengal Ministries for keeping communal peace in their respective provinces.

The S.D.M.S.F. reviewed the prevalent state of affairs in the administration of East Bengal and expresses its dissatisfaction on finding corruption still rampant in most of the Departments, and draws the pointed attention of the Quaid-i-Azam and the Premier of Pakistan, to the existing state of affairs in East Bengal and requests them to intervene in the matter before the situation goes beyond control.

In the opinion of this Committee to invigorate the administration and to uproot corruption in East Bengal, the following measures should be taken immediately:

A. Reshuffling of the Ministry by removing the corrupt and incompetent Ministers.

B. Anti-corruption drive should be started all over East Bengal with the co-operation of the public and to facilitate the campaign, laws and ordinances should be passed to the following effect:

a. To assess all assets, movable, immoveable, and cash of Govt. officials, Ministers and M.L.As. and a penal act, penalising severely bribery, black marketing, gambling, drinking, corruption and train travelling without ticket, etc.,—on the line passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly introduced by Sardar Patel during last budget session, should immediately be enacted for the whole of Pakistan, specially for East Bengal.
b. Appointment of an anti-corruption enquiry commission presided over by a High Court Judge and two other members, one official and one non-official of high standing and integrity, to enquire into official corruption and by giving widest scope to public to appear before the commission with each and every charge against corrupt officials.
c. To pass ordinances prohibiting contracts and lucrative business in *benami* on the part of Ministers and high officials.

At present the East Bengal Govt. is wasting lakh[s] of rupees in maintaining, useless and unnecessary paraphernalia, and huge number of superfluous staff almost in all the departments. To economise in this respect and to do away with the disparity of pay of the Govt. officers of different grades, the following measures should be adopted forthwith:

a. Staff should be reduced 50 per cent in Civil Supplies, and 25 per

cent in all other departments, and the whole system should be thoroughly overhauled. In this connection it can be mentioned that the Sylhet District could manage very efficiently the Civil Supplies administration with less than one half of the staff, as visualised under present regime of Sylhet.

b. Pay of the officers drawing salary between Rs. 400 and Rs. 800 to be cut down by 10%, between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1500 by 20%, and Rs. 1500 upwards by 25%. Pay of officers below Rs. 200 should be increased by 25%.
c. Starting pay of the clerical staff should by no means be less than Rs. 80 per month and that of the inferior staff Rs. 40 per month.
d. The present pay of primary teachers should be raised to Rs. 40 per month.
e. *Zamindari* and permanent settlement should be abolished forthwith.
f. Big business and key-industries should be nationalised and managed by the State.
g. Investment of private capital in business and industries should be brought under Govt. control and supervision.
h. The pay of the Ministers should not exceed Rs. 1,500 per month and that of the Premier Rs. 2,000 per month.

The outdated and anti-national curriculum of education prevalent be thoroughly overhauled to meet the needs and requirements of the modern age, making provision for religious education for the Muslims compulsory. The present *Madrassa* system of education should be reformed and steps should be taken to do away with the difference between the *Madrassa* and Collegiate education, so far as it concerns the average learners. To draw up a plan of educational reconstruction for East Bengal, a committee of experts should be appointed under the control of Central Committee of Pakistan. To popularise and spread the learning of Urdu the proposed State language for Pakistan, the East Bengal Govt. is requested to start additional classes of Urdu in all schools and colleges of East Bengal. This Committee requests the Govt. of East Bengal to create a Department of Islamic Reformation as has been done by the Govt. of West Punjab, for the improvement of religious and moral life of Muslims. All appointments in East Bengal should be made through the Public Service Commission on results of competitive examinations. Muslims of Indian Dominion seeking employment in Pakistan should be treated as the citizens of Pakistan. For employment under Govt., sufferings in the struggle for Pakistan and ex-services should be considered as special qualification for the Muslims. This meeting of the S.D.M.S.F. strongly protests against the discrimination being made

by the East Bengal authorities against Sylhet people in matters of recruitment, posting, promotion and transfer. This Committee also protests against reversion of upright and capable Sylhet officers by the Department of Civil Supplies to provide relations and partisans of Ministers whose substantive appointments were in the departments which are running short of requisite officers. The S.D.M.S.F. urges upon the East Bengal Govt. to start the Sylhet Medical School forthwith and to transform the Technical School and the Agricultural Farm into Colleges, respectively, and the Muranchand College, Sylhet, into a residential university next year. This meeting supports the move of the Karimganj people for the separate subdivision with the Pakistan portion of Karimganj. This meeting of the S.D.M.S.F. requests the Sylhet District authorities to reconstitute food committees all over the district with popular representatives. The S.D.M.S.F. urges upon the Sylhet Minister, Parliamentary Secretaries and M.L.As. to give united stand in matters concerning interest of the Sylhet District.

To draw up a plan for the reconstruction of the Eastern Pakistan on the ideals of Pakistan and to rally mass support behind it and to start an anti-corruption drive a special committee of the S.D.M.S.F. be formed with the following [*sic*]. The committee shall have the full power to take steps for giving effect to the resolutions passed in today's meeting and to draw up plan and programme for reconstruction and anti-corruption drive.

QUAZI MUHIBBUR RAHMAN AND 5 OTHERS

Enclosure 3 to No. 261

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/107

REMARKS OF HON'BLE MINISTER, CIVIL SUPPLIES

It is true that M[uhamma]d Abdul Bari, son of the licensed dealer, severely attacked the C.S. employees of Sylhet during my visit with D.G. Action of the Supply Officer, within 3 days of our departure, against the father of Abdul Bari smacks of a malicious move. Pending report from D.C. Sylhet, this petitioner should be allowed to continue as a licensed dealer. He is an old man who has appeared before me and impresses one as a simple God–fearing Muslim. He has been in the business for pretty long time and as such unlike wartime creation of so called businessman. He is the brother of M[aul]vi Abdul Bari.

My order in his father's petition will apply to this case also. It is surprising that these are the only 2 shops out of about 90 which have been selected for the activities of the C.S. Dept. Had these complaints

been made by a new officer and not the old rotten ones I would have greater reliance on them.

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H. Gordon to S. M. Yusuf

F. 179-GG/2-6

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
12 December 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

I must apologise for bothering you but I should be most grateful if you could arrange for me to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam when I return from Bhopal next week. I want to see him on a subject in which I am sure he is interested.

[*Para omitted*]

In June of this year, my Chairman, Mr. Hubert Williams, visited His Highness who informed him that the Chamber of Princes was coming to an end and that he wanted us to do a publicity campaign in the UK and USA for Pakistan. His Highness of Bhopal stated that he would pay the fees of this contract himself and present it to Pakistan.

On June 24, my Chairman saw the Quaid-i-Azam with H.H. of Bhopal in Delhi and the Quaid-i-Azam stated that on this basis he accepted the contract and added to my Chairman that they should be mutually 'useful and helpful'. This contract, therefore, carried out by us, was to be, in its financial implications, His Highness of Bhopal's present to Pakistan and was as such accepted by the Quaid-i-Azam. Later that day my Chairman settled the terms of the contract and received His Highness of Bhopal's acceptance.

The next step was that my Chairman received a cable from His Highness in August instructing him to have an office established in Karachi by 1st September. The necessary staff were therefore despatched from England by air. I myself then opened negotiations with the Pakistan Government by seeing Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister.

[*Para omitted*]

The Prime Minister gave the contract his blessing and told me to see the Secretary-General to the Cabinet and the Minister of Information.

I visited Mr. Mohamad Ali first since I had a letter of introduction to him from Sir George Abell, late Private Secretary to the Viceroy. Mr. Mohamad Ali told me he would deal with the whole matter and that it would be unnecessary for me to see any other Ministers since he would contact those responsible.

[*Para omitted*]

I went by air to Bhopal and had a long and cordial interview with His Highness. He gave me one letter to Mr. Mohamad Ali giving him the authority to make a fresh contract with us on behalf of the Pakistan Government and one for the Manager of the Chartered Bank instructing him to pay the fees to Mr. Mohamad Ali (i.e. Rs. 7 lakh for one year in four quarterly payments, in advance). He told me that he wanted our campaign to start as quickly as possible and authorised me to make any alterations on his behalf that were considered necessary in order to speed the transaction and save me from wasting time in visiting Bhopal again.

I understood from Mr. Mohamad Ali that with these letters there would be no further difficulty. Later, I understood him to say that the contract had been accepted, in principle, by the Cabinet and that I was to go to the Minister of Information who was ready to sign the contract.

[*Para omitted*]

When this had been settled, the Minister of Information raised a further objection that he wanted the contract rewritten in legal phraseology. I pointed out that this would be of little benefit to anyone but that it would waste a great deal of time when, with Kashmir flaring up, Pakistan badly needed publicity in both England and America. Also, the contract was scheduled to start on 1st September 1947 and, therefore, His Highness of Bhopal's money was being thrown away. The Minister of Information insisted on this point but at the same time assured me that all would be well and the contract would be signed. His staff told me that the substance of the contract would not be changed.

[*Two paras omitted*]

Eventually I managed to get a draft copy of the Government solicitor's rewrite of our contract in order to have it vetted by a London solicitor who happened to be passing through Karachi. This rough draft showed that the whole substance of the contract had been rewritten. According to this rough draft, we were to be paid in arrears instead of in advance and only if satisfactory reports had been received from the High Commissioner in

London and the Ambassador in Washington; we were not to have an office in Karachi which, after our experience with the Chamber of Princes, we considered was essential since during that contract we were dissatisfied with the amount and type of information which we received, and any arbitration would be decided by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Minister of Information.

The contract was then in a form which we could not accept because we should have been unable to carry out a really good job of work which we desperately wanted to do and the system of payment was most unsatisfactory.

I immediately had the contract rewritten by Christopher Brunyate, senior partner of Coward Chance & Co., solicitors to the Australian Government, in a form which he considered reasonable to both sides. I flew to Lahore in order to see the Quaid-i-Azam or the Prime Minister. Due to their illness, I was unfortunately unable to see either but I saw Mr. Mohamad Ali who appreciated my feelings about the Government solicitor's rewrite of our contract. He saw the Prime Minister on the subject and informed me that our contract would be considered finally at the next Cabinet meeting at Lahore.

[*Para omitted*]

I had now been in negotiation with the Government for exactly three months. During that time I had been repeatedly assured that the contract would be accepted. On H.H. of Bhopal's instructions we had a complete staff in Karachi all this time and being under contract to him we had a complete section of our London office working solely on the Pakistan account. I have received no payment for this quarter although I understand the money has been paid by H.H. of Bhopal to the Quaid-i-Azam. I, therefore, wrote to Mr. Mohamad Ali on the 6th of December 1947 that I felt this situation could not continue indefinitely and if there was no decision forthcoming from the Pakistan Government within ten days I should feel forced to send my staff home and myself report to H.H. of Bhopal.

I am now informed by Mr. Mohamad Ali that it was decided at a Cabinet meeting last night not to accept our contract.

[*Para omitted*]

I am leaving for Bhopal by air tonight in order to submit a report to H.H. I should be most grateful if I could wait on the Quaid-i-Azam[1] on my return which should be about Tuesday of next week. I shall let you

know as soon as I arrive back in Karachi.

[*Two paras omitted*]

H. GORDON
Representative of Hubert Williams and Partners Limited, London

[1]S.M. Yusuf replied that it would not be possible for Jinnah to revise the Cabinet decision and that no useful purpose would be served by an interview. See F. 179-GG/7. Not printed.

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A. Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/20

21 BIRDWOOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
13 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I have ventured to despatch to your goodself the following personal telegram:[1]

> Kindly consider action against pseudo-Pakistanis inspired by Soviet ideals and methods. Their half-baked economics spell ruin to unity of Pakistan Army. Your guidance will surely minimise Hindu animosity and win powerful western allies if Communists prevented from torpedoing Pakistan.

2. I am convinced that the Muslim League can, in the fullness of time, become an all-world Muslim organisation and a great power in world affairs if we definitely turn our back on the friends of [Rajani] Palme Dutt.[2]

Yours ever sincerely,
A. AZIZ

[1]See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/21. Not printed.

[2]British writer, journalist and politician.

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M. A. Jinnah to Imperial Bank of India, Karachi

F. 156/367

KARACHI,
13 December 1947

Dear Sir,

From the last statement of my account No. 2, that I have received from your Delhi Branch, I find that the balance they have transferred to you is Rs. 58,249-4-10 while your statement sent to me shows the transferred amount [as] Rs. 58,210-11-10, i.e. Rs. 38-9-0 less. Then again in the statement of my No. 2 account from your Bombay Branch, the balance transferred to you is Rs. 26,020-5-4 while in your statement you have shown it Rs. 26,020-3-4, i.e. Rs. 0-2-0 less.

I shall feel obliged, if you kindly inform me[1] the reason as to why there remains such a difference in the amounts actually transferred by your Bombay and Delhi Branches, and the amount shown by you in your statement in both cases, in my account No. 2.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Imperial Bank of India,
McLeod Road,
Karachi

[1]The Bank informed PS to Jinnah that they have asked Delhi and Bombay branches to explain the discrepancies. See F. 156/368. Not printed.

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Ghulam Mohammed to S. M. Yusuf

F. 180-GG/6

CONFIDENTIAL

MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
KARACHI,
13 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I enclose, for information of the Quaid-i-Azam, a copy of letter dated the 28th November 1947,[1] addressed by Secretary [Charge d'affaires] of

our Embassy at Washington, to the State Department. This is with reference to the short-term credit asked for originally by Mr. Laik Ali.

2. The necessary details have been worked out by the Ministry of Health and Agriculture in the matter of surgical and medical apparatus and medicines as well as agricultural appliances. It is proposed shortly to depute to U.S.A. a couple of technical officers for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED
[*Minister of Finance*]

[1]No. 226.

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 564/23-6

13 December 1947

Sir,

We, the members of the Working Committee of Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League, most humbly and respectfully beg to lay down the following lines for your favourable and sympathetic consideration:

1. That under the guidance of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan, Bar-at-Law, the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League rendered the following valuable services to the nation:

a. Muslim League Centres were opened not only in every district but also in the far off tehsils.
b. Liberated the common people or the masses through [*sic*] the clutches of the British imperialism and removed the slavish mentality of the people.
c. Did not allow the germs of the Congress to flourish in Baluchistan so much so that 99% of the population are Muslim Leaguers.
d. Removed the fear of British Government from the hearts of the uneducated people and created a love for freedom and Muslim brotherhood among the general public.
e. Created in them a great sense of responsibility and confidence, in order to be prepared to sacrifice every thing for the achievement of Pakistan.
f. Created a great desire and insatiable thirst for self-government.
g. That in this period (beginning from 1938 [to] 1947) the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League under the guidance of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan rendered every possible help and assistance to the All

India Muslim League.

h. That we have played a most honourable part in the struggle for freedom and for the realisation of our cherished goal (Pakistan).

i. That in the All India Convention held in New Delhi under Your Excellency's presidentship, we took the oath on the holy *Qur'an* and signed the pledge with our blood in Your Excellency's presence for strengthening the League and for the sake of the realisation of our ideal (Pakistan).

j. That our *Sardars* and *Nawabs* have also rendered help to the All India Muslim League and it was through their valuable services and votes in the recent Referendum which decided the fate of Balushistan once for all and connected this Province with the Pakistan Dominion.

[*Paras 2 and 3 omitted*]

4. That among all the provinces in Pakistan, Baluchistan is the only province which has got no self-government and which has been deprived of all reforms and denied all civic rights and privileges.

5. That long before the division of India took place, it was resolved by the All India Muslim League that Baluchistan should be given responsible government, and reforms like other provinces be introduced there on as early a date as possible.

6. That this matter was also *strongly advocated*[1] by the All India Muslim League *on the floor* of the then Legislative Assembly of India.

7. That in the well-known fourteen points of Your Excellency it had been clearly mentioned, and great stress was laid upon giving reforms to our province. As would appear from article (10) of your points, reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

8. On the face of these facts, now when Pakistan has been established through our ceaseless efforts and innumerable sacrifices and hardships, we hope that our demands would be favourably considered by Your Excellency. But now we have been given to understand that reforms would be introduced in Baluchistan when the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has framed the Constitution. Surely, this would not answer the wide and pressing demand of the people of Baluchistan who have done their best for the sake of Pakistan. It may also be stated here that no constitution is likely to come out before many years are [*sic*] passed. Thus to deprive a province of its legitimate right to take its place among other provinces of Pakistan as a full responsible province, will prove suicidal and may lead to disastrous consequences. As the present times are not such, when public opinion be continued to be flouted in

the manner in which it has been done [*sic*]. As there is general awakening in the masses who are bent upon to get [*sic*] a responsible government in the shape of legislative assembly or at least an advisory board to run their administration efficiently.

OUR JUST AND REASONABLE DEMANDS

i. That we want a responsible government in the shape of legislative assembly just as in other provinces of Pakistan.
ii. That there should be a general election for the membership of this assembly and not nomination.
iii. That our province should be raised to the status of other provinces of the Dominion by appointing our present Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner as a Governor of this Province.
iv. That one Minister in the Central Government of Pakistan should be appointed from our province, who would represent our cause there.
v. But if for reasons best known to the Pakistan Government our first two demands cannot be met with then at least an advisory board should be given to us in order to relieve us from the irresponsible Government which is being carried out at present. This advisory board should be given full powers to run the administration of the Province.
vi. The trend of the public opinion, which we strongly support, is that the Baluchistan Provincial *Jirga* (*Shahi Jirga*) and Local District *Jirga* be modified by including in the list of *Jirga* members the right representatives of the masses that is the Baluchistan Provincial and District League members, in proportion and the ratio of 1:2. That is to say that if for instance four members of the *Shahi Jirga* sit in the Council of Elders from a District and if four members of Local District *Jirga* sit in the Council of Elders from any Tehsil or a District, to decide the cases both civil and judicial in B area, an equal number of Muslim League Members should be taken both in the *Shahi* and Local District *Jirgas*. By so doing the general demand of the public would be met with and the masses can only then be satisfied if this procedure is adopted. The present *Jirga* Members are not the real representatives of the masses, and they are being regarded the strong pillars and supporters of the British imperialism.
vii. That the advisory board or the interim Ministry should be given the powers similar to those of other provinces of the Dominion of Pakistan, and the procedure for the election of the advisors or the

ministers should be on the lines explained in para (vi) above. The advisors or the ministers should be elected by the newly formed *Jirga* Members.

For this act of kindness we shall ever remain grateful to Your Excellency and pray for your long life and for the stability of the Pakistan Government.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MIR QADIR BUX KHAN
Vice-President, Baluchistan Muslim League

[1]Underlined in the original.

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Ghazanfar Ali Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan

AFM, 295/28

MINISTRY OF REFUGEES,
KARACHI,
13 December 1947

My dear Nawabzada Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Resolution[1] which I intend to move in the next Council meeting.

If you have no objection I would request you kindly to include it in the agenda.

Yours very sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

[1]Enclosure. For press reports, see Annexes I to III.

Enclosure to No. 267

AFM, 295/29-30

Notice of Resolution

The Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its heartfelt sympathy for millions of Musalmans who during the holocaust in recent months, have been killed, beaten and burnt out of their homes in the Provinces and States of the Dominion of India and calls upon the people and Government of Pakistan to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the sufferings of their stricken brethren.

Without wishing to analyse the causes which led up to this terrible conflagration or to apportion responsibility for its initiation, development or culmination, the Council expresses its heartfelt sympathy for those non-Muslims who have suffered loss of life and property and have had to leave their hearths and homes in the Provinces and States of Pakistan.

The Council is firmly of opinion that for considerations of humanity and in obedience to the injunctions of Islam which guarantees fair play, justice and equal treatment to all citizens of the Muslim State, the Pakistan Government should do all that lies in their power to enable the non-Muslim evacuees to return to Pakistan and resume their normal lives in conditions of peace and security. The Council further hopes that the Government of India, likewise, will re-establish conditions of peace and security in its territories and will live up to its declared policy of according equal treatment [to] all citizens irrespective of their faith or religious profession and by ensuring freedom from the fear of violence to person or property, create an atmosphere conducive to the return of Muslim evacuees to their homes.

As a condition precedent to the creation of such atmosphere of goodwill and security as will encourage evacuees of both Dominions to return to their homes, this Council deems it essential that the two Dominion Governments should, by joint consultation and mutual free and frank discussion, advise [*sic* for devise] ways and means of solving the administrative, political and psychological problems confronting them.

The Council further declares its total and unqualified abhorrence of all acts of forcible conversion from one faith to another and those of abduction of women and children. Such acts are repugnant to all religions and constitute a throwback to the law of the jungle of which all decent people should be ashamed. The Council demands of the people of Pakistan and appeals to the people of India to repudiate forcible conversions and do all that lies in their power to restore abducted women and children to their lawful guardians.

GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

The General Secretary,
All India Muslim League,
Karachi

Annex I to No. 267

LEAGUE COUNCIL TO MEET TOMORROW[1]

Momentous Session to Decide Fate of Organization

KARACHI, Dec. 12: The first session of the All India Muslim League Council after the partition of India is meeting here on December 14. The main resolution before the Council is firstly, whether or not the All India complexion of the Muslim League be changed into two separate organizations, and should Indian Muslims retain the Muslim League organization in India under the present circumstances or alternatively, adopt other measures to safeguard their economic, political and social future in the Indian Dominion.

Opinions are sharply divided on the issue. Talks with members who are already here reveal that there exist three schools of thought on the question. The first group favours dissolution of the Muslim League organization both in India and in Pakistan and favours the creation of a new non-communal organization instead.

The second group does not subscribe to the view and is of the opinion that under no circumstances Muslim League be dissolved in either Dominion and that the same organization should continue as before.

The third school suggests that the Muslim League should be retained in Pakistan and that Indian Muslims be asked to form a new non-communal organization in their country and should have from [*sic*] henceforth nothing to do with Pakistan Muslim League.

The first school advocating the immediate dissolution of Muslim League in both the Dominions draws its strength from amongst those coming from the Indian Provinces led by Mr. Zaheerul Hasan Lari of the U.P. and the progressive sections from the West Punjab.

The second school urging upon the retention of the Muslim League in both the Dominions comprises conservatives both from East Bengal and West Punjab. This group, most of whom belong to ministerial parties are in an overwhelming majority, and is led by Maulana Akram Khan and Mr. Habibullah Bahar from East Bengal, and the Frontier Premier [*sic*].

The third school for communal organization in Pakistan and non-communal in India could gather little support. But there are chances for this group, which might ultimately prevail upon the decisions of the Muslim League Council.

Another significant factor this time is that the vast majority of members from India would not be in a position to attend the session owing to disturbed conditions in their Provinces and irregular rail journeys

to Karachi. Out of a total number of about 475 members only 150 are from the NWFP, West Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan. East Bengal membership is 100. Total membership from the Indian Provinces is about 220. Therefore, about 330 members from East Bengal and India, a vast majority will be absent, and only those who could afford air passage might be able to attend this session.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 13 December 1947.

Annex II to No. 267

MOVE TO SPLIT ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE[1]

Separate Organization for India Likely
Executive Committee Meets at Karachi

KARACHI, Dec. 13: The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League met for the first time since the creation of Pakistan at the Governor-General's House this morning.

The Committee after two sittings is understood to have drafted a resolution recommending the All India Muslim League Council to divide itself into two separate organizations, one for Pakistan and the other for India, which will come up for discussion before the Council tomorrow.

The Working Committee, it is understood, held the view that after India's partition, technically and constitutionally the provincial and other Muslim League organizations in Provinces of India could not have any association with that of the Muslim League organizations of Pakistan.

The Working Committee, it is learnt, has given a free choice to the Muslims of India to shape their political future in that country in a way they thought best. The whole question, it is believed, will be discussed at the Muslim League Convention which is meeting at Lucknow on December 24.

Enquiries made here reveal that the Working Committee did not discuss anything like the formation of Pakistan National League, as reported in a certain section of the press.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League went into a second session lasting two hours this evening at the residence of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, states an API report.

Immediately after the meeting, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, drove to the Governor-General's House to meet Quaid-i-Azam who did not attend the second session.

Mr. S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman, who did not attend the morning session, was present at the evening meeting.

By 10.55 a.m. the following members of the Working Committee, in order of their arrival, had entered the Governor-General's House to attend the meeting which was scheduled for 10 a.m.:

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan
Mr. Matin Chaudhary
Qazi Isa
Mr. Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
Sheikh Karamat Ali
Mr. M. A. Khuhro
Mr. Essak Sait
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Mr. I. I. Chundrigar
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (General Secretary of the All India Muslim League)
Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Premier of East Bengal, accompanied by the following East Bengal Ministers—Messrs Nur-ul-Amin, Habibullah Bahar, Hamidul Haq Chaudhary and Hassan Ali, arrived in Karachi by air from Dacca last night to attend the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council on Sunday. Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhary, a member of the Working Committee from Assam, also came by the same aircraft.

From Madras have come the following:

Haji Abdul Sattar	a member of the Working Committee from Madras
H. Essak Sait	
Mr. Mohammad Ismail	President of the Madras Provincial League
Mr. Ahmad Ibrahim	Secretary of the Madras Provincial League
Mr. Kuti	President of the Malabar Muslim League

Mr. Hossain Imam and Mr. Lateef-ur-Rahman, members of the League Working Committee from Bihar, arrived here on Friday [12 December].

Mr. Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Sheikh Karamat Ali from the West Punjab arrived here by train

last night. Mian Mumtaz Daultana is already in Karachi.

Haji Hassanaly P. Ebrahim, President, Mr. A. Khan, Leader of the League Party in the Bombay Assembly, and Mr. Zahid Ali arrived here by air last night from Bombay.

Two members of the Working Committee are overseas. They are Pakistan's Ambassador to the USA, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani and Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, who is in Iran.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 14 December 1947.

Annex III to No. 267

WIND UP LEAGUE AS POLITICAL PARTY[1]

Bold Bid Needed in New Set-up

It is unfortunate that the great Indian parties have failed to face the logical consequences of the attainment of independence and the achievement of Pakistan.

The Congress and the Muslim League were not political parties in the sense in which the Republican and the Democratic Parties in America are political parties, or the Labour and Conservative Parties in England. They were revolutionary organizations pledged to win independence and establish Pakistan, respectively. They adopted parliamentary politics merely as a method and means that they dropped whenever they felt expedient.

ONE PARTY DICTATORSHIP

Their so-called economic programmes were merely a subsidiary and exotic development. They are none too clear, far too general and vague and the parties as constituted today, containing as they do, elements of the Right, the Centre and the Left, are incapable of achieving anything substantial in the economic and social re-organization of the country. Therefore, both the Muslim League and the Congress should have been dissolved as soon as and as a consequence of the attainment of their aims.

However, this was not to be. The parties are in no mood to dissolve themselves but are trying to entrench themselves deeper in the political life of the country. That is a dangerous development, a menace to the proper functioning of democracy in both the Dominions. The only hope is that popular pressure and economic forces are likely to break up these organizations and new parties with clearly defined economic and social programmes are bound to displace them.

However, if they continue to thrive in India and Pakistan without

challenge, it will lead to one party dictatorship as in Russia—with the added stigma of the States in this case becoming theocratic and the odious consequences thereof.

AN INCONGRUITY

We are at present concerned chiefly about slices of these two great Organizations, left behind in India and Pakistan after the division. The Congress in Pakistan and the Muslim League in India are still continuing officially as parts of their parent organization. This is most incongruous and fraught with incalculable mischief and cause of suspicion. Whether Muslim League should continue to function in India or not, whether the Congress should function in Pakistan or not, may be a debatable question and the decision should be left entirely to the discretion of the minority communities concerned. But there cannot be two opinions on the fact that if they continue to function they should function independently and sever their allegiance to their extra-territorial parent bodies.

For our part, we Muslims in India are concerned about the future of our political organization, viz. the Muslim League. It has achieved its aim. The Pakistan of our dreams is a solid reality today, and it has come to stay. We had to pay a heavy price and we were subjected to terrible sufferings by treacherous forces, even after an agreed solution of the constitutional problem of India. Our story of blood, toil and tears is not yet fully told, for those treacherous forces are still at large and enjoy powerful patronage. A sense of insecurity has crept over us and half-demoralized our people. Yet, if we are to survive the coming disaster, we have to keep our heads cool and plan our future on the basis of clear and calculated judgment.

FUTURE OF MUSLIM POLITICS

To discuss the future of Muslim politics in India, two conferences were held recently, one in Delhi under the presidency of Maulana Azad and the other in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy.

The former has no *locus standi* with the Muslim public and so their views are not likely to influence Muslim masses. And, the latter has not yet come forward with a clear, realistic lead. Both the conferences have appointed committees to convene a larger and more representative conference to thrash out the question.

It behoves us, therefore, to think further. Let us analyse the consequences if the Muslim League chooses to continue vigorous political work in India. It will surely hearten the Muslim masses, who are now labouring under a heavy sense of helplessness. But we have also to

consider its effect on the shape of politics in India.

HINDU FANATICISM

Already after the division, the star of the rabidly communal organization, viz. the Mahasabha, is on the ascendant. And its powerful auxiliary, the reactionary R.S.S.[S.], organized on fascist lines, is openly defying the established Government and working for the expulsion or extermination of Muslims in India. Besides, with princely support and with the help of vested interests, they are making bold bids even for capturing the Central Government. Even though the Congress has passed resolutions offering protection to minorities and proclaiming its stand for a democratic secular state for India, it is clear that within its rank and file and even in the top-leadership, there is a strong section whose opinions and actions are scarcely distinguishable from those of the Mahasabha and the R.S.S.[S.] The fanaticism and fury with which the R.S.S.[S.] are pursuing their aim can be judged from the manner in which they openly abuse Pandit Nehru and Mr. Gandhi, for saying that Muslims should not be exterminated. In a recent handbill pasted on the walls of Delhi and circulated all round the city, the R.S.S.[S.] declared that Mr. Gandhi is a Muslim in Hindu disguise, and he is the *Ravana* of this age, who should be exterminated! Can fanaticism and hysterical madness go further?

Under these circumstances, if Muslim League starts vigorous political activity, the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S.[S.] will make rapid strides and their appeal to the Hindu mass mind will become irresistible. It might even lead to their capturing the Congress and the Central Government. In any case, if their strength increases considerably, the progressive wing in the Nehru Cabinet will be pushed out. These are national calamities, which Muslims, in their own interests, must prevent at all costs.

VICIOUS CIRCLE

Again as a result of the abolition of separate electorates, our Organization will not be able to play its part in parliamentary politics. We will have to confine ourselves to political agitation outside. Now, agitation for justifiable causes may have an effect, when an impartial authority is in power, but it will prove of no avail against a hardened, antagonistic, permanent majority.

It is clear, therefore, that though we organize only for maintaining and ensuring our just rights, the net result will be that the threat to our rights, and even to our very existence will only increase. This is the vicious circle in which we find ourselves today. This vicious circle has got to be broken, and we have got to take a risk and make a bold departure in that direction.

NON-SECTARIAN PARTIES NEEDED

It is not in our interest to perpetuate the communal character of Indian political parties. It is clearly in our interest to establish non-sectarian parties with definite socio-economic programmes. Therefore, in our own interest, in order to prevent the accentuation of the communal colour in politics, we should do everything in our power.

And, the first step in this direction is for the Muslim League in India to cease functioning as a political party and leave the Muslims to join and work for parties based on socio-economic programmes.

If we do that now, it will strengthen progressive forces outside. It will enable them to fight and put to the rout the fascist R.S.S.[S.] and the Hindu Mahasabha and the Akalis and the other reactionary forces. And those mischievous politicians, who now brazen-facedly demand the dissolution of the Muslim League, will be forced to demand the same of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Akalis or they will have to hang their heads in shame before world opinion.

If we do that bravely and boldly now, and call our youths to play their part manfully in the political life of the country according to their political and economic views, then we may not have occasion to rue our fates later on. We may hope that India will turn the democratic way and the safety and security and well-being of every citizen will be ensured, irrespective of religion and creed.

NO GUARANTEE OF PROTECTION

I frankly admit that, even if the Muslim League abjures politics, there is no guarantee, there is no certainty that the fanatical and dangerous organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the R.S.S.[S.] and the Akalis will cease to function or even receive a setback. But in politics, we have to proceed more often on the basis of probabilities rather than certainties, because certainties are rare. The probabilities, in this case, are that these reactionary forces will receive a setback and the progressive elements are bound to exert themselves if we, by our wise and timely action, facilitate matters.

On the other hand, if we continue a separate political organization, there is certainly no guarantee that it will be sufficient to ensure our protection unless we expect Federal aid, which it is better not to rely upon. There is every chance of our position becoming worse and the threat to our rights and even our existence growing. In such a dilemmatic situation we must take the path that leads to hope.

When I say that the Muslim League should cease political activity, I do not mean that this magnificent organization, which a great and mighty leadership has built up, should completely be dissolved and disappear. We need an organization for cultural and social purposes.

LEAGUE AS A SOCIAL BODY

The Muslim League, preferably under a new name to mark the change, should devote itself for the economic and educational uplift of the community, after formulating a clear and detailed programme.

This is a field in which no amount of enthusiasm and enterprise can be in excess of the need of the community.

Instead of continually petitioning to and pleading with a hardened and unsympathetic Government, for educational concessions and convenience, let us build our funds and our own education. Let us start a powerful women's movement to regenerate our women, so that they may prove a source of strength and not a burden on our people. These are tasks on which we should centre our immediate attention and leave politics to political parties. These activities will strengthen the community, and a prosperous and educated community is bound to play its part in politics under whatever conditions.

These are views, perhaps, not above controversy. They involve a clear break with the past. But I believe that Quaid-i-Azam did mean practically the same when he said that after the division, the minorities would settle down as minorities. Anyway, a changed situation demands a change of method and approach.

The vitality of a people is not judged by the tenacity with which they cling to old form and methods, but by the agility with which it adapts institutions to circumstances and strikes out new paths for working out its salvation.

[1]The *Deccan Times*, 14 December 1947.

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Resolutions Sponsored by the Members of AIML Council

AFM, 295/32-5

[KARACHI,]
[*? 13*] *December 1947*

1. MAULANA ABDUL HAMID QADRI BADAUNI

A. Resolution on Palestine Issue.

[*Not printed*][1]

B. That this meeting of the Council fully sympathizes with the Muslims of Delhi, U.P., Rajputana, and the Punjab for the horrible

atrocities perpetrated upon them and the sufferings they have undergone as a result thereto [*sic*], at the hands of non-Muslims.[2]

C. That this meeting views with alarm the present partisan attitude of the Government of India Dominion in siding with non-Muslims in their dealing with the Muslims in that territory and calls upon them to give up their present attitude and take such steps which may enable the Muslim inhabitants of that Dominion to lead their life, like honourable and loyal citizens of the State.

D. This meeting wishes to give full assurance to the Muslims living in the Dominion of India that the All India Muslim League will as in [*sic*] duty bound to continue to do everything in their power, to see that the Muslims of that Dominion are made to live like honourable and respectable citizens and that their religion, culture and honour is fully protected by the Government of that Dominion.

E. That the All India Muslim League will take immediate steps to appoint some such persons who will make all possible efforts to give practical shape to the assurance given above and pending the result of such efforts the Muslim League requests all Muslims in the Dominion of India to stop further migration from that part.

F. This meeting views with appreciation the efforts made by Mr Gandhi for continuance of Urdu language as the court language of India Dominion and requests the Government of the U.P. in the India Dominion to please stop their present policy of making Hindi as *lingua franca* in that province which will create insurmountable difficulties in the way of Muslims residing there.

2. BEGUM MASHKUR AHMAD

With the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan as two independent States in the sub-continent of India, the Muslims of both the States with their varied interests, each owing allegiance to its own Dominion first, cannot possibly remain the members of one political organization. Hence it is necessary that All India Muslim League organization, as it exists to-day be dissolved and contacts between the Muslims of Hindustan and Pakistan be established on cultural and religious basis only. At the same time it is also essential that Muslims of Hindustan, in order to maintain their solidarity, organize themselves in a body and give it the name of Indian Muslims Federation, and they should choose their own leader for the protection and safeguard of their social, cultural and religious rights. In Pakistan, of course, the name Muslim League be replaced by Pakistan National League with its membership open to all.

3. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN

i. That the Muslim League organization should, with effect from the 1st February 1948, function as an organization with its territorial jurisdiction confined within the limits of Pakistan under the name of "The All Pakistan Muslim League", with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as its President and a Secretary and Working Committee to be provisionally nominated by him, and Council consisting of such members of the present Council as represent Pakistan areas or have emigrated to any part of Pakistan territory. Any dispute regarding it shall be finally decided by the President.
ii. That the Working Committee, to be constituted as aforesaid, be empowered to prepare a draft constitution for the All Pakistan Muslim League with aims and objects appropriately modified and submit their proposals to the All Pakistan Muslim League Council for consideration at a meeting to be called as early as possible at the discretion of the President.
iii. That the present Working Committee of the All India Muslim League be empowered to make a final decision about the assets and liabilities of All India Muslim League and its branches.
iv. That the members of the present Council of the All India Muslim League should separately meet and decide whether the Muslim League organization should be retained as a political organization in India, and other incidental questions.

4. CHOWDHRY MOHAMMAD AMIN SAHIB

That in view of the fact that the people of Baluchistan have at present no voice whatsoever in the administration of that province, this Council recommends to the Pakistan Government to take immediate steps to introduce reforms in the province and pending the introduction of such reforms, a representative of that province be included in the Pakistan Cabinet.

[1]See Enclosure to No. 253.
[2]See Appendix II.

269

Qalandar Ali Khan Wali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/126-7

39 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 December 1947

May it please Your Excellency,
Our esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to present to you a humble tribute—a bouquet of wishes—in the form of a poem[1] which has emanated from the inner most corners of a sincere heart which rises high enough to pray for you and our Pakistan—may both live long. *Aameen*.

I have chosen Persian as the medium of my thoughts as Persian used to be the court language of our former Muslim rulers. I hope this forgotten language will also find favour with your regime, just as Urdu has by your kindness regained its lost position in the realm of literature. In order, however, to make my poem very readily intelligible to you, I am appending hereto a literal translation of it in English.[2]

I am sorry I cannot submit my humble present in a decent frame (as I wish so much) for fear of breakage in transit by post but I do hope Your Excellency would be pleased to order one for it, with a direction that it may be honoured by a suitable place in the Govt. House.

I also request that this poem may be read out at the *mushaira* which I understand is to be held at Karachi in the near future. For this purpose a spare copy is being enclosed herein.

So with profound respects and fervent wishes, I remain ever,

Your Excellency's worshipper,
QALANDAR ALI KHAN WALI
M.A., LLM.,
Advocate, High Court

PS. The last couplet is self-contained. The whole of it or the second hemistich can serve as a heading or motto in correspondence and on flags.

[1]At the end of the Volume.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 269

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/128

LAHORE,
15 August 1947

A bouquet of good wishes presented to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan

This is the State of Pakistan and this is the Home of Peace[1]

Early at the dawn came ambling into the garden breeze superfine,
Narcissus opened its eyes, Cypress stood to salute, Jasmine to greet.
Fragrant voice came out of every leaf of the flower,
And birds of the garden chanted songs so sweet.
Tidings of victory and success sounded a note of Welcome—
Together with a concluding Prayer for a Kingdom everlasting.
Once again the sun of the glory of Islam shone on the horizon,
Every tongue of whose rays gave the golden message thus:
Quaid-i-Azam! Congratulations to you on this acquisition of State,
And how lucky that the management, rule and administration of it are in your hands.
And inasmuch as your good name is both Muhammad and as well as, Ali,
The munificence of God bestowed on you blessings all.
So long as day and night revolve to make morning and evening
And so long as the cycle of Time in the universe keeps on.
May your Morning be prosperous and Evening full of delight!
May you be happy at night and triumphant during the day!"
The pride and grandeur of Islam have been adorned so well,
May the blessings of God bring the province of Punjab a good name!
Oh, Wali! The glory of Islam shall shine day by day,
Ever so long as the Crescent of the banner of Muslims rules overhead
(And lastly) whoever has a clear account, a clean sheet—deserves this Abode,
This is the State of Pakistan and this is the Home of Peace.

QALANDAR ALI KHAN WALI

[1]Refers to the *Qur'anic* verse (VI: 127): "For them will be a Home of Peace in the presence of their Lord...."

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J. D. Shuja to S. M. Yusuf

F. 155-GG/88-9

127 INTELLIGENCE SCHOOL,
NEW QUEEN'S ROAD,
KARACHI,
15 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

Many thanks for your letter dated 10th December 1947.[1]

Please convey to His Excellency our deepest gratitude for becoming our Chief Scout. As regards the ceremony of investiture, I wonder if it could be held one day this week. I should be most grateful if you could arrange it for the 19th.[2] It being Friday, most of the Scouters would have half day off from their respective offices and would be able to attend the ceremony. I am enclosing the details[3] of it for approval.

Now that the Quaid-i-Azam is our Chief Scout, I should be most grateful if you would send to me the message from him which you read over the phone some days ago. I would like to release this message to the Scouts the day the Quaid-i-Azam is invested as Chief Scout.

After the investiture, the next step to regularise the movement would be the appointment of Provincial and State Chief Scouts. For this, letters of appointment are generally issued by the Dominion Chief Scout appointing Governors and State Rulers to this post. I would bring these letters to you in the course of the next few days and should be most grateful if these could be signed by the Chief Scout for issue.

In the meantime, I am writing to Sir Alan Lascelles, the King's Private Secretary, in connection with Resolution 5[4] of the Headquarters Council.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
J. D. SHUJA
General Secretary

[1]See F. 155-GG/87. Not printed.
[2]S. M. Yusuf replied that 22 December 1947, would suit Jinnah for the investiture ceremony. See F. 155-GG/91. Not printed.
[3]See F. 155-GG/90. Ibid.
[4]Not traceable.

271

Majid Khan to F. Amin

F. 80 (6)-GG/13

AGA KHAN BUILDING,
DALAL STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
15 December 1947

Dear Sir,

I regret we are late in acknowledging your letter of the 10th November last.[1]

Mr. Petigara to whom it was addressed was unwell for sometime. He is now in Europe on professional business. He will however take the opportunity to see His Highness the Aga Khan in France. He will be returning to India early in January 1948 and he or I will then immediately come over to Karachi and discuss with you the matter of *payment of the amount promised by His Highness the Aga Khan.*[2]

Please excuse the delay in replying.

Yours faithfully,
[CAPT.] MAJID KHAN
Constituted Attorney to His Highness the Aga Khan

[1]Jinnah had desired that the money for relief work should be paid as soon as possible. See F. 80 (6)-GG/7. Not printed. Also see Annexure II to Appendix II. 3, Vol. V, 445 and No. 3.
[2]Underlined in the original.

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Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/12

MARSEILLE,
15 December 1947

Please cable name and bank of Your Excellency's Representative, London. Will pay him in London eighteen thousand seven hundred fifty pounds equivalent two lakh fifty before Xmas. Am arrange for second half Junagadh later. Regret impossible remit to India by me.

AGA KHAN

273

Proceedings of the Meeting of All India Muslim League Council

AFM, 295/40-2

KARACHI,
15 December 1947

The [meeting of] Council of the All India Muslim League, was held at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, on December 14 and 15, 1947, under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

FIRST SITTING HELD ON 14 DECEMBER 1947

The meeting began with recitation of verses from the holy *Qur'an* by Maulana Abdul Hamid Qadri Badayuni.

2. The Quaid-i-Azam then addressed the Council on the following points:

i. The vital changes that had occurred in the body-politic of this sub-continent during the last six month[s].
ii. The achievement of Pakistan by the Musalmans of India, an accomplishment unprecedented in history.
iii. The glorious role played by the Musalmans of the minority provinces in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan.
iv. The desirability and necessity of bifurcating the All India Muslim League.
v. The existence of a Muslim organization in the India Union highly desirable.
vi. The holocaust and bloodshed through which the Musalmans have passed during the last six months is highly deplorable but there should [be] no war for revenge and retaliation which is un-Islam[ic]. It is hoped that things will gradually improve.

Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar gave a brief Urdu rendering of Quaid-i-Azam's speech.

4. Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan moved Resolution No. 3[1] regarding the bifurcation of the All India Muslim League.

5. Hon'ble Abdur Rab Nishtar seconded the resolution.

6. Mr. Ahmed Ashraf (U.P.) raised the objection that the resolution was *ultra vires* and that the Council was not competent to effect any change whatsoever in the constitution of the All India Muslim League.

7. The President, explaining the position, ruled that the resolution was not *ultra vires* and that the Council was competent to pass it.

8. Maulana Jamal Mian proposed an amendment to the effect that

the word "Muslim" be deleted from the tenth line of the resolution.

After a few remarks by Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Quaid-i-Azam, the meeting adjourned to meet at 10:30 a.m., next morning.

SECOND SITTING HELD ON 15 DECEMBER 1947

1. The meeting started with recitation from the holy *Qur'an* by Maulana Abdul Hamid Qadri Badayuni.
2. The Quaid-i-Azam delivered a short speech.
3. Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan moved Resolution No. 1[2]. Maulana Abdul Hamid seconded the Resolution. A few amendments were proposed and were accepted by the mover. Muhammad Ismail Zabeeh Sahib spoke in support of the Resolution. The Resolution was passed unanimously.
4. Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan moved Resolution No. 2[3]. Hon'ble Abdur Rab Nishtar seconded the Resolution. The Resolution was passed unanimously.
5. Discussion was resumed in regard to Resolution No. 3. The Quaid-i-Azam, in a short speech, made a few remarks on Maulana Jamal Mian's amendment. Maulana Jamal Mian withdrew his amendment. Nawab Mamdot Sahib proposed an amendment to clause 5 of the Resolution. Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan read out a few other amendments suggested by various members. Mr. Hossain Imam proposed an amendment which fell through for want of a seconder. Quaid-i-Azam further explained the import and implications of the Resolution. Hon'ble Abdur Rab Nishtar gave an Urdu rendering of Quaid-i-Azam's remarks. Mr. Suhrawardy opposed the resolution for bifurcation of the M.L. into Pakistan and Indian Union Muslim League until such time the problem of minorities had been settled in accordance with the Lahore Resolution. Mian Iftikharuddin Sahib also opposed the bifurcation of the League until such time the objects laid down in the Lahore Resolution had been completely attained. Hon'ble Abdur Rab Nishtar spoke in support of the Resolution. Mr. Ghyasuddin also supported the Resolution. Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan then spoke to meet the points raised by Mr. Suhrawardy and Mian Iftikharuddin Sahib.
6. The Resolution was put to vote and passed by an overwhelming majority, only 5 members dissenting. The meeting concluded at 2 p.m.

[1]Annex III.
[2]Annex. I.
[3]Annex. II.

Annex I to No. 273
Resolutions Passed at the Meeting of the Council of All India Muslim League

AFM, 295/50

KARACHI,
15 December 1947

RESOLUTION NO. 1

A. The Council of the All India Muslim League, having reviewed the situation and the happenings in various parts of the Indian sub-continent since its last meeting[1] held in New Delhi on the 9th June this year, places on record it[s] deep sense of sorrow and its feeling of horror at the widespread acts of organised violence and barbarity which have taken place, resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, colossal destruction of property, wanton outrages against women, and leading to mass migration of populations whereby millions of human beings have been uprooted from their hearths and homes and reduced to utter destitution. The Council also views with grave concern the rising tide of communal antagonism against the Muslim minority in the Indian Union where, in spite of the repeated declarations by the Congress that minorities will be dealt with justly and fairly and that their rights and interests will be fully safeguarded and protected, Muslim life and property continue to be insecure, their trade, business and other means of earning their livelihood are in a state of suspense in many parts of the country and they are being subjected to various disabilities merely because they happen to be Muslims. The Council expresses its deep regret that although the division of India has taken place on the basis of an agreement to which both the Congress and the Muslim League were consenting parties and although these two political organisations were recognised and named in the Indian Independence Act itself as the successor authorities to the British for purposes of the transfer of power, certain influential sections of people in the Indian Union, including persons holding responsible positions, have been acting contrary to the spirit of that agreement and are branding the Muslim minority in the Indian Union as disloyal, because of their support of the very solution of the long-standing political problem which the Congress itself had ultimately and finally accepted and ratified; notwithstanding the most categorical declarations and assurances by representative Muslim leaders in the Indian Constituent Assembly and outside that the Muslims in the Indian Dominion had completely identified themselves with the country in

which their lot had been cast and of which they had become natural citizens with the rights as well as the obligations of such citizenship. This Council strongly condemns and deplores that, inspite of the strict injunctions given privately and publicly by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League not to harm the minorities in any way, unfortunately acts of violence were also committed in certain parts of Pakistan inflicting loss of life and sufferings on the non-Muslim minorities, and expresses satisfaction that these were suppressed and brought under control by timely and vigorous action on the part of the Government concerned. The Council reminds the Governments of both the Indian Union and Pakistan that they jointly gave the most categorical assurances to their respective minorities of full protection of life and property and of full guarantee of their rights and interests, and it most emphatically urges upon the Governments of Indian Union and Pakistan and the authorities concerned that the pledges given to the minorities be fulfilled in all sincerity. The Council hopes that both the Governments will realize their responsibility in this behalf and prepare, after joint deliberations, a charter of minorities' rights which will ensure an honourable existence for the minorities in the two Dominions. The Council further hopes that the two Dominion Governments will be able to conclude agreements and treaties, which will promote and stabilize friendly relations between the two Dominions. Finally, the Council expresses its deepest sympathy for all those who have suffered due to the communal upheaval, offers its heartfelt condolences to those who have been bereaved and places on record its profound admiration for the nameless multitudes who have so heroically and so steadfastly made such tremendous sacrifices for the cause of their nation.

B. This Session of the Council of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of horror and grief at the widespread acts of violence which have been happening in Ajmer for some time past. In view of the deep regard and devotion which the Musalmans have for the *Dargah Sharif* of Ajmer, this Council urges upon the Government of the Indian Union to ensure the protection of the *Dargah Sharif* and of the honour, person and property of the people living in that holy city. The Council further urges upon the Government of the Indian Union to take effective measures for the protection of mosques, *imambaras,* holy shrines, tombs and other sacred places in Indian Dominion and to see that all such places which have been subjected to sacrilege and outrages are immediately restored to their original condition and effective arrangements made for their future protection.

[1]Enclosure to Appendix III. 6, Vol. II, 840-6.

Annex II to No. 273

RESOLUTION NO. 2

The Council of the All India Muslim League expresses its deep indignation at the manner in which the General Assembly of the United Nations have flouted considerations of international justice and the rights of the Arabs and endorsed the unfair recommendation of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine to partition that country in the teeth of united Arab resistance and opposition of the entire Muslim world and other nations who not only voted against it but are opposed to it. This action of the UNO, specially the circumstances in which the votes of several member-nations were secured by undue pressure in favour of partition even after their delegates had publicly opposed it from the General Assembly's rostrum on the very eve of the actual voting, has shaken the faith of large masses of humanity throughout the world belonging particularly to the smaller nations, in the sanctity and inviolability of the Charter of the United Nations round which mankind's hopes for a better and just world had begun to grow. The Council feels that a decision adopted in such vitiated circumstances cannot be regarded as binding on the Arabs of Palestine or the Arab and the Muslim world, and it, therefore, fully supports the decision of the Arab League not to accept it. On behalf of the Muslims of the Dominions of Pakistan and India, the Council sends to Arabs of Palestine a message of courage and hope on the eve of the great struggle which they are about to launch for the defence of their country against Zionist aggression and other heavy odds which [are] likely to be ranged against them and the Council assures the Arabs that Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, engrossed though they are in grave domestic problems of their own, will render every possible help for the achievement of the aspiration[s] of the Arabs in Palestine and for the preservation of its freedom and integrity which is a matter of concern not to the Arabs but to the Muslim world as such.

Annex III to No. 273

RESOLUTION NO. 3

The Council of the All India Muslim League views with great satisfaction the attainment of its main objective, namely, the establishment of Pakistan, and congratulates the Musalmans of the Indian subcontinent on the sacrifices they have made for the achievement of their national goal. The Council feels confident that the unique struggle of the Muslim League for the establishment of a fully independent sovereign State,

under the super leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and its ultimate triumph in the birth of the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest of all States in the world, will go down in history as the most outstanding world event of modern times. The Council now calls upon the Musalmans of Pakistan and all other loyal citizens of the State to make the greatest possible contribution towards the building up of this new-born State so that in as short a time as possible it can attain an honourable position in the comity of nations of the world as an ideal democratic State based on social justice, as an upholder of human freedom and world peace for which Islam stands, and as a country which will be strong in arms, rich in moral and material wealth, and in which all its citizens will enjoy equal rights and be free from fear, want and ignorance.

Now that the main object of the All India Muslim League has been fulfilled and India has been divided into two independent and sovereign States, certain changes are inevitable in the structure, objectives and policies of the All India Muslim League Organization. It is obvious that the Musalmans of Pakistan and India can no longer have one and the same political organization.

The Council, therefore, resolves:

1. i. that in place of the All India Muslim League, there shall be separate Muslim League organizaitons for Pakistan and the Indian Union;

ii. that all members of the Council of the All India Muslim League for the time being ordinarily residents of the territories comprising Pakistan or have settled therein and all Muslim members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly who are primary members of Muslim League, do hereby constitute the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League;

iii. that all members of the council of the All India Muslim League who are ordinarily residents of the territories comprising the Indian Union or have settled therein and all Muslim members of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly who are primary member[s] of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League,

iv. that a Convenor each be appointed of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League with instruction to convene at very early dates meetings of the two respective Councils as defined above, for the purpose of electing office-bearers, framing the constitution and transacting such other business as may arise by virtue of this decision.

v. that the following be elected the Convenors, respectively:

a. for the Pakistan Muslim League—Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.
b. for the Indian Union Muslim League—Mr. Mohammed Ismail, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League.

vi. that the meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League will be held at Karachi[1] and that of the Indian Union Muslim League at Madras.

2. That all primary members of the All India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of Pakistan or have settled therein should be deemed *ipso facto* to have become primary members of the Pakistan Muslim League, and all members of the All India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of the Indian Union or have settled therein be deemed to have become *ipso facto* primary members of the India Union Muslim League.

3. That when meetings of the respective Councils of the Pakistan Muslim League and the India Union Muslim League are convened each Council shall elect its representatives, not exceeding 3 in each case, as members of a joint ad hoc committee for the purpose of deciding how the assets and liabilities of the All India Muslim League are to be equitably divided as between the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League. In the event of a difference of opinion in the ad hoc committee, the issues in dispute will be finally decided by the Quaid-i-Azam.

4. That in case of dispute regarding the membership of the Council, a written declaration by an existing member of the Council of the All India Muslim League to the effect that he is ordinarily a resident of or has settled in Pakistan or Indian Union, shall be conclusive.

5. That the existing Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League shall continue to function in accordance with the Constitution and Rules for the Muslim League Organization in Pakistan till such time as the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League meets and for the Muslim League Organization in India Union till such time as the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League meets.[2]

[1]A meeting of the PML Council was held at Karachi on 23 & 25 February 1948 where its constitution & rules were adopted. See F. 562/1-13, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]For the press reports on the resolutions, see Annexes IV to IX.

Annex IV to No. 273

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL[1]

KARACHI, Dec. 15: A meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held at Karachi in camera. The Quaid-i-Azam presided. Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council for about an hour in English, and his speech was later translated into Urdu by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Mr. Jinnah began by welcoming the members, and reviewed the events that led to the partition of India. Referring to the developments that had taken place since the session of the League Council of June 8 [sic for 9], Mr. Jinnah said: "We are meeting today to discuss what is going to be the future structure of the All-India Muslim League. As you know, the Muslim League has achieved and established Pakistan in a way and in a manner which has no parallel. The Muslims were a crowd, they were demoralized, and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues, but for the masses. Muslim India would have been finished if Pakistan had not been achieved. We have established Pakistan where there are at least 60 millions of Muslims, with a mighty territory and complete sovereignty. Credit for this must go to the Minority Provinces. We both agreed (the Congress and the League) regarding the treatment of the minorities. I never thought that the Hindus would resort not only to killing and destroying life and property, but to organized group barbarites. It was intended to give a blow to Pakistan. There [*sic*] was pre-planned."

The Quaid-i-Azam deplored the human madness that had overwhelmed people and brought misery to many homes.

While condemning the disturbances in both the Dominions, the Quaid-i-Azam reminded the Muslims that it was against Islam to indulge in such crimes. He expressed the hope that the minorities in both the Dominions would be assured adequate protection, and as the Governor-General of Pakistan, he would do his duty.

The Quaid-i-Azam recalled the charges that were being levelled against Pakistan and its leaders about the betrayal of the Muslim masses in the Indian Union. He said, he was full of feelings for the Muslim masses in the Indian Union who were, unfortunately, facing bad days. He advised the Indian Muslims to organize themselves so as to become powerful enough to safeguard their political rights. A well-organized minority should be powerful enough to protect its own rights—political, cultural, economic and social. On his part, he assured them of his full realization that the achievement of Pakistan was the outcome of the labour and toil of the Muslims in India as well as of

those who were now enjoying its fruits. Pakistan would help them in every possible way.

A member interrupted and asked the Quaid-i-Azam if he would once again, be prepared to take over the leadership of the Muslims of India in the present hour of trial. The Quaid-i-Azam replied that he was quite willing to do so if the Council gave its verdict in favour of such a proposal. He recalled his statement at the time of the achievement of Pakistan, the cherished goal of the Muslim nation, that he wanted to lead a retired life. But if called upon, he was quite ready to leave Pakistan and share the difficulties of the Muslims in the Indian Union and to lead them....

Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council again and said: "Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals. It was not going to be an ecclesiastical State. In Islam there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even UNO, has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim State.

There must be a Muslim League in Hindustan. If you are thinking of anything else, you are finished. If you want to wind up the League you can do so; but I think it would be a great mistake. I know there is an attempt. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others are trying to break the identity of Muslims in India. Do not allow it. Do not do it."

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, 16 December, 1947.

Annex V to No. 273

SUHRAWARDY SUPPORTS LEAGUE SPLIT[1]

Plea for Keeping Doors Open to non-Muslims

KARACHI, Dec. 15: Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, ex-Premier of Bengal told API, after the fateful and last session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, held this evening: "The meeting of the Council was convened at my instance in order to effect this division and hence I cannot but agree."

It was explained, Mr. Suhrawardy continued that the future of each League would depend on the members of each part. I hope that the Pakistan Muslim League will throw its doors open to the non-Muslim subjects of Pakistan as it seems incredible to me that a political party be established here controlling the government which will exclude a section of the people by its very constitution.

Suhrawardy added: "If they do that it would be fascism and not democracy. Of course, there will be a tendency to maintain the League in its present form for the purpose of perpetuating the authority of

those in power so that they could mislead the masses by appealing to Muslim solidarity.

"But, I am sure that they will not be able to play this game for long. What is dangerous about such a possibility is that it will provide an argument, however fallacious, to the Hindu Mahasabha in the India Union to claim to be the political organisation that should influence the government of the Indian Union."

REACTIONARY FORCES

Mr. Suhrawardy continued: "Any strength thus given to the reactionary forces in the Indian Union would jeopardise the safety and the existence of the Muslims there and I feel certain that the Muslim majority of Pakistan realise the dangerous consequences of such a movement to the Muslims of Hindustan who will not fall a prey to such slogans. After all what possibly can the Muslims of Pakistan have to fear from their non-Muslim minorities already verging on a state of panic.

"I would like, however, before separation that the Government of Pakistan, which should be amenable to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, had taken steps to come to terms with the India Union Government on treatment of minorities and the extent to which the minorities should be associated in the services and administration. I also would very much have liked a clearer exposition of a policy of co-operation between the two Dominions and the exchange of good-will missions.

Fortunately an amendment to the first resolution has impressed upon the Government of Pakistan the duty of striving for such a settlement".

Mr. Suhrawardy stated: "My nominal opposition to the third resolution was for the purpose of ensuring some positive action before we parted company. I hope that the sentiments of the amendment will be put into effect soon.

Undoubtedly it takes two to arrive at an agreement and both sides must have the will. I can hardly speak for the Government of the Indian Union but, what I do know of it is that the will does exist in those who shape its policy; that existed for some time and if the Pakistan Government acts in terms of the resolution it will find that the agreement to safeguard the rights of the minorities will be reached without much effort."—API

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 16 December, 1947.

Annex VI to No. 273

END AND BEGINNING[1]

17 December 1947

After an eventful career of forty-one years the All-India Muslim League ceases to exist as the single organization of one people inhabiting one country. It was an expected decision and is a logical consequence of the fulfilment of the League's own aims. It can indeed be described as the unwritten post script to the Lahore Resolution of 1940 which asked for a separate sovereign State by dividing India. The "All India" League is no more, but two Leagues come into being, each independent of the other and free to choose not only new leaders but a new policy and a new programme suited to the requirements of the new situation in the respective new States. The Muslims of India will look no longer for guidance from any source outside their own country in which their lot has been cast and within whose borders their salvation has to be worked out. Soon the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League will meet in Madras and the new organization will embark upon its career. Muslims of Pakistan wish it godspeed and will watch its progress with hope not unalloyed with anxiety, for there are dark communal clouds still on the Indian horizon. But the decision taken in Karachi should help in creating a better atmosphere and the growth of understanding.

New leaders who rise in place of the old should be able to rally Muslim ranks and put heart and good cheer into them. That is the Indian Muslims' need of the hour. Defeatism must be combated and the future faced with confidence. Even smaller minorities than the Indian Musalmans, who still total much more than the populations of many independent countries of the world, can hold their own against all odds only if: (1) their conscience is clear vis-a-vis their more numerous fellow countrymen, (2) they remain true to their ideals and (3) they remain united. The first factor already exists because, say what the incredulous will, the Muslims of the Indian Union have sincerely identified themselves with their country. India and not Pakistan, they regard as their home. The Karachi decision severs the last nominal link. The second and third factors it will be the new League's job to strengthen. If they do that job well the forty million Muslims of India can still come to occupy their legitimate place in the affairs of their country, in the fullness of time. But if they listen to the siren voice of disruption or let their morale suffer, no power on earth can help them.

In Pakistan the League in a new form is to continue as the national organization and for the time being its total liquidation has been deemed

unwise. There was something to be said for the view, lately canvassed, that a non-denominational political body should replace the Muslim League, but it cannot be denied that there would have been, then, a break in the momentum of national impulse. The Indian Union Muslim League will doubtless make important changes in its aims and objects and modify its appeal to its members: The Pakistan Muslim League will need to alter these less. The national impulse, having achieved its main objective of a national State, has now to be harnessed to that State's service. The collective wisdom of the nation's leaders has decided that the preservation of a platform for Muslims only, who alone have made such tremendous sacrifices for Pakistan, would be the best incentive for the continuation of national endeavour for the building up of Pakistan. National solidarity is still the supreme need for the purpose of consolidating what has been gained, and there is little doubt that such solidarity can be fully maintained only through the platform of the Muslim League which has become a mass organization. It would take time and much fresh effort to build up a new platform and create popular enthusiasm for it. Neither the time nor the effort can now be spared. But there will have to be a search for new talent for association with the old, and the bounds of opportunity for service to the national organization should also be widened. It would be a great pity if the new League were to pass into long spells of comatose inaction due to too few trying to do too much. The office of the Pakistan Muslim League should be better organized and more efficiently run than was the office of the All India Muslim League. It was indeed a miracle that so much success attended so little centrally organized effort, but it would be the course of unwisdom to bank on continuing miracles. The lack of suitable men is a real difficulty but it should not become a plea. And surely, if Muslims can find the men to run a state they can find a few men to run that State's premier political organization?

We shall comment later on the other resolutions adopted by the Council, but in concluding this editorial epitaph on the great organization which began in 1906 by asking for small favours and ended in 1947 by founding a kingdom, we ask the nation to bow in grateful homage once again to that man of miracle, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who made the League the power it became and welded a loosely knit community into the united nation it now is. The All India League has vanished from the scene of its labours and its triumphs in the fullness of glory; may God grant that the Quaid-i-Azam who led it to victory may long be with us to complete the consolidation of that victory's prize.

[1]Editorial, the *Dawn*, 17 December 1947.

Annex VII to No. 273

END AND BEGINNING[1]

17 December 1947

On Monday December 15, the All India Muslim League passed from the field of our national politics to the pages of our national history. On that day the League, as at present constituted, held its last session and then resolved to divide the organisation into autonomous Hindustan and Pakistan units. It is too early to speculate on the future of these two organisations but we have no reason to doubt that the League leaders of Pakistan and Hindustan will pilot their respective craft with devotion and sagacity. We have already expressed our views regarding the course that best suits, in our opinion, the new conditions under which the Muslims of Pakistan and Hindustan will henceforth have to live. The Muslims of Hindustan, we consider, can live, peacefully and with honour, in the land of their birth, only if the forces of obscurantism and reaction in Hindustan—the forces at present closed in a mortal struggle with the protagonists of progress and reason—are defeated and laid low; if fugitive justice and exiled humanity are rehabilitated and restored to their normal abode in the social conscience of civilised men. The Muslims of Hindustan are now a permanent minority. Any sanction of force that they might manage to muster, internally or externally, to maintain an honourable existence is bound to be inadequate against the odds they will have to face. And mere professions of loyalty will hardly placate hate-intoxicated maniacs bent on the demolition of all civilised values. A savage can never be supreme in a civilised town; he must have a wilderness or a jungle, and that is why civilised towns are fast being converted into forbidding wilderness. In a jungle a weaker inhabitant has no chance however good and honourable his intentions. He might manage a limited span of fear-haunted, pain-ridden, nightmarish existence, the sort of existence the Muslims of Delhi lead at present, but such existence hardly deserve[s] the epithet "human". What other sanction can the Muslims of India rely on? The only real sanction that a national minority ever has is the sanction of genuine democracy that does not judge the worth of a citizen by the colour of his skin, the entries in his genealogical tree, or the way he prostrates himself before his God, but treats him as well or better than other citizens according to his individual contribution to his State and his people. Someone might say that to talk of civilisation in a land where infants have been torn limb from limb and women ripped with lustful steel [*sic*], is fantastic nonsense and to pitch one's hopes on the rehabilitation of egalitarian

democracy is the blindest of follies. We refuse to believe it. We believe that justice and humanity and democracy can still win, given a chance, and this victory is the only guarantee of an honourable future for Indian Muslims. Their objective, therefore, is clear, namely to swell the ranks and strengthen the hands of whatever progressive forces are in, or are struggling to come into operation in Hindustan. It is for them to decide how best they can do it. They might be able to do it better by maintaining a separate identity but working in close liaison with other progressive groups or by merging themselves into a larger non-denominational group. They should in any case divest themselves of any redundant vestiges of a political era now past, that can still be exploited by the enemies of freedom and democracy in Hindustan to arouse hatred and suspicion, and that impedes the process of their political assimilation in the new State. The Muslims of Pakistan, unless they consider this severance of political and geographical ties with Indian Muslims as the end of all ties between them, will have to adjust their new political endeavour and alignment to the same objective that we have outlined for Indian Muslims, namely, the victory of progressive over reactionary forces in Pakistan and Hindustan. If our new State is going to be a one party State and if the only national party in Pakistan remains closed to our non-Muslim nationals we shall virtually shut them out from all political activity. It will almost amount to a denial of national rights. At any rate, that is how our opponents in the other Dominion will view the matter for purposes of retaliation. Since we have got our own state it looks very attractive to make its working as exclusive, its composition as free from foreign matter as possible. But such exclusiveness is precisely the argument the reactionaries on the other side will be on the look-out for, to victimise the helpless millions of another faith under their care. This is not defeatism, it is common sense. We hope, therefore, that the new chapter of national history just begun will be written with as much imagination and care as the chapter just ended.

[1]Editorial, the *Pakistan Times*, 17 December 1947.

Annex VIII to No. 273

FINIS TO ALL INDIA LEAGUE[1]

Separate Organisations for Two Dominions
By Yusuf Afghan

The fateful and historic decision to bifurcate the All India Muslim League into two—one for Pakistan and another for Indian Union, each

independent of the other—was taken by the League Council which met at the Khaliqdina Hall in Karachi, on December 14—for the first time after the partition of India. Nearly 300 delegates, out of 450, had come from all over the two Dominions.

The news was already in the air; eager, enthusiastic crowds thronged around the compound, blocking all traffic, while the newsmen anxiously gathered in the lawn to watch the proceedings. The meeting was held in camera and the premises were closely guarded by police and the Muslim National Guards—Pakistan's Green Shirts.

League slogans and hearty cheers rented [*sic*] the atmosphere as the leaders went in one after another. And the crescendo of their loud-throated applause reached its pitch as the Quaid-i-Azam arrived to participate in the deliberations.

While the people and pressmen waited on tenterhooks to know the fate of the All India Muslim [League] after the glorious culmination of its career, the Council, it is understood, act [*sic*] to the momentous deliberations immediately after the President's introductory speech.

ADVICE TO INDIAN MUSLIMS

The Quaid-i-Azam, after reviewing the events that led to the establishment of the biggest Muslim state in the world for which the Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder, it is understood, put a word of cheer and hope for the Indian Muslims. He is stated to have urged them *not to feel demoralized but reorganize themselves into a powerful and effective minority under correct leadership.*[2]

It seems that the main resolution of the day—on dividing the Muslim league into two parts—met with protracted objections at first, such as whether the Council is competent enough to decide the issue. But the fine ruling of the Quaid-i-Azam and the suitable reply of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan gave the resolution a smooth passage, by virtue of which Mr. Muhammad Ismail was appointed as convenor of the Indian Union Muslim League and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan for Pakistan.

In the concluding speech, Quaid-i-Azam gave a parting message to the Muslims in the Indian Union who alone, he said, were competent to take a decision on their policy and programme. However, he added that they must make a realistic approach to the problem which was different from that confronting the Pakistan Muslims.

NEED FOR SEPARATE ORGANISATIONS

The main resolution, paying a glowing tribute to the "superb leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in establishing the fifth largest and biggest Muslim State in the world," said in part:

"Now that the main object of the All India Muslim League has been

satisfied and India has been divided into two independent and sovereign States, certain changes are inevitable in the structure, objectives and policies of the All India Muslim League organisation. It is obvious that the Musalmans of Pakistan and India can no longer have one and the same political organisation.

The Council, therefore resolves:

a. That in place of the All India Muslim League there shall be *separate* Muslim League organisations for Pakistan and the Indian Union.
b. That all members of the Council of the All India Muslim League for the time being who have become ordinarily residents of the territories comprised by Pakistan or have settled therein and all Muslim members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly who are primary members of Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League.
c. That all members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who have become ordinarily residents of the territory comprised by the Indian Union or have settled therein and all Muslim members of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly who are primary members of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League.

LEAGUE CONVENTIONS

d. That a convenor each be appointed of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League, with instruction to convene at very early dates meetings of the two respective Councils as defined above, for the purpose of electing office-bearers, framing the constitution and transacting such other business as arises by virtue of this decision.
e. That the following be elected the convenors respectively: For the Pakistan Muslim League, the Hon. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, for the Indian Union Muslim League, Mr. Muhammad Ismail, President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League.

1. That the meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League will be held in Karachi and that of the Indian Union Muslim League in Madras.

2. That all primary members of the All India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of Pakistan or have settled therein should be deemed *ipso facto* to have become primary members of the Pakistan Muslim League, and all members of the All India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of the Indian Union or have settled therein be deemed to have become *ipso facto* primary members of the Indian

Union Muslim League.

3. That when meetings of the respective Councils of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League are convened, each Council shall elect its representatives, not exceeding three in each case, as members of a joint *ad hoc* Committee for the purpose of deciding how the assets and liabilities of the All India Muslim League are to be equitably divided as between the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League. In the event of a difference of opinion in the *ad hoc* Committee the issues in dispute will be finally decided by the Quaid-i-Azam.

4. That in case of a dispute regarding the membership of the Council, a written declaration by an existing member of the All India Muslim League to the effect that he is ordinarily resident of or has settled in Pakistan or the Indian Union shall be conclusive.

5. That the existing Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League shall continue to function in accordance with the constitution and rules for the Muslim League organisation in Pakistan till such time as the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League meets and for the Muslim League organisation in the Indian Union till such time as the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League meets.

ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES

The Council then passed a resolution on the communal situation in India, placing on record its deep sense of sorrow and its feelings of horror at the widespread acts of organised violence and barbarity which had taken place resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, the colossal destruction of property and the mass migration of people.

The Council also viewed with grave concern the rising tide of communal antagonism against the Muslim minority in the Indian Union and despite the Congress assurance regarding minorities, Muslim life and property continued to be insecure and Muslims were being subjected to various disabilities because they happened to be Muslims.

The Council strongly condemned that inspite of strict injunctions given privately and publicly by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League, not to harass minorities in any way, unfortunately acts of violence were also committed in certian parts of Pakistan inflicting loss of life and property on non-Muslim minorities but expressed satisfaction that these were suppressed and brought under control by timely and vigorous action on the part of Government concerned.

The Council reminded both India and Pakistan that they jointly gave categorical assurances to minorities and it called upon the authorities

concerned in Pakistan to ensure that these pledges were fully and sincerely honoured and hoped that the Government of the Indian Union will do likewise.

A resolution rejecting the U.N. partition of Palestine was also adopted at the meeting.

[1]The *Deccan Times*, 21 December 1947.
[2]In italics in the original.

Annex IX to No. 273

LEAGUE'S DISSOLUTION FRAUGHT WITH DANGER[1]

Ridiculous Clamour for Ban Exposed
By Yusuf Afghan

The Karachi decision of the All India Muslim League Council has brought forth from the Congress press a spate of tantrums rising into a feverish crescendo of a demand for an official ban on the League and allied organisations.

It is argued that "coming into being of Pakistan ended the rationale for existence of the Muslim League in India." The Muslims are reminded, with the usual fanfare of threats, that so long as they persist in ploughing the "communalist" furrow and feed the separatist tendencies by keeping their "communalist" organizations alive, they will block all ways of survival, cultural, political and economic, and dig their own grave.

BASELESS TIRADE

Did not ex-Rashtrapati Kripalani make it clear that "the safety of Muslims must come from their Hindu neighbours who form the majority of the population and from whom the majority in the ranks of the police and army must come!"

How can this safety be guaranteed? "Forthwith dissolve the Muslim League and throw in their lot with the Congress!"

What can the Congress Governments, inalienably wedded to the cult of non-violence, do, if the Hindu masses choose to punish the Muslims, till yesterday their "blood-brothers," for the unpardonable sin of re-organising the Muslim League in India?

And did not Pundit Nehru assure the Indians that the Government aims at "a strong, free and democratic India where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity of growth and service" and that "in such an India, communalism, separatism, isolation, bigotry and exploitation of man by man has no place, and while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a person's life."

India has been promised a rosy future as "a secular State" in the comity of nations; then why should a "communalist" organisation like the Muslim League be tolerated to grow in the scheme of things Indian.

That is the sum-total of their tirade against the Karachi decision of the League Council. The arguments sound irrefutable if they are considered in the context of a purely academic evaluation of the problem that faces Muslim India. But the moment they are brought into contact with realities of the situation, they crumble down in an incohate [*sic* for inchoate] heap like the proverbial house of cards.

HISTORY IS FORGOTTEN

Those who argue that "the coming into being of Pakistan ended the rationale for existence of the Muslim League in India," betray crass ignorance of the history of the Muslim League. It is neither honest nor decent to forget that the Muslim League was launched into being with the object of safeguarding the religious, cultural, political and economic rights of the Muslims inhabiting Indian subcontinent. Its administration was dictated by the need to secure a respectable position for Muslims in the constitutional struggle which started taking shape at the beginning of the century. Since then the Muslim League has served as a sounding-board for Muslim opinion in the country, formulating their demands, giving expression to their aspirations, ventilating their grievances and championing their legitimate cause. The Congress itself recognised the bonafides of the Muslim League by signing the wellknown Lucknow Pact as far back as 1916.

The Lucknow Pact stands out even today as a counter blast to the blasphemous lie that the Muslim League has consistently fostered and encouraged separatist tendencies and undone all the good that Britain-imposed administrative unity was supposed to have done.

The Khilafat Agitation which blazoned forth the unity theme as a concrete proposition instead of as vague ideal, is yet another instance in point. *It is wrong to maintain that the separatist role was adopted by the Muslim League, while historical facts tentatively prove that the separatist role was foisted on the Muslim League by Hindu communalists who have dominated the Congress and controlled its policies from twenties onward.* With the spread of political consciousness in the Muslim population, the urge to govern their own political destiny grew stronger and stronger among the Muslims of the North West and North East zones of India. Pakistan was incorporated into the creed of the All India Muslim League. That ideal has been realised.

But Pakistan was never the be-all and end-all of the League mission.

On the contrary, the Muslim interests today are in greater jeopardy than ever before.

COMMUNALIST FRANKENSTEIN

It is a pity that those who are haunted by the roseate visions of a secular State, refuse to see the communalist Frankenstein stalking the land with its head erect and its arrogance unsoftened. The warning has come from no less a person than Pandit Nehru himself. In a recent speech, he said:

"We have recently passed through a great World War. That war has not brought peace and freedom, but it should teach us many lessons. It brought the downfall of what had been called Fascism and Nazism. Both of these creeds were narrow and over-boasting and based on hatred and violence. I watched their growth in their respective countries as well as elsewhere. They brought a certain prestige to their people for a while, but they also killed the spirit and destroyed all values and standards of thought and behaviour. They ended by ruining the nations they sought to exalt. *I see something very similar to that flourishing in India today. It talks in the name of nationalism, sometimes of religion and culture, and yet it is the very opposite of nationalism, of true morality and of real culture. If there was any doubt of this, the past few months would have shown us the real picture."*

The Muslims today are called upon to contend against these sinister forces of Fascism. If they fail at this critical juncture, they will never be able to rise for generations to come. What they need is an organisation which enjoys their confidence and which will help them tide over the present crisis.

NEW PROBLEMS

If the creation of Pakistan has solved some of our problems, it has also created some new problems although these latter problems are the problems of the transitional period. Let it not be forgotten that only a representative organisation, enjoying the unstinted and unqualified support of the Muslims, is capable of tackling these problems effectively.

Which organisation in India, for instance, can stem the tide of panic which has gripped the Indian Muslims and check a chaotic exodus of Muslims to Pakistan?

All the assurances given by the Congress to Indian Muslims have so far been respected by the Congress-men more in their breach than fulfilment. An utter sense of insecurity hangs like a pall over the Muslims.

In these circumstances, the only outcome of the dissolution of the

Muslim League would be chaos.

RIDICULOUS CLAMOUR

Moreover, the critics who are clamouring for the dissolution of the Muslim League, forget that the Muslim League never contemplated its dissolution even after the achievement of Pakistan. On the contrary, it was the Congress which assured the people that its mission would be fulfilled as soon as India's independence was won and that it would be disbanded thereafter. Independence has been won; yet there is not the slightest sign of the Congress fulfilling its promise to the people. The Congressmen do not even talk of rounding up the Congress show in Pakistan at least. They argue that the Congress is not India and, hence, the loyalty of the Pakistan Hindus to the Congress does not clash with their loyalty to Pakistan. Similarly, one might as well maintain that since the Muslim League is not Pakistan, the loyalty of the Indian Muslims to the Muslim League does not militate against their loyalty to India. Yet there is a vital difference here. It should be remembered that the Indian Muslim League has severed its connections with the Pakistan Muslim League and the two will be functioning independent of each other. Not so with the Congress. The same organisation is sought to be kept alive in both the Dominions and attempts are being made to co-ordinate their activities. How can then any man in his senses maintain that the loyalty of Pakistan Hindus to the Congress does not detrat from their loyalty to Pakistan? It is important to bear in mind that the Congress is in power in India today.

It is thoroughly a ridiculous clamour to demand that the Muslim League should be banned without watching its activities in free India. The Muslim Leaguers themselves realise—and none better—that their organisation will have to play a new role in the new India. It is important to understand that this new role will be largely dictated by the attitude of the majority community towards minorities. For the rest, it is yet too premature to demand that it should be banned.

[1]The *Deccan Times*, 28 December 1947.
[2]In italics here and subsequently in the original.

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Kanji Dwarkadas[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/59

34 ALTAMONT ROAD,
CUMBALLA HILL,
BOMBAY,
16 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be interested in my letter on the Matunga Labour Camp which appeared in the *Times of India* and the *Evening News*. I am enclosing a copy.[2] The Camp is populated by *Harijans* and I should like to draw your attention to the last paragraph of the letter.

I hope you are enjoying the best of health. I am going to Madras for a short holiday as the guest of the Governor of Madras and Lady Nye. I shall also meet Krishnaji who has returned to India after 8 years from the USA.

Next week your birthday comes and I take this opportunity of sending you my very very best wishes for your good health and for *the success of the Pakistan Government and for peace, friendship and co-operation between the two Dominions*.[3] The world situation is getting more and more serious and it is best that the two Dominions should work in friendship and mutual co-operation. Unimportant, insignificant as I may be, I would like to put myself entirely at the disposal of those who are working for peace and harmony and happiness of the people.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
KANJI DWARKADAS

[1]Author of *Ruttie Jinnah—The Story of A Great Friendship*.
[2]See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/60. Not printed.
[3]Sidelined in the original.

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Akhtar Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/289

JACOB LINES, KARACHI,
16 December 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

The humble petitioner, on behalf of the employees of Delhi Municipal Committee, who are at present in Karachi, begs to make the following submission for Your Excellency's favourable and sympathetic consideration.

1. Forced by the tragic circumstances caused by the civil disturbances in Delhi, we the Muslim employees of Delhi Municipal Committee, had to leave the place and run to Pakistan for taking refuge here. Many have been killed there, including Dr. F.H. Mufti, the Medical Officer of Health, his Stenographer, Mr. Abdul Karim, his Peon Shabbir Beg, and others.

2. We have, amongst us, people of every experience of ministerial, clerical and technical nature—people who have [*sic*] known in Delhi how to increase the income of the Municipality through terminal tax, toll tax, house tax, water rate, hackney-carriage tax, milch calls [*sic*] tax, etc., etc., [and] how to tackle problems of city sanitation, including the operation of Refuse-Train Scheme for transporting the city refuse and night-soil to Badli, a place 12 miles from Delhi; how to enforce regulated and metered water supply in the city; how to run municipal engineering department, including construction of roads, their annual maintenance, [and] slum clearance schemes. This and a horde of other municipal essential and non-essential services are the services with which we have been dealing.

3. We have been trying to secure jobs in Karachi Municipal Corporation but, though jobs are learnt to be there as most of the non-Muslim staff has left and is leaving, we have not been fortunate to be successful in our attempts.

4. Although Your Excellency is undoubtedly taken up [*sic*] with higher problems of national and international importance, we respectfully beg to approach Your Excellency in the hope that a gesture from Your Excellency will, by the grace of God, solve our economic and non-employment problem as nothing else will do.

5. We beg to assure Your Excellency with all the force at our command that we are the truest and most loyal citizens of Pakistan and it

has been our aim of life to serve Pakistan for which we shouted slogans in Hindustan. Now that we are here, by the grace of God, we wish we could bring our experience and talent into display in our particular lines without the least delay.

6. We earnestly hope, Your Excellency will give the usual kind and sympathetic consideration to our petition as Your Excellency has to heart [*sic*] the welfare and upliftment [*sic*] of each and every Muslim.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency's
most obedient and loyal servants,
AKHTAR HUSAIN
For and on behalf of
Employees of Delhi Municipal
Committee

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A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/113

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
MOHATTA PALACE, CLIFTON,
KARACHI,
16 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

Mr. El Huseini El Khatib, the Charge d'affaires for Egypt, as you know, arrived in Karachi about a fortnight ago. I have already arranged that he should call on the Foreign Office and meet the Foreign Minister. He now wants an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. Would you kindly find out a suitable date and time and let me know as early as possible?[1] The interview will be informal as Charge d'affaires do not present credentials to the Head of the State. It need not last more than 5 or 10 minutes.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY
Deputy Secretary

[1]The interview was fixed for 19 December 1947. See F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/112. Not printed.

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A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/114

IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
MOHATTA PALACE, CLIFTON,
KARACHI,
16 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

It is necessary to arrange an interview with Quaid-i-Azam for Mr. Pe Kin, the High Commissioner for Burma. I am afraid we have been remiss in not arranging this interview earlier because the High Commissioner arrived in Karachi about 2 months ago, but by the time we could ask for an interview, the Quaid-i-Azam had left for Lahore. This interview, with the Head of the State is, therefore, overdue and we are very anxious to have it fixed for as early a date as possible. In view of the delay (which has been noticed by the High Commissioner's Office) we would like the Quaid-i-Azam to meet him before he meets any other Foreign Representative like Egypt, Indonesia, etc. Could you kindly, therefore, secure a suitable date and time and let me know[1] so that I can arrange to bring him to Governor-General's House and send him up to see the Quaid-i-Azam. There is no ceremonial about the visit of High Commissioners to Heads of British Commonwealth countries. He will just be taken by us and presented to the Quaid-i-Azam. He would most probably like to bring his First and Second Secretaries with him.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]The interview was fixed for 19 December 1947. See F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/112. Not printed.

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 196-GG/1-3

PERSONAL

KARACHI,
16 December 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I wanted to see you, but in view of your delicate health I refrained from doing so.

In Lahore you were pleased to tell me that the fate of an assembly will be settled sometime in the 1st week of February 48. This, I am afraid, is a bit too late. *Personally, I would prefer an early decision.*[2]

Total strength of the Assembly is 50—12 Hindus and Sikhs, and 38 Muslims. *The present position is this:*

12 Hindus and Sikhs—one has been killed. Rest have left us.
1 Congress Muslim MLA died a few days ago.
1 Muslim League MLA has become a Sessions Judge.
2 By-elections pending in [*sic*] seats in Hazara where 2 League MLAs died sometime ago.
4 Congress Muslim MLAs have promised to join us.
1 Congress Muslim MLA, viz. the Speaker has joined us.
15 Muslim League MLAs.
14 Congress Muslim MLAs.

There are 16 Muslim League MLAs, 4 Congress Muslim MLAs have promised to join us—4 by-elections are pending. This is the present picture.

If we "wash away" the 12 Hindus and Sikhs, and win the 4 by-elections, we will have a strength of 24(as 4 Congress Muslim MLAs are crossing over) as against 14 Muslim Congress MLAs.

If the Assembly is called, we will be faced with the following danger:

a. Risk and turmoil of by-elections.
b. Danger of defection on the part of uncertain allies, if they do not get their "pound of flesh".
c. MLAs will demand their price, which if paid, will make us highly unpopular in the transition period.
d. We will have to face intrigues and expansion of the Ministry—which in the transition period is highly undesirable.

Our Ministry of two is very popular at present. The sanction behind us is our great victory in the recent Referendum.

My considered opinion is that till such time that the new constitution is framed, we should do without any assembly in the N.W.F.P. If we put in good work for a year or two, we will have enhanced the prestige of the League. What the Frontier needs is an honest and efficient government. People are with us and are not concerned about the Assembly.

I, therefore, request that the present Assembly be dissolved and the Ministry be allowed to carry on. A new statute will be required to regularise it.

Let me add, Sir, that if my being in the Ministry is an obstacle, I am prepared to go out.

I am flying back to Peshawar on the morning of the 18th.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM
[*Premier, NWFP*]

[1]Jinnah advised that the issues may in the first instance be discussed with Liaquat during his forthcoming visit to Peshawar. See F. 196-GG/4. Not printed.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

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Robert Stimson[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 135-GG/80

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
16 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Here is my proposed text[2] of our interview. I have left space between the lines for you to note such amendments and alterations as you think fit.

As I promised this morning, I shall give a copy of your final version to the P[rincipal] I[nformation] O[fficer], Pakistan Government.

May I call for the final version at about 11 a.m. tomorrow, Wednesday. That will then give the BBC plenty of time to broadcast the interview all over the world on the same day.

With my best thanks and warmest wishes,

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT STIMSON

[1]BBC Correspondent based at New Delhi.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 279

F. 135-GG/81-6

16 December 1947

The following is the text of an interview given by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, at Government House, Karachi.

In an interview with Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, said that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine. "The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent", he said, "are obviously reluctant to antagonise the United States, or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us short of a formal declaration of war."

"If individual Muslims from Pakistan wish to fight alongside their Arab brothers in Pakistan, they will be encouraged to do so", the Quaid-i-Azam declared.

The Quaid-i-Azam said he thought it regrettable that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had not pursued with more resoluteness their efforts to find a just and honourable solution of the Palestine problem. "With greater persistence His Majesty's Government might have been more successful than the United Nations," declared the Quaid-i-Azam.

Discussing future relations between Great Britain and Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But personally I have not the slightest doubt that Pakistan will be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing and loyal member, provided Great Britain is prepared to exercise the great moral responsibilities she has as the senior member of the Commonwealth. At the moment I feel that Great Britain is treating Pakistan as a stepmother might treat an unpopular stepchild. I fully realise that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time, Britain is in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between junior members of the Commonwealth. At the moment His Majesty's Government are shirking their duty in this respect."

On the question of Kashmir, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Pakistan has not accepted the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Dominion. There can be no solution of the Kashmir problem unless the Indian troops

that are now occupying Kashmir are withdrawn and the present administration replaced by an independent and impartial authority with an international police force and an international army to restore peace and maintain law and order. Until that is done, there can be no talk of a plebiscite."

The Quaid-i-Azam added: "I am convinced that the present administration in Kashmir is opposed by an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of the State. And you must remember that Muslims are about ninety per cent of the total population."

"My solution", the Quaid-i-Azam went on, "is for the Governors-General of India and Pakistan to issue an immediate proclamation asking for the fight to be stopped. If a joint proclamation of this kind fails, the administration of Kashmir should be taken over by the two Governors-General, with the full backing and authority of the two Dominion Governments. The two Governors-General would have to insist on the withdrawal of all outsiders, including troops from the Indian Dominion. If after that, plebiscite—free and fair plebiscite—seemed inevitable, the two Governors-General should be given power to hold one under their own authority, control and supervision."

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League to split the organisation into separate Muslim Leagues for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Since August 15th the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Indian Dominion have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems. That is beyond question. It is only right, therefore, that the Muslims of India should be free to form their own independent policy." The Quaid-i-Azam added that it would be impracticable, and indeed improper, for a single Muslim organisation to operate in two Dominions.

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organisation open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The time has not yet come for a national organisation of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality. The Muslims have only just won their own Muslim homeland, and they have still to build a structure that will suit the Muslim way of life. But the decision to form a purely Muslim organisation in Pakistan is not irrevocable. It may be altered to suit changing conditions."

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Robert Stimson to M. A. Jinnah

F. 135-GG/92-3

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
17 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of suggesting that you should consider the enclosed version[1] of one section of your interview. It is the section on Kashmir. I think you will agree that I have included all the salient points, but I have presented them more briefly, and perhaps, therefore, more clearly.

In considering my suggestion, I wish you to bear in mind two things: first, that this interview, if broadcast by the BBC, will go to perhaps a hundred million listeners all over the world. It would be broadcast in about thirty languages. The average listener outside Pakistan and India knows little or nothing of the intricacies of the local situation here. Every fact must be presented with an almost childlike simplicity, if it is to make the desired impression. You must take my word for it that the presentation of material for broadcasting is a specialist's job. The required technique is quite different from the technique of writing for the eye.

The second point I would ask you to bear in mind is that in a brief news bulletin brevity is a most important factor. Your statement on Kashmir alone would consume about half of an average news bulletin.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT STIMSON

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 280

F. 135-GG/94-5

KASHMIR

On the question of Kashmir, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Pakistan has not accepted, and will never accept, the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. We consider it morally and legally untenable.

"The first thing that is needed is the withdrawal of all outsiders from Kashmir, including troops of the Indian Dominion. The next step

is for the two Dominions to agree to setting up a truly representative administration. Until that has been done there can be no question of a plebiscite.

"It is my belief that the present regime in Kashmir is opposed by an overwhelming majority of the population. And eighty per cent of the population are Muslims, who as a whole wish to co-operate with Pakistan. It is true that a certain number of tribesmen from the hills of the North-West Frontier are taking part in the struggle against the present regime, but the real battle of Kashmir is being fought mainly by the local population.

"Kashmir is a part of Pakistan historically, geographically and economically. Until Kashmir joins Pakistan, there will be no peace between the two Dominions."

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S. M. Yusuf to Robert Stimson

F. 135-GG/96

17 December 1947

Dear Mr. Stimson,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to refer to your letter of today's date[1] and to say that he cannot possibly change the statement on Kashmir as finally approved by him[2] and that it must be released to the press as it stands. I am to add that you are the best judge as to what should be put on the BBC and the Quaid-i-Azam would not have any objection to your sending out your abridged version with the following small alteration:

For the words "fought mainly by the local population" at the end of para 3, please substitute "fought mainly by the people of Kashmir."

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

[1]No. 280.
[2]See Annex for the version as revised and corrected by Jinnah.

Annex to No. 281

F. 135-GG/87-91

16 December 1947

The following is the text of an interview given by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, at Governor-General's House, Karachi.

In an interview with Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, said that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine. "The Muslims of the Indian Sub-continent", he said, "are obviously reluctant to antagonize the United States, or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us."

The Quaid-i-Azam said he thought it regrettable that His Majesty's Govt. in Great Britain had not pursued with more resoluteness their efforts to find a just and honourable solution of the Palestine problem. "With greater persistence His Majesty's Govt. might have been more successful than the United Nations," declared the Quaid-i-Azam.

Discussing future relations between Great Britain and Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But personally, I have no doubt that Pakistan will be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing and loyal member, provided Great Britain is prepared to exercise the great moral responsibilities she has as the senior member of the Commonwealth. At the moment I feel that Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realize that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between junior members of the Commonwealth. At the moment it appears to me that His Majesty's Govt. are shirking their duty in this respect."

On the question of Kashmir,[1] the Quaid-i-Azam said: *"The India Govt. simultaneously with the accession of Kashmir to India landed their troops in Kashmir without consulting or informing or referring the matter to the Pakistan Dominion. We have already given our reasons for not accepting this accession because it is both morally and legally untenable. Nevertheless, if the India Govt. do not mean to perpetuate their occupation of Kashmir by bolstering up the present regime and administration, which is entirely opposed by an overwhelming majority of the people of Kashmir, 95% of whom are Musalmans, and genuinely desire to have the co-operation of Pakistan, then the first thing that must be agreed upon is that they should withdraw their troops simultaneously with the outsiders who are there.*

"The real battle of Kashmir is fought by a solid body of the people of Kashmir, and the Azad Force mainly consists of the people of Kashmir. Thousands of them are ex-servicemen who distinguished themselves in the last war, and lakhs of people are behind them and are supporting them. It is

true that a certain number of tribesmen, by virtue of the fact that they are kith and kin of the people on the border, are taking part in the fight, and there are others who were provoked by the oppression and suppression practised by the Dogra regime on the helpless masses of the State. But merely repeating the slogan "that the 'tribesmen' and 'raiders' who are there should be first driven out", will not solve the problem. The only solution is that the Indian troops must be withdrawn simultaneously with the small number of outsiders who are undoubtedly there. The Pakistan Government cannot be expected to either accept the occupation of Kashmir by India or be a party to its perpetuation. The next thing is that the present administration is purely a creation, as part of the design, and merely a puppet administration of India Dominion. It is entirely unacceptable to the people as it does not represent them, and therefore, it must be replaced by a truly representative Government administration of Kashmir. Till then the question of a plebiscite cannot be discussed. It is merely a slogan to mislead the people.

"Kashmir is historically, geographically and economically a part of Pakistan, and it is unthinkable and it will be unnatural and artificial to contemplate that it can accede to Hindustan. It is obvious that 95% of the Musalmans will never agree to it, and if by some manoeuvre and machinations and by suppression and oppression of the people some sort of an artificial verdict is obtained in favour of Hindustan, there will be no peace in Kashmir and so long as Kashmir does not join the Pakistan Dominion there will be no peace between the two Dominions and it will continue to be a menace not only to both the sister Dominions but to the world situation. If Hindustan really means what they say that they went there merely to protect the people of Kashmir, that can be easily secured by setting up a popular, representative and genuine Government and administration by agreement between the two Dominions. It will then be for that Govt., as a properly constituted Government of Kashmir to take decisions."

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League to split the organisation into separate Muslim Leagues for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Since August 15th the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Indian Dominion have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems. That is beyond question. It is only right, therefore, that the Muslims of India should be free to form their own independent policy." The Quaid-i-Azam added that it would be impracticable, and indeed improper, for a single Muslim organisation to operate in [the] two Dominions.

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organisation open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The time has not yet

come for a national organisation of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality. The Muslims have only just won their own Muslim homeland, and they have still to build a structure that will suit the conditions and developments that will take place. But the decision to form a purely Muslim organisation in Pakistan is not irrevocable. It may be altered as and when necessary to suit changing conditions. Nothing is static in politics. It all depends upon what progress we make and further developments that may take place."

M. A. JINNAH

[1]A marginal note stating "that it was a grave issue and he would refrain from making any statement at this stage as talks were going on between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan," replaced the italicised portion of the statement. In the statement issued to the press only the marginal note on Kashmir was included. See No. 299.

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Robert Stimson to S. M. Yusuf

F. 135-GG/97-9

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
17 December 1947

My dear Mr. Yusuf,

Thank you for your letter of today's date.[1] Will you please thank the Quaid-i-Azam for his great courtesy in giving me an immediate reply.

My position is that I cannot see my way clear to sending the BBC the Quaid-i-Azam's original version[2] of the Kashmir section because I see no chance of its being used by the BBC for technical reasons. It is too long, and it is not presented in a form suitable for broadcasting. I think I should be failing in my duty towards my employers if I sent them material that was technically unsuitable.

In the circumstances, I suggest that the Quaid-i-Azam should allow me to send the interview with my shortened version[3] of the Kashmir Section, together with the correction that the Quaid-i-Azam wants—namely that the words "fought mainly by the local population" at the end of paragraph 3 should be altered to read: "fought mainly by the people of Kashmir".

As I have already promised the Quaid-i-Azam, I am ready to hand

[over] to the P.I.O. [Principal Information Officer] in the Pakistan Government an exact copy of the message that I transmit to the BBC. I regret that I cannot agree to sending one version of the interview to the BBC and another version to the P.I.O. Nor would this be advisable from the Quaid-i-Azam's point of view. The BBC would use the shorter version, and this would not coincide textually with the version distributed by the P.I.O. The inconsistency would be immediately apparent.

I fully appreciate the Quaid-i-Azam's desire to have his original version published in the press, but since I cannot see my way to sending it as part of a BBC dispatch, I suggest as an alternative that the Quaid-i-Azam should allow me to use his interview without any reference to Kashmir at all. The Quaid-i-Azam's own version of the Kashmir Section might then be released either as a statement from the Quaid-i-Azam, without any reference to the BBC, or it could be offered to the news agencies—again without any reference to the BBC—which would undoubtedly welcome the opportunity of getting it.

If none of my suggestions meets with the approval of the Quaid-i-Azam, I shall fully understand; and in that event I am sure that the Quaid-i-Azam will allow me to regard my most interesting talk with him as off the record.[4] I should then be happy to regard the whole interview as confidential, and I should do this with the greatest goodwill and with a deep sense of gratitude to the Quaid-i-Azam for his unfailing courtesy.

Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me have the Quaid-i-Azam's reaction to my letter as soon as possible, since I am clearly anxious to cable my office, if the Quaid-i-Azam allows me to do so, on the terms I have indicated.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT STIMSON

[1]No. 281.
[2]See Annex to No. 281.
[3]See Enclosure to No. 280.
[4]See Annex.

Annex to No. 282
Howard Donovan to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F.00/12-2947

SECRET
No. 455

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
NEW DELHI,
29 December 1947

Subject: Conversation between Mr. H. R. Stimson, BBC Correspondent in India, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah

Sir,

I have the honor to report that Mr. H. R. Stimson (See Confidential Biographic Data Sheet), correspondent in India for the British Broadcasting Corporation, has given me the text of a confidential letter written by him to the BBC in London regarding an interview he had with Mr. M. A. Jinnah several days ago at Karachi. Mr. Stimson was formerly Assistant Editor of the Bombay *Times of India.* He knows Jinnah very well, and I consider Mr. Stimson as one of the two or three ablest and best informed journalists in India. Therefore, the Embassy attaches considerable importance to the statements made by Jinnah to Mr. Stimson. A good deal of the information contained in this despatch comprises "off-the-record" statements by Jinnah to Stimson.

Jinnah said that Pakistan, after a bad start, was "making progress in every direction" and expressed himself as satisfied that nothing but improvement was ahead.

Jinnah was extremely bitter about the attitude of the United States on the Palestine question. He said it was a great pity that Great Britain had "thrown up the sponge" in Palestine. He remarked that Pakistan obviously did not want to antagonize the United States but added that the Muslims had no alternative but to protest vigorously against the cruel and unjust partition of Palestine. Jinnah said with great vehemence that the Muslims would help the Arabs in every way "short of war." Jinnah said it was impossible to define the methods of help, but he admitted when pressed by Stimson that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent would be encouraged to fight as individuals alongside the Arabs of Palestine. Jinnah said he felt sure Great Britain could still do much to save the situation in Palestine and insure a better deal for the Arabs, but that Great Britain must be prepared to stand up to the United States. Great Britain, according to Jinnah, seemed frightened of America.

Jinnah spoke acidly regarding Britain's attitude towards Pakistan. Britain, he said, was treating Pakistan in a step-motherly fashion. It

should be obvious to Britain, according to Jinnah, that Pakistan was being done down by India, especially over the Kashmir question, but Britain insisted on staying aloof from the whole thing. Jinnah said he fully understood that Britain could not intervene directly in the affairs of the Dominion but as the senior member of the Commonwealth Britain had a terrific moral force. If Britain were really convinced that India was treating Pakistan unfairly, then Britain should make it clear to the Indian Dominion that it was not behaving in a manner befitting a member of the Commonwealth. Britain's step-motherly attitude "spoiled relations between Britain and Pakistan."

Jinnah said he had no doubt personally that Pakistan would be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing and loyal member, providing [*sic*] Britain was prepared to shoulder her moral responsibilities, "but it seems to me (Jinnah) that Britain is afraid of offending India." Jinnah added that Britain apparently considered India as more powerful than Pakistan and Britain's attitude on this point was cited by him as another example of British timidity.

Jinnah was apolectic [*sic*] regarding Mountbatten, who, he said, had ruined his reputation by staying on as Governor-General of India after August 15. Mountbatten had completely undone his admittedly fine achievement in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in the weeks preceding the June 3 settlement, but now Mountbatten had "become a Hindu." Jinnah added that Lady Mountbatten now walks about "with folded hands" and that he fully expected to see her wearing a caste mark in the center of her forehead. Jinnah said it was difficult to understand why Mountbatten had risked his reputation by staying on as Governor-General. According to Jinnah, Mountbatten is even now trying to stay on beyond March 31, the more or less agreed date for his departure. Jinnah continued by saying that Mountbatten had recently tried to persuade the Joint Defence Council to retain the Governor-General of India as independent chairman of that body after March 31. Jinnah interprets this as meaning that "Mountbatten sees himself as that Chairman after March 31." Jinnah said that Pakistan had refused to agree to this proposal. He then referred to Mountbatten as being "consumed with vanity" and accused Mountbatten of having behaved atrociously towards Auchinleck. Jinnah referred to charges against Auchinleck by the Indian representatives on the Joint Defence Council that Auchinleck was pro-Muslim. Jinnah said that this attack was extremely unfair and that Mountbatten, instead of defending "a brother officer and a fellow countryman" against malicious charges, supinely acquiesced in Auchinleck's resignation. Jinnah said that he personally could never again feel any respect for

Mountbatten.

Returning again to the question of Mountbatten's staying on, Jinnah said that in July 1947 he had warned Mountbatten that he would court disaster by staying on. At that time Lady Mountbatten seemed to agree with Jinnah "but now she too is power drunk and just as bad as her husband." Jinnah added, "as long as Mountbatten remains Governor-General of India he will be a perpetual irritation and constant provocation to Pakistan. His pro-Hindu bias has infected some members of the British Government, which helps to explain why Britain is pro-India and anti-Pakistan. Jinnah absolved Attlee from this charge and said "Attlee is probably sound. It is Cripps, I am thinking of. Cripps has always been anti-Muslim, and now he is intensely anti-Muslim."

Jinnah was particularly bitter about the speech which Mountbatten made in London in November at the time of the royal wedding. He accused Mountbatten of being completely "dishonest and unconstitutional" in deliberately minimizing the extent of communal troubles in India. Mountbatten had said that only about one per cent of the population had been affected by the communal riots which, according to Jinnah, was wickedly misleading. Jinnah's contention is that all parties agreed to the solution of June 3 but that the Hindus and Sikhs, instead of treating the slate as wiped clean after August 15, tried to sabotage Pakistan from the outset. The Sikhs launched the first attack in the Punjab and the Sikhs had the support of the Hindus. Jinnah said Mountbatten knew the facts but he wanted to conceal from the world the extent of the guilt of "his own people," meaning the Indian Dominion.

About the future of the Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, Stimson asked Jinnah why the new Muslim League of Pakistan was not being thrown open to the Hindus. He said it could not be done at this stage. He said that the Muslims of Pakistan would immediately reply, "You are winding up the League; you are not building the Muslim State you promised us; you are trying to copy Western models in a half-baked way."..... As for the Muslims in the Dominion of India, Jinnah said they must have a chance to frame their own policies. After all they had to deal with a Hindu government. Jinnah said he felt that they would be wise, however, to retain some kind of exclusively Muslim organization in India because as a consolidated opposition they could make their weight felt. Jinnah said they could do this and still behave as good citizens of India.

Mr. Stimson said that the British Government and Mountbatten are watching Jinnah's health very carefully. Stimson has heard that Mountbatten has information from medical sources (unknown) which suggested

to Mountbatten that Jinnah might not have long to live. Stimson said he had heard in Delhi and Bombay that Jinnah had cancer of the tongue, while another report said he was suffering from coronary thrombosis. Hennessey, British newspaper correspondent, told me that he had heard reports that he would shortly be compelled to proceed to Switzerland for medical treatment. Stimson said that Jinnah appeared to him to be in much better health than he was in August when he left Delhi for Karachi. Jinnah admitted to Stimson that he had had a very serious breakdown in health since August 15 but that he was now feeling much better.

The Department and the Embassy in London will, of course, place their own evaluation on Jinnah's remarks. However, it seems only logical that Mountbatten, by remaining on as Governor-General, could not help but create antagonism on the part of Pakistan towards Britain. I have heard other people than Jinnah express the opinion that the Mountbattens are power drunk. I know nothing of the feeling which existed between Auchinleck and Mountbatten, but I have heard that Auchinleck was extremely bitter and disappointed when he left India. I have heard from several sources that Sir Terence Shone and Mountbatten are jealous of each other and that the Shones have not hestitated to try to undermine Mountbatten's position. Proof of this would be difficult and I am only reporting remarks which I have heard in Delhi on this subject.

Respectfully yours,
HOWARD DONOVAN
Charge d'affaires, ad interim

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M. A. C. M. Saleh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/267

63 BRISTOL BUILDINGS,
COLOMBO, (CEYLON),[1]
17 December 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It has been my privilege to know you through regular correspondence and the opportunity of meeting you was missed, although I myself extended to you an invitation to come to Ceylon, but your strenuous work compelled you to postpone the visit from time to time.

Insha Allah Ceylon, particularly Muslims, long to offer you a cordial welcome on your decision to take a holiday in our Island with varying climates described by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu[2] as salubrious when she visited Lanka several years ago.

You may be aware of the local activities in support of your Pakistan movement. I am proud to own the part I played and I have been identifying myself throughout since you re-organised the All India Muslim League. Representatives of the Ceylon Muslim League, headed by our President, Mr. T. B. Jayah attended the session in Madras and the fact of my having taken a keen interest has been testified to in the *Deccan Times* of the 16th November, when reference was made in connection with my likely choice as Ceylon Government Representative for Pakistan. I contested a seat in the last General Elections and lost. I still belong to the United National Party which is now in power and has formed the present Government.

I am sure you will take advantage of the presence of our Prime Minister, the Hon. Mr. D.S. Senanayake, who is likely to visit Pakistan after his talks on Indo-Ceylon problems according to to-day's *Ceylon Daily News* and discuss with him the future relationship between Ceylon and Pakistan. I shall be ever ready to promote the ideals of Pakistan while being patriotic to mother Lanka. At the last session of the Ceylon Muslim League, a resolution in favour of Pakistan was passed while I was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The enclosed picture[3] would be of interest to show that our good-will mission has already begun with our visit on board your flagship and I feel confident that a similar mission to Pakistan would be inaugurated on a reciprocal basis. With sincere assurance of loyal co-operation, I invoke the blessings of *Allah* on Pakistan and its rapid growth and expansion for the greater glory of the Muslim empire.

Yours truly,
M.A.C.M. SALEH
Jeweller

[1]Now Sri Lanka.
[2]Governor of UP, India.
[3]Not traceable.

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to J. N. Mandal
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 564/37

KARACHI,
17 December 1947

Hon'ble Sir,

We beg to lay down the following lines for your sympathetic and favourable consideration:

1. That the highest court of appeal for the province of Baluchistan is the Judicial Commissioner's court and generally the senior men of the Political Department are appointed to the post. These men may have administrative experience but do not possess any legal knowledge.
2. That the next man is the Sessions Judge in Baluchistan. For the last ten years this post is held by a certain English gentleman, who has neither legal nor academic qualifications for such a high post.
3. That the Muslim League party under the leadership of Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan raised this question in the then Legislative Assembly of India in 1944 and strongly criticised the state of affairs where an unqualified man has been given the charge to administer law. It is also unfair that the present Sessions Judge should hold the post any longer. We have no objection if he is sent back to the executive branch, to which he originally belonged. This will result in the promotion of his immediate subordinates who are highly qualified and possess legal and academic qualifications.
4. That the only labour problem that we have in our province is that of coal and chrome mines labourers. They are entirely at the mercy of the mine owners. Something must be done to organise them and to improve their lot. The Muslim League organisation of the province is prepared to undertake the task provided we get help and guidance from the Centre.
5. That representatives of the Provincial Muslim League should be invited to all the Central conferences from our province. The

Provincial Muslim League is the only true representative of our people.

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MIR QADIR BUX KHAN

Hon'ble J. N. Mandal,
Minister for Law & Labour,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)
F. 564/38-9

KARACHI,
17 December 1947

Honoured Sir,

We most respectfully beg to bring to your kind notice the following lines for your sympathetic consideration:

1. That Seth Jonkiram possesses a wool factory at Yaru (Pishin) and now he has left Yaru for the Indian Dominion, and thus the said factory is not working and is lying idle. This should be requisitioned either by the Government and the Govt. should undertake to run it or give it to a reliable Musalman to run it. The said factory cleans the wool produced in Baluchistan and imported from Afghanistan and after cleansing it, it is exported to foreign countries, like America and the United Kingdom. Since Baluchistan is producing the wool in a large quantity inasmuch as 5,00,000 maunds a year, it would be worthwhile if the factory for preparing and manufacturing the woollen cloth is opened in Baluchistan Province. If the factory is opened there, there will be no need to import woollen cloth from outside and Pakistan's demands can be met from Baluchistan and thousands of men will be employed in a factory and easily earn their livelihood, and the Pakistan Government will also be benefited and there will be no need to despatch our producing [*sic*] goods outside.

2. That after the Hindus' and Sikhs' evacuation from Baluchistan,

several dispensaries and hospitals have closed down due to lack of civil surgeons and sub-assistant surgeons, medical officers, etc. Hence the public is in great trouble. To meet the demand of the public, it is essential that the number of sub-assistant surgeons should be enhanced by bringing from Pakistan [*sic*] so that the sick persons may not experience any difficulty.

3. That at present there are only two tractors in the whole of Baluchistan Province which cannot meet the general demand of the zamindars of Baluchistan. It is, therefore, requested that the number of tractors should be increased to at least 10 (ten) tractors.

4. In winter in Sibi District, water is wasted in a jungle, simply to provide a good duck shooting ground for officials. This water can be better utilised for growing more food. The local Government may be instructed to stop this, and use the water for growing more food.

5. System of *karez* is very successful in the province for irrigation. This must be improved and old *karezes* be improved. Government should give *takavi* loans to zamindars, so that they may improve the *karezes* or construct new *karezes* to improve cultivation.

6. Harnai Tehsil grows very good sugarcane—all land be reserved for this crop and a sugar factory should be installed.

This would give enough sugar to the province. The local Govt. should be asked to direct the zamindars to grow more sugarcane crop in their lands and not [to] grow other articles but reserve their land for sugarcane. If this is done, Baluchistan will not depend upon Frontier *gur* [lump of raw sugar] but will at least meet its own requirements of *gur*.

SUMMARY

i. That the factory of Jonkiram be given to a Muslim or should be managed by Govt. itself, and a wool factory be opened in Baluchistan by the Govt. or loan should be given to those [*sic*] businessmen to start own wool factory.
ii. That the number of sub-assistant civil surgeons be increased to work in the far off tehsil dispensaries.
iii. That the number of tractors should be increased, and the lease of tractors should be reduced to at least half the present rate, so that every *zamindar* can use it [to] grow more food.
iv. The water wasted for other purposes be utilised for cultivation.
v. Improvement of *karezes*.
vi. The local Government be asked to inform the zamindars to grow more sugarcane so that *gur* be produced to serve the demands of the consumers.

In conclusion, it is requested that you will be pleased to look into the matter and grant our request.

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MIR QADIR BUX KHAN

Hon'ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan,
Minister for Food & Health,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to I.I. Chundrigar
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.564/40-1

17 December 1947

Hon'ble Sir,

With due respect we beg to bring to your kind notice the following facts for your sympathetic and favourable consideration:

1. That we are always ignored and are never invited to attend your meetings. No official representative can truly represent our views and aspirations.

2. It is, therefore, requested that in future whenever such meetings are held, we may kindly be invited to send our representative to them. The official representatives can never express our views in their real perspective.

3. That reasonable dollar quota may kindly be allotted for Baluchistan so that we may directly import goods from foreign countries as other provinces are doing. We are some times compelled to secure the necessary goods in blackmarket at double rates for lack of dollar quota. It is, therefore, requested that a dollar quota may kindly be fixed for Baluchistan.

4. The joint agencies of Sind and Baluchistan system should at once be abolished as it is harmful to the Baluchistan province. It is often found that the Sind people import goods from outside, i.e., foreign countries and sell the articles in their own province and do not export to Baluchistan to fulfil the quotas [*sic*]. The Sind businessmen procure goods in the name of Sind and Baluchistan but all is consumed in Sind

and nothing is exported to Baluchistan, e.g., most motor agents in Karachi are agents for Sind and Baluchistan. They procure their quota in the name of both the provinces, but they export not a single car to us. This system must be stopped when our people are prepared to take agency for Baluchistan .

5. All Hindu and Sikh exporters in Baluchistan have left for either East Punjab or Delhi (Indian Dominion). Their licences should, therefore, be cancelled and be given to Muslim licencees, on the specific recommendations of the Provincial Muslim League.

6. That formerly the Government was enlisting the names of those contractors who had sufficient funds to carry out the Govt. contract works. Several contractors' names were registered in the Registered Contractors List and they managed the contract work efficiently within the scope of the funds they had with them. That now the Govt. have asked the contractors to keep security deposit on the amounts on which they take contracts at the rate of 5% without paying any interest thereon. The contractors cannot lock up their security deposits when they have to complete the contracts undertaken by them towards [*sic*] the money available with them. It is, therefore, requested that the system of security deposits may be abolished.

7. That at present in the Baluchistan Province there is only one bank, Imperial Bank of India. There are no cooperative banks in Baluchistan. All the Hindu bankers have left Baluchistan and thus the merchants and businessmen do experience great difficulty and inconvenience in getting advances for their business purposes. It is, therefore, requested that Habib Bank may be directed to open a branch at Quetta and also open a new cooperative bank in Quetta to meet the demand of the public in general and merchants and businessmen in particular.

8. Coal mine leases were generally held by the Hindus and most of them have left and have nominally appointed the Muslims to work for them. This is very unfair. The local residents of Baluchistan should be given these mines.

9. Mines in the province should be developed for the benefit of Pakistan. We have chrome, sulphur and lead, etc.

10. Development Department is a waste. It is not doing any constructive work for our province. Public representatives should be invited to form Advisory Boards. To improve the agriculture, *bunds* and dams should be constructed.

TO SUM UP

i. Our representatives should be invited to every all-Pakistan meeting or conference, as official representation does not express public opinion.
ii. Dollar quota may be fixed for Baluchistan as has been done in the case of other provinces.
iii. Joint agencies of Sind and Baluchistan may be abolished, as it is harmful to our interest. Our quota of all the foreign goods is generally held back by the Sind businessmen who are at the same time agents for Baluchistan.
iv. Exporters in Baluchistan who have left, their licences should be given to Muslim dealers at the recommendations of the Provincial Muslim League.
v. The system of security deposit in the case of M.E.S. and other Govt. contracts may be abolished.
vi. Habib Bank may be directed to open a branch at Quetta. Cooperative bank may be started in the province.
vii. The local residents of Baluchistan should be given the coal mines, left by the Hindus and Sikhs.
viii. Public representatives should be invited to [*sic*] for advisory boards to advise the Development Department. *Bunds* and dams should be constructed in the beds of the rivulets and *nullahs* for the improvement of agriculture.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MIR QADIR BUX KHAN

Hon'ble I.I. Chundrigar,
Minister for Commerce,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Fazlur Rahman
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F.564/27-30

17 December 1947

Sir,

Most respectfully we beg to draw your kind attention to the fact that it is not hidden from your honour that our province is the most backward province in Pakistan Dominion from educational point of view and that this was the policy of the British Government (1876 to 1947) to discourage the local people to receive education, as they fully knew and were conscious of the strategic position of Baluchistan as it is attached to the borders of Iran and Afghanistan, the sovereign independent Muslim States, and that the population of Baluchistan is cent per cent Muslim and they were deliberately kept illiterate so that they may never fight for independence and fight for their demands and privileges, and later on they may weaken their administration. The British Government succeeded in keeping the local people of Baluchistan illiterate and uneducated during the period of their reign, so much so that hardly 10 graduates can be found in the total population of 10 lakh and most of these graduates were from 1930 to 1947 due to the ceaseless effort and encouragement of our beloved leader and President, Baluchistan Provincial Muslim Leauge, Muhammad Isa Khan, Bar-at-Law, who without taking a bit consideration of his valuable time, visited every nook and corner of our province and delivered attractive speeches and awakened the uneducated masses to educate their children and thereby strengthen the pillars of the Baluchistan Muslim League.

Since the reign of British Government is over and our cherished goal of Pakistan has been established, it is our ambished [*sic*] desire that we should change our policy, and adopt new policy and forget and abolish the old policy which was adopted by the British Government. We, therefore, request your honour that the following procedure and steps be taken immediately to educate the masses of Baluchistan and thereby remove the illiteracy. By so doing, not only the masses will be literated [*sic*] and educated who will exercise their brens [*sic* for brains] and realize the sense of their responsibility in maintaining peace and progress, the good administration of the Baluchistan Province but also at the same time the Pakistan Government will be strengthened and prove useful to the nation:

1. That our intermediate colleges should be raised to that of degree

colleges. Due to the existence of intermediate college, all the students cannot prosecute their further studies to secure degrees and there are many poor students who cannot afford to come to Sind to secure degrees. It is, therefore, essential that degree colleges should be opened at an early date so that the students may receive education up to degree in their own Province.

2. The number of primary and middle schools should be increased in the province to accommodate a large number of students. Rather primary education in such a backward province should be made compulsory and free so that every child should get education freely and easily and may become good citizen of Pakistan.
3. The middle schools should be raised to the status of high schools specially the Gulistan Middle School should be converted into a high school as the inhabitants of that locality are very much fond of receiving higher education.
4. That it is very much regretted that our province is totally ignored in all conferences and is not being given any facilities though we were expecting very much from our national Government that after Pakistan is achieved we would be given at least one broadcasting station, as is being done in other provinces of Pakistan Dominion. The Baluchistan Province is in admire [*sic*] and essential demand of broadcasting station as the province is already backward as stated above and therefore it deserves your first and foremost attention and sympathy. The Pakistan Government will be very much benefited by sanctioning a broadcasting station at Quetta, as we can carry on our propaganda both in favour of Kharan and Las Bela States and against Kalat State and their demands of lease areas. Moreover, Baluch people also like to have a broadcasting station to encourage their own Baluchi language in Baluchistan. There is a vast difference between the Pashtu language of N.W.F.P. and the Pashtu language of Baluchistan. The impression and effect of Pashtu language is nearly similar to that of Baluchistan [*sic*], and in case the broadcasting station is opened at Quetta, we can influence masses of Kandahar (Afghanistan) and win them over to our side.
5. That our present Principal of College (Mr. Ghulam Sarwar Khan) should not be reverted from the present post, as he has been serving since last 20 years in Baluchistan and his services have been appreciated by the public of Baluchistan. He possesses much knowledge and local experience. Besides this, he is also a good administrator, and great disciplinarian, and has a good control

over the students. If a new man is appointed in his placė, he will take considerable time to get himself acquainted with the local conditions and become a good administrator.

TO SUM UP

i. Number of schools should be increased.
ii. Our present intermediate colleges should be made degree colleges.
iii. Sanctioning of a broadcasting station at Quetta.
iv. Present Principal should not be reverted.

Hope your honour will be pleased to do the needful.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MIR QADIR BUX KHAN

Hon'ble Fazlur Rahman,
Minister for Interior & Education,
Government of Pakistan, Karachi

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Mir Qadir Bux Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A.Jinnah)

F. 564/31-6

KARACHI,
17 December 1947

Sir,

Our province is a centrally-administered province—all our schemes whether for political agitation [*sic*] education or economic uplift—come directly from the Centre. We have no voice in the Centre and very few people understand and appreciate our fate, esp. rations [*sic*] and demands and on account of the handicap [*sic*] our case goes by default. With the result that we are still educationally, economically and politically very backward. The only immediate relief in our humble opinion, to rectify these defects, is to give us a representation in the Central Cabinet. Let us make it absolutely clear that this demand of ours is not at all based on any provincial outlook of ours. But since we are the only centrally-administered people, we feel that our case would be better represented and explained in [*sic*] the Centre if we have one representative of ours there. If we had a responsible provincial government, we

would not have stressed on this demand. We still remember your golden words which you uttered in 1940 when presiding over the annual conference of the Provincial Muslim League, where you said that "the province of Baluchistan is artificially divided into leased areas, tribal areas, and agency areas, simply to deprive the people of the province of their just and legitimate demands and rights and we do not recognize such divisions. The only just division of Baluchistan is "State[s] Baluchistan and British Baluchistan".

In the various all Pakistan conferences called from time to time, the people of Baluchistan are not properly represented. We do not look upon the officials as representation of the people of the province. Muslim League wants, and we are sure, it is the only representative body of Musalmans and if that is true then Muslim League alone has the right to represent the province at these conferences, as long as we have no responsible government.

A state of frustration is rapidly enveloping the people of the province, who were once loyal and whole-hearted followers of the Muslim League, are becoming an easy prey to the propaganda of our enemies. Our enemies are fully exploiting the fact that the establishment of Pakistan has brought no relief to the people of the province and the League leaders who were the pillars of the new State are feeling that they are being axed by this nefarious propaganda launched by the promoters [*sic*] of Pakistan and the agents of the Ruler of Kalat.

It is quite apparent from the present movement in Kalat State that the Government of Kalat is giving chance to those [*sic*] Congress-minded persons and local association members by appointing them as Ministers and responsible high officials. If such state of affairs continues, the consequences will be serious and most disastrous which cannot be controlled afterwards. If the responsible posts are favoured to Congress-minded persons and those who are not in League, the uneducated masses will support them and it will become impossible for the Provincial Government of Pakistan [*sic*] to function its regular activities and in due course of time, it may even result in the happenings [*sic*] which are at present existing in Kashmir.

As your honour is well aware, the Kashmir case is quite different from that of Kalat State, as the Ruler in Kashmir is a Hindu whereas in Kalat the Ruler is a Muslim, and the war in Kashmir is being treated and considered as a holy war. But in case the war is raged at Kalat, it will be a civil war, a Muslim cutting the throat of a Muslim and it will be very difficult for Provincial Governìment to control such controversy later on, and there will be every likelihood of bloodshed between Muslims. This civil war will result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, colossal destruction of property, wanton outrage against

women leading to mass migration of population from Provincial Pakistan [*sic*] to Kalat State and thereby millions of human beings will be uprooted from their hearths and homes and reduced to utter destitution.

The Khan of Kalat is dissatisfied with the attitude taken by the Pakistan Government inasmuch as they encourage the States of Harran [Kharan] and Las Bela who [*sic* for which] were once supposed to be under his suzerainty. Noshki, Nasirabad, Bolan and Quetta, which are leased areas, demanded by Khan of Kalat, have not been restored back [*sic*] to him, and due to refusal he has started propagating against the Pakistan Government, and is directly and indirectly encouraging Congress leaders to become its Ministers and thus weaken the position of Pakistan Govt. The Congress there have got some followers who, at the suggestion of the Congress, will naturally fight for their own cause against the Pakistan Government, as Khan of Kalat is encouraging the Congress by giving them high responsible posts and he is also bent upon to root out the Muslim League branches in Kalat State so that there should be no sign or name of Muslim League and thus Congress and Khan of Kalat should be the whole and sole autocratic and despotic ruler of the Kalat State.

To avoid all this [*sic* for these] disastrous consequences, the only and the best alternative is that immediate steps should be taken to quash the Congress movement from Kalat and also weaken their position, and the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner may be strictly directed to appoint the local people as responsible high officials who have sympathy with the League and are strong supporters of the Pakistan Government and they be given high posts, irrespective of seniority or juniority, so that they may take vow and strengthen the position of the Muslim League in Baluchistan, and attract the masses towards the League, and discourage Congress-minded people and others who stand to weaken the Muslim League.

If we could only show to our people that if a single representation is given to the province in the Centre, it would put an end to all the activity of our opponents.

This step, on behalf of the Centre, would not only keep the province of Baluchistan solidly at the back of Pakistan but we are confident one representative will be of greater service and help to [*sic*] any other work entrusted to him by the Pakistan Government. Just imagine how encouraged the people would feel if one of our own men visited the province in his official capacity. We are sure such a representation will put an end to most of our ills. At the present, we cannot and even we donot feel like over-burdening and worrying the Central Government with our day-to-day hardships and worries.

If we have our own man, he would appreciate and understand our difficulties better and would seek a redress for these [*sic*] at the Centre at the appropriate time and place. This concession should be given to us as long as a new constitution is not framed for the province [*sic*] with a responsible govt. functioning in the province. We would be the last to place such demands on the basis of provincial representation.

We are confident, the benevolent Pakistan Government would not turn down this humble demand of ours. At the present the old supporters and well-wishers of the Muslim League, both in services and outside it, are being victimised on each and every occasion. Promotions and recruitments in the services and to the services are done most arbitrarily. The field is already too small even for the educated people of the province and even in that limited field we are being shunted and hunted. This state of affaire is paralyzing the whole administration and at the same time undermining the very good work of the Muslim League party done in the province during the years 1938 to 1947.

In our adjoining province of N.W.F.P, the promoted servicemen who were hardly some years ago Tahsildars and Sub-Divisional Officers have become A.P.As. (Assistant Political Agents) or Assistant Commissioners and Political Agents or Deputy Commissioners but on the other hand we have experienced and educated men in our provincial services who instead of being pushed up are always put down.

For example a man who was a Sub-Judge 10 years ago is still a Sub-Judge and a man who was an E.A.C. is still an E.A.C.

In other provinces, direct recruitrment to the post of E.A.C. and other gazetted provincial posts are made direct, but in Baluchistan even the most highly qualified and educated [person] is expected to start from the lowest ladder in the same way as it was done decades ago in the case of uneducated and unqualified man.

We further draw your attention to the fact that Kalat has declared its sovereignty and has not yet joined the Dominion of Pakistan. We request the exclusion of the Kalat *Jirga* members particularly in [*sic*] the *Jirga* meetings and the *Shahi Darbars* which will be held in the month of January 1948 at Sibi.

To sum up, our demands are:

i. That the Agent to the Governor-General and the Chief Commissioner may be strictly directed to appoint the locals as responsible high officials without keeping in view the question of seniority and juniority.
ii. That our one man be appointed as a representative of our province in the Central Government of Pakistan and we undertake to withdraw our man from the Central Administration Cabinet [*sic*] as

soon as responsible government is given to us in our Province.

iii. That the Kalat State has declared its sovereignty and has not yet joined the Dominion of Pakistan. We, therefore, demand the exclusion of the Kalat *Jirga* members particularly in [*sic* for from] the *Jirga* meetings and the *Shahi Darbars* which will be held in the month of January 1948 at Sibi.

In conclusion, we sanguinely trust that Your Honour will be graciously pleased to give your due consideration over this matter and do the needful in the interest of fitness of things.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

MIR QADIR BUX KHAN

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Robi Bhaduri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/144-5

64 A SADANANDA ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
17 December 1947

Sir,

I am extremely sorry to know that you are suffering from malignant throat trouble.[1] I want to render my humble service to you.

You are a man, who has all along stood for the liberty of the dumb millions of this land and has saved the minorities from the torture of the privileged few of our community.

I shall think myself extremely fortunate if I can render my humble service for the cause of a superman. I am also a Pakistani (Pabna, Eastern Pakistan).

You may have my reference from Mr. Habibullah Bahar, Minister-in-Charge of Public Health and L.S.G. [Local Self Government], Eastern Pakistan. Pray to God for your early recovery.

With my best regard,

Obediently yours,

ROBI BHADURI

Dr.

[1]F. Amin informed him that Jinnah's indisposition was due to pressure of work and that he was quite all right. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/143. Not printed.

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Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/15

MARSEILLE,
17 December 1947

On Tuesday[1] amount will be paid Your Excellency's name National Bank.

AGA KHAN

[1]23 December 1947.

291

Note by Fazlul Qadir[1]

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/6-9

17 December 1947

SHORT AND LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT OF PROSPECTIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE DISTRICT OF CHITTAGONG AND EASTERN PAKISTAN

General observation: In the absence of coal and oil in the Eastern Pakistan, we have solely to depend on the hydro-electric scheme pending before Government for materialisation. The whole industrial development of Chittagong immediately requires the Barkal Hydro-Electric Project to be taken up at once. As soon as this is done, we may call upon the industrialists to start their factories. For this Project as well as for exploration of coal and oil prospects and other minerals, I have already written to the H. M. Industries. It should be expedited.

The development of Chittagong Port is one of the most urgent matter to be taken into consideration. At present there are four wharves, six more are to be constructed with extension of jetties for import and export of goods. The export of manufactured and unmanufactured jute should be the paramount duty of the local Government to aim at.

As regards raw materials, abundant quantity of bamboo are available in the Chittagong Hill Tracts for pulp for paper industry; suitable wood is available for match industry; short staple cotton and hide are available in considerable quantities. About two lakh cow hides and 50,000 goat skins are exported annually. Jute can be imported from the

neighbouring districts and long staple cotton from Western Pakistan, Egypt and America. Chittagong being a first class port there will be no difficulty in direct shipment. There will be no transport difficulties, all sorts of transports are available.

Eastern Bengal Railway line should be doubled, for the present from Mymensingh via Bhairab to Chittagong and the one from Chandpur to Laksham should be taken up immediately to export jute from the Chittagong Port. Unskilled labour will be locally available and some skilled labour may also be available from war-returned personnel and others may be indented for. Other points have been dealt with against each term of reference.

1. For the development of big industries such as jute mills, cotton mills, spinning mills with dyeing vats, paper mills, tannery, hosiery mills, Chittagong Town (river-side land under the Port) is most suitable. A tannery is going to be established shortly for which a company is going to be registered at Chittagong. Pottery work may also be successful. A mechanical and electrical engineering college is also a great necessity to produce skilled labourers. Solar system salt manufacturing as season[al] industry may be started. Fishing trawler for deep sea fishing should be introduced in the Bay. Steam bakery on the line of Huntley Palmer can be introduced. A scheme is under contemplation of local merchants. Groups of industries may be located from Chaktai Khal to Patenga, about ten miles in length, on the river–side and railway–side. There are all sorts of transport facilities. Jute textile and spinning mills should get first preference. There are lakhs of weavers in Eastern Pakistan, so a big spinning mill is of paramount importance. Before any mill is established, town planning under the improvement trust is most essential.

2. *Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Sylhet, Pabna* and *Faridpur* Districts are suitable for small scale jute, [and] textile industry and jute presses.

Rangpur: Large scale cigar manufacturing can be started.

Sylhet: A cotton and spinning mill may be suitably established with dyeing vats. There are about 4,25,000 handloom weavers in the District of Sylhet alone.

Barisal: A small mill may be attempted for coir manufacturing as large quantity of coconut shells are wasted there. A rice mill too may be established there.

Khulna: Fishery (with trawler), rice mill and small jute mill may be started.

Rajshahi: Sugar mills with expansion of sugar cane cultivation may be attempted.

Dinajpur: Rice mills may be established; mango canning industry

should be introduced in parts of Maldah, Rajshahi and Dinajpur.[2] This has been started in Rajshahi but the results are not known. Investigation is necessary.

Noakhali: A spinning mill with dyeing vats may be established at Chowmuhani. Coir industry may also be attempted in Noakhali with betelnut crushing machines.

Tippera: A cotton mill with large number of spindles should be established. A Pottery work should also be attempted.

Mymensingh: Apart from jute mills, a cotton mill should also be established with sufficient spindles for spinning some yarns of higher counts suitable for supplying to Tangail weavers.

Kushtia: Munufacture of ghee and butter should be attempted in small scales.

Jessore: Establishment of a rice mill in Jessore is desirable. Manufacture of *gur* from date juice should be encouraged and molasses for tobacco.

3. *Selection of areas*: Chittagong Town and its suburbs, first preference should be given for group of industries when capitalists are waiting anxiously for development of industries. Next come Narayanganj and third Serajganj.

4. Spinning mills, jute mills, cotton mills and hosiery mills should be started at once in Chittagong but before that a mechanical engineering workshop is of prime importance. Capitalists are ready but the difficulty is to secure land.

5. *Long term plan*: Paper mill, tannery, jute mills in different important jute centres and cotton mills should be started in places noted in para 2 above against each district, and other minor industries. Basic industries should be started to manufacture tools and machineries, etc.

6. *Machineries*: Mr. A. H. Ispahani, our Ambassador in America should be asked by the Government to negotiate with U.S. to supply us with machineries. Besides, some merchants who want to establish mills and factories have got machineries of their own. Besides, some machines may be available from Army disposals; these to be examined and purchased at once, if available.

7. A mechanical engineering and electrical engineering workshop should at once be started before any machinery is brought from abroad. The place should be Chittagong, because a group of industries will grow in Chittagong for which a workshop to prepare skilled labourers and artisans are to be trained [*sic*], including motor mechanics. There is a dearth of good motor mechanics in Chittagong.

8. Legislation is most essential and Land Acquisition Act is to be amended. Before this, an ordinance should be promulgated at once to

acquire suitable lands for mills and factories as private enterprise. Merchants and industrialists are greatly handicapped for want of suitable land for establishing mills and factories. They want no other help from Government except securing land for them on reasonable, fair and equitable price. This should be done by legislation without any loss of time. Government of undivided Bengal in their notifications already announced the acquisition of land within twenty miles radius of Dacca and Chittagong Towns. This may be given effect to now.

10. *Complain*[*t*] *of hosiery merchants:* They say that their machines are idle for want of yarn, delay in issuing permits and licenses. This should be looked into.

FAZLUL QADIR
MLA
Member, Industrial Survey Committee,
Eastern Pakistan

[1]There is no accompanying letter to indicate to whom this note was sent.
[2]All these three districts were partitioned by Radcliffe between East and West Bengal. See Annex II to No. 30, Vol. V, 43-7.

292

M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/14

18 December 1947

His Highness Aga Khan, Marseilles

Many thanks for your telegram.[1] Please pay National Bank of India. Will arrange remittance from London to Karachi on hearing from you that the money is paid.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 272.

293

M. A. Jinnah to Claude Auchinleck

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/14

18 December 1947

My dear Sir Claude,

I do not know how to thank you for all your good wishes. I wish I had been able to see you at least for a few minutes before you left, but

really *I was not able to do so owing to my indisposition,*[1] and I could not also reply earlier to your letter[2] as I was not well.

I wish you a well-earned rest, and all happiness and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Sidelined in the original.
[2]Not traceable.

294

Qamaruddin Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/51

LODO BUILDING,
RAM BAGH ROAD,
KARACHI,
18 December 1947

Sir,

On behalf of Anjuman-i-Muhajireen, we intend to present an address to Quaid-i-Azam in public meeting *to which he has kindly consented.*[1] Will you be so kind as to arrange the date and time for the presentation of this address and the public meeting at *Idgah* grounds.[2] A copy of the address is attached herewith.[3]

I beg to remain,
Sir,
QAMARUDDIN KHAN
President, Anjuman-i-Muhajireen
and Member, Pakistan Muslim League Council

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]S. M. Yusuf informed Qamaruddin Khan of Jinnah's advice that the Prime Minister and Govt. of Sind should be approached who would look into the grievances of *Muhajireen*. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/50. Not printed.
[3]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 294
Address of Welcome by Anjuman-i-Muhajireen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/52
[*Original in Urdu*]

KARACHI,
[*Undated*] *December 1947*

His Highness, the chosen one, the pride of the age, the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (May his glory increase)

We, the helpless but not insensitive and oppressed but not weak refugees from different parts of India, with all the humility, after thanking God Almighty, thank your honour, who in this dark period showed us light of Pakistan. At a time when the infidels wanted to forcibly and inexorably obliterate the name of God from our hearts, you gave us the courage to uphold the truth. When these infidels deprived us of our hearths and homes, you provided us asylum, an abode of peace and plenty.

The whole world knows full well how we, the helpless lot, were made to sacrifice the honour and lives of our women and children, how our money and our property was seized, and how we were disgraced. Our hearts are bleeding and our eyes are shedding tears of blood. To us life has become miserable. However, when we find a personality like yourself wiping our tears, who is more kind and more gracious to us than our own parents, caring for us, we forget our sufferings and miseries and are filled with feelings of gratitude for your kindness and we pray to God for your longevity and that of your companions.

We, the oppressed and homeless refugees, feel so sorry that we have become a burden on this new-born State. The destitute among the refugees finding their increasing expectations unfulfilled are getting anxious and frustrated. In these circumstances, the refugees, on 12th of December 1947, assembled after *Jum'a* prayers, formed an association by the name of Anjuman-i-Muhajireen, in anticipation of your approval. They have elected a body of 30 men who are entrusted with the task of establishing cordial relations between the Government and the refugees and seek solutions to their problems. For the present, the refugees expect your honour to kindly draw attention of the Govt. of Pakistan to the following issues and instruct them to take necessary action in the matter:

a. The refugees, who are living in Karachi, may not be sent to *mofussil* areas as long as proper arrangements are not made for

their board and lodging.

b. The Govt. of India may please be asked to immediately stop sacrilegious activities with regard to our sacred places in Delhi, Ajmer and elsewhere in that country, and appoint staff to look after the sanctity of those sacred places.
c. India may be asked to put a stop to the genocidal killing at present going on, generally throughout India, and particularly in U.P., C.P., Delhi, Bihar and Rajputana. If the Government of Pakistan feels that it is not satisfied with the arrangements made at these places, steps may be taken to get the Muslim population of these areas evacuated and safely brought to Pakistan.
d. Necessary arrangements may be made with the Govt. of India for the exchange of moveable and immoveable property that the refugees have left behind in India, and they may be adequately compensated for their losses.
e. Efforts may also be made for exchange of valuables and release of cash from the banks.

We apologise for taking Your Honour's precious time for perusing the petition.

May you live till the world lasts so that we may profit from you and you profit from your long life.

PRESENTED BY [QAMARUDDIN KHAN]

295

Fazlul Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/164

IMDAD VILLA,
CHANDANPURA, CHITTAGONG,
18 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please accept my grateful thanks for sending from Quetta, Mr. Tayyab Ali, Assistant Geologist, Central Pakistan, to examine Hydro-Electric Scheme, and explore coal and oil mines and other minerals in the District of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Insha Allah* the schemes will be

successful with your blessings. We must enrich Pakistan by mineral resources.

With kindest regards,

Your obedient *Khadim*,
FAZLUL QADIR
MLA, Eastern Bengal

296

A. I. Kajee to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/262

CONFIDENTIAL JOHANNESBURG,
18 December 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter[2] which I have addressed to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I also send copies of letters dated the 25th August[3] and the 9th October,[4] written to the Nawab Sahib in the hope that these will assist you in assessing the position of Indians in South Africa.

With my respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. I. KAJEE

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/261. Not printed.
[2]Enclosure.
[3&4]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 296
A. I. Kajee to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/263-5

CONFIDENTIAL JOHANNESBURG,
18 December 1947

My dear Liaquat Sahib,

I was happy to receive a communication dated the 14th November[1] from Mr. Z. H. Burney of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs acknowledging my letter to you of the 9th October[2].

[*Paras 2 to 6 omitted*]

On the question of relief to the refugee problem in Pakistan and Hindustan, I have, as Chairman of the Central Pakistan Relief Committee of Natal, received every consideration from the Prime Minister's Department; Mr. Forsyth, Secretary for External Affairs has been most helpful. The Treasury gave consent for the remittance of £10,000 worth of dollars, equalling 40,000 dollars. This has been remitted by the Committee. Mr. Forsyth obtained an emergency permit for the export of 16,000 new woollen blankets from the Consolidated Mills. The Secretaries of the Central Pakistan Relief Committee have been reporting to Quaid-i-Azam directly. I have made brief mention of this to indicate the attitude of the Government towards our efforts to send help. From the cutting herewith[3] it would appear that the Hindustan Government has declared a ban upon parcels of any kind from South Africa, including relief parcels. As the Postmaster-General does not mention Pakistan in this connection we take it that your decision conveyed through the Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, stands. I cannot help but say that action such as that of the Government of Hindustan aggravates the situation to the detriment of the Indians, resident in South Africa.

The other day, when I requested Mr. Meldrum to advise your Government of the forthcoming conference of the Natal Indian Organisation and asked him to be present at it to represent both Hindustan and Pakistan, he explained that under his present instructions he could not communicate with you direct. I also understand from certain Indian leaders, including Muslims with whom he discussed the matter that he had been instructed to propagate certain resolutions passed by the Nationalist Muslim group in Hindustan calling upon Indian Muslims settled in South Africa and overseas to put reliance only upon the Government of Hindustan to champion their cause. I understand from previous [*sic*] I had with Mr. Meldrum that he accepted the extension of his post after August 15th so as to assist both Dominion Governments in the event of negotiations. In this regard may I refer you to the last paragraph on page 2 of my letter of the 9th October. My impression was that Mr. Meldrum found these instructions both personally difficult in view of his attitude to his post and impracticable in view of the strong spontaneous pro-Pakistan sentiment amongst Muslims here.

Since I wrote to you on the 9th October I had a letter from Swami Bawani Dayal Sanyasi, a copy of which I enclose,[4] together with a copy of my reply. These were sent to Quaid-i-Azam by my office during my absence up-country. From the statements of Dr. Sundram it would appear that a campaign is afoot to contend that all Indians, Muslims and

Hindus, resident in South Africa, are the subjects of Hindustan.

[*Para 10 omitted*]

It is unnecessary for me to repeat that our hearts are with you in the suffering and distress that has been the lot of millions in your part of the world. It is with relief that we have noticed from the papers that there is greater amiability between the two governments with the consequent return of things to a peaceful and normal condition. My wife and two children who are in Karachi at the Central Hotel have written that matters seem to be improving, but that it does not seem safe for my daughter to go to the Women's College at Aligarh, as was her intention.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. I. KAJEE

[1to4]Not traceable.

297

H. A. Gordon to S. M. Yusuf

F. 179-GG/47

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
19 December 1947

Dear Yusuf,

Thank you for your letter dated 18 December 1947[1] in which I was sorry to see that it was not possible for the Quaid-i-Azam to revise the decision of the Cabinet and he, therefore, considered no useful purpose would be served by an interview.

You will appreciate that my company are still under contract to H.H. of Bhopal and have been since 1st September 1947. We have had a large section of our staff working on the Pakistan account all this time and we have, therefore, been unable to take on more than a certain number of other contracts. H.H. of Bhopal intends to stand by his contract with us and I shall now fly to Bhopal in order to make a settlement with him.

H.H. of Bhopal was under the impression that we would have received payment of Rs. 3.5 lakh since this amount has been paid to the Quaid-i-Azam for us, being the equivalent of two quarterly payments in

advance. Since the negotiations have not been satisfactorily concluded, no money has actually been paid to my company.

H.H. of Bhopal instructed me to ask that this money should be returned to his account in the Chartered Bank and I should be very grateful if this could be done.

It would also be helpful if the money could be returned before I leave for Bhopal, which will be on Tuesday or Wednesday of next week.[2] H.H. of Bhopal will then know that the money is again in his account and the question of a settlement will be simplified.

I shall be very grateful if you will place this request before the Quaid-i-Azam for his consideration. I apologise for asking that it should be done quickly but you will appreciate that, having been here for three months without achieving success, I am naturally anxious to return to England as soon as possible in order to report to my Board of Directors.

Yours sincerely,
H.A. GORDON

[1]F. 179-GG/7. Not printed.
[2]S. M. Yusuf replied that the Govt. of Pakistan be approached in the matter. See F. 179-GG/9. Not printed.

298

Mahmud Brelvi to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/96

C/O A.R. SHAIKH,
IMPORT DEPT,
CUSTOM HOUSE,
KARACHI,
19 December 1947

Dear Sir,

I tried many a time to contact you on phone, but found the line always engaged; hence I am writing you this note.

Will you kindly let me know by post the decision of Quaid-i-Azam concerning my manuscript on "Pakistan",[1] and oblige?

Thanking you for your kindness and consideration,

I am, dear Sir,
Yours gratefully,
MAHMUD BRELVI

[1]See No. 260.

299

Interview of M. A. Jinnah by Robert Stimson

F. 188-GG/15-6

19 December 1947

In an interview with Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, said that the Muslims of the sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine. "The Muslims of the sub-continent" he said, "are obviously reluctant to antagonize the United States, or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us."

The Quaid-i-Azam said he thought it regrettable that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had not pursued with more resoluteness their efforts to find a just and honourable solution of the Palestine problem. "With greater persistence, His Majesty's Government might have been more successful than the United Nations", declared the Quaid-i-Azam.

Discussing future relations between Great Britain and Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But personally I have no doubt that Pakistan will be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing member for the mutual benefit and Great Britain should exercise the great moral responsibilities she has as the senior member of the Commonwealth. At the moment I feel that Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realise that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth. It appears to me that His Majesty's Government are so far shirking their responsibility in this respect."

On the question of Kashmir, the Quaid-i-Azam said that it was a grave issue and he would refrain from making any statement at this stage as talks were going on between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League to split the organisation into separate Muslim League for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Since August 15th the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Indian Dominion have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems. That is

beyond question. It is only right, therefore, that the Muslims of India should be free to form their own independent policy." The Quaid-i-Azam added that it would be impracticable, and indeed improper, for a single Muslim organisation to operate in two Dominions.

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organisation open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "The time has not yet come for a national organisation of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality. The Muslims have only just won their own Muslim homeland, and they have still to build a structure that will suit conditions and developments that will take place. But the decision to form a purely Muslim organisation in Pakistan is not irrevocable. It may be altered as and when necessary to suit changing conditions. Nothing is static in politics. It all depends upon what progress we make and further developments that may take place."

300

S. M. Yusuf to A.D.F. Dundas

F. 106-GG/23

20 December 1947

Sir,

With reference to the letter dated the 10th November 1947[1] from Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan Sanjarani of Chagai Agency, addressed to the Quaid-i-Azam, I am desired to request you to convey to the Sardar, the Quaid-i-Azam's appreciation of his offer of services to Pakistan. Would you also kindly convey to the Sardar an assurance that the Quaid-i-Azam will bear in mind his loyalty and the loyalty of the Sanjarani tribe and their devotion to Pakistan.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. M. YUSUF

The Hon'ble the Agent to the
Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan, Quetta

[1]Not traceable.

301

Transjordanian Minister to Foreign Minister, Karachi

Telegram, F. 102-GG/4

BAGHDAD,
20 December 1947

The Royal Transjordanian Mission headed by Minister of State Muhammad Pasha El Shuraiki arrived Baghdad *en route* Karachi to convey congratulations on independence [of] Pakistan in name [of] His Majesty King Abdullah bin Alhussain. The Mission carries royal message to His Excellency the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. It will telegraph departure from Basra for Karachi.

[TRANSJORDANIAN MINISTER]

302

Iskander Mirza to Erskine Crum

Telegram, F. 49-GG/29

MOST IMMEDIATE/SECRET KARACHI,
20 December 1947

With permission of H.E. the Chairman, Joint Defence Council, we request insertion of following items in agenda of meeting on 22nd December.

1. Question of recruiting Aligarh University boys in the Pakistan Armed Forces
2. Transit of Pakistan armed personnel and stores from West to East Pakistan and vice versa by rail through India

[ISKANDER MIRZA]

303

M. Mahomed Ismail to S. M. Yusuf

F. 151 (II)-GG/7

CONFIDENTIAL CAMP BALUCH MESS, KARACHI,
20 December 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

I thank you for your kind letter No. D-945-GG/4 dated 15th instant.[1]

My friends and myself were very much concerned to know that the health of His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam was not as it should be. I hope he is recovering now. May the Almighty *Allah* grant him speedy and full recovery, continued good health and happiness.

I do not want to tire His Excellency by writing in detail all that we wanted to place before him in person. However, I may just say for his information that the Madras Government is showing an increasingly and definitely unsympathetic, if not hostile, attitude towards Muslims. They have reduced the communal ratio of the Muslims in the recruitment to public service from 1/6 to 1/14 and are gradually curtailing the educational facilities which the Muslims have been enjoying. Of late, they made whole sale transfer of Muslim officers and even Muslim Police constables from Malabar to outside districts and disarmed Muslim policemen in the districts adjoining the Hyderabad State by substituting *lathis* for their arms, while allowing Hindu policemen to be fully armed. They ordered indiscriminate searches of Muslim houses in those districts without any result except causing harassment to the inmates; and they have kept a number of Muslims in detention. All this and the unhampered and open parades and activities of the R.S.S.S. have naturally caused considerable panic among Muslims and several of them have sent away their women and children to Hyderabad and other places. To add to all this, they openly declared the other day that they would not recruit Muslims to the armed Police force, six thousand strong, which they are recruiting now. Our people naturally feel a little nervous in a situation like this. But we are doing our best to keep up the spirit of people and also contacting the authorities from time to time and urging them to assist in the preservation of tranquility, law and order.

The question of separate electorate is another important matter about which our people are worried. We shall, of course, strenuously agitate for the retention of separate electorates, but the odds seem to be against

us at present. A settlement on governmental level seems to be the only practical means of securing separate electorate in the present political situation. The concession of separate electorate for non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan will, of course, be a strong and effective point which can be urged in favour of making a similar concession to the Muslims of the India Union.

His Excellency has more than once made it clear that there will be no discrimination against the minorities in Pakistan. When the world comes to know properly that this high principle is being adhered to in practice in Pakistan, whatever be the present attitude of the Indian Union towards its minorties, it will of course have a tremendous effect and will, among other things, stand the Indian Muslim minority in good stead.

May I now request you to please convey our *salaams* and *adaabs* to His Excellency for whose long life and happiness we are praying.

We are leaving Karachi on the 22nd instant by air at 5 p.m.

With *salaams* and best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHOMED ISMAIL
MLA
President, Madras Presidency Muslim League

[1]See F. 151 (Vol. II)-GG/6. Not printed.

304

Govt. of East Bengal to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Karachi

Telegram, F. 47-GG/12

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 22-W

DACCA,
20 December 1947

Ministry of Food. *Begins*: Rationing in Dacca and other towns has broken down. Also serious difficulty in provisioning Railways and other essential services. Please arrange to despatch immediately (repeat immediately) two more shiploads of rice in addition to one already reported sent and intimate when the ship already on the way will reach Chittagong. *Ends*.

305

J. N. Mandal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (2)(Vol.I)-GG/107

KARACHI,
20 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We were very much anxious for your health. Hope your are much better now by the grace of God Almighty.

I had no intention to take even a minute of your time and put you under any mental or physical exertion at present when you are over-burdened with heavy responsibility and multifarious duties but, as the Hon'ble Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Prime Minister of East Bengal, has advised me to see you in connection with the matter of inclusion of Scheduled Caste Members in the East Bengal Cabinet and, as some finality in the matter should be arrived at without any loss of time, I am writing this to you. I shall be much obliged if you would kindly fix up a time[1] when I could see you and discuss the matter.[2]

Yours sincerely,
J. N. MANDAL
Minister for Law and Labour

[1]Mandal was given an appointment with Jinnah during January 1948.

[2]In March 1948, Jinnah told a deputation of the Scheduled Castes Federation that the Government were not against the inclusion of Scheduled Castes in the East Bengal Ministry but the Federation had only a following of five out of nineteen members in the Assembly, and including one of those five would be against the spirit of democracy. See the *Pakistan Times*, 24 March 1948.

306

Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf

F. 167 (2)-GG/12

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
21 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I will be obliged if you will kindly place the enclosed letter[1] before

the Quaid-i-Azam immediately.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to 306
Khwaja Nazimuddin to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 167 (2)-GG/13-6

CONFIDENTIAL

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
21 December 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

I am very sorry to give you bad news. A very serious situation has developed here. I will try to give you as detailed information as possible.

We had a meeting of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party to-day. About 80 to 90 members out of 117 attended the meeting. For the last 3 or 4 weeks, owing to high prices in the deficit areas and low prices in the cordoned surplus areas, there has been a strong demand by the public for the de-control of food. Unfortunately, the rationing at Dacca almost broke down while we were away in Karachi, and on our return we have managed to keep it going somehow or other; but virtually it has broken down. It has coincided with the party meeting, and the aspirants for Ministership and Parliamentary Secretaryship led by Mr. Mohammed Ali[1] exploited the situation to the full extent. But it will be only fair to state that almost all the supporters of Govern-ment, with the exception of the Ministers, are honestly convinced that the control should be lifted. Even some of my Ministers were of this opinion in the beginning, including the Civil Supplies Minister, but he veered round to my point of view after I had explained. the position and owing to the strong attitude taken by me on this question. The Parliamentary Secretaries met me in a body, and after hearing my views some of them were convinced, and others agreed to support the continuance of control and oppose de-control. In the meeting we al-lowed free expression of opinion to our party members on this question, and it was discussed throughout the day from 10 a m. to 1 p. m. and again from 4.30 to 9 p. m. Every speech was in favour of de-control at all cost[s]. Nurul Amin[2] made a statement, and towards the end of the debate Hamidul Huq[3] spoke, and it was a most convincing speech that he delivered. There is no doubt that he shook the members, and there

were many who realised the grave consequences of voting in favour of de-control, but unfortunately almost every member had a mandate from his constituency to support de-control, and the aspirants to ministership took full advantage of this, and were determined to get a vote in favour of de-control. When I pointed out that the Central Government has a say in this matter, and without the help of the West Pakistan you cannot meet your deficiency, Mr. Mohammed Ali retorted that they are in an absolute majority in the Central Assembly, and they will force the Centre, including the West Pakistan, to meet all the requirements of East Bengal at a price to be dictated by them. He maintained that it is one State, and we are not going to the Centre and West Pakistan with beggar's bowl, and that we have a right to exist, and as the West Pakistan is surplus, they must meet our deficit. It was pointed out that it will be unfair and unreasonable to call upon the cultivators of the Punjab and Sind to sell their rice and wheat at controlled rates, while the cultivator in East Bengal is going to get high prices for his agricultural produce. Mr. Tafazzal Ali[4] argued that we cannot expect West Pakistan to adopt a usurious attitude, and if the worse comes to pass we will pay the enhanced price and let there be free trade in the whole of Pakistan. The main arguments in favour of de-control were that by means of control we guarantee to give food to 10 to 15 lakhs of people, whereas we are not in a position to ensure the supply of food at controlled rates to the rest of the population, that during the last 3 or 4 years cordoning has been a failure, that inter-district smuggling could not be prevented, that the people in the deficit areas had to buy rice at a considerable enhanced price than the controlled price, that we are not in a position to supply rice at controlled rates to more than 5 to 10 per cent of the people of the deficit areas, the rest having to exist somehow or other, mostly on smuggled rice from surplus districts. They maintain that control leads to corruption, and high prices in deficit areas are due to the bribes they have got to pay to various persons for smuggling the rice. If inter-district cordoning is removed and free trade is allowed, there may be an increase in price to [Rs.] 20 or 25 per maund, but it is better than having to pay Rs. 35 to 40. On our side it was maintained that the finances of East Pakistan and the Centre cannot bear this increased price as large sums will have to be spent on increased dearness allowances to Government servants and to the workers in industries, railways, etc. A vicious circle will be created which will be ruinous.

These are the gists of the arguments for and against control. I am

quoting the resolution which was moved, and had it been put to vote it would have been carried:

> This Party is of opinion that in view of the extreme crisis of food position in the deficit areas of Eastern Pakistan and failure of the rationing scheme in the fully rationed areas there should be free and easy movement of foodgrains within the Eastern Pakistan and the present cordon order banning all internal movements should be immediately withdrawn. The Party is further of the opinion that in order to stop smuggling of foodgrains and other commodities from Eastern Pakistan, the existing boundary cordoning should be severely tightened and strong vigilance kept on the boundaries; and that the law regarding anti-hoarding should be sufficiently amended to make it more stringent and effective.

When I found the situation almost hopeless, I suggested postponing the taking of votes until we have had the advantage of the presence of the representatives of the Centre as they have a say in the matter, and the Party should hear them and discuss it with them. At first the Opposition was not prepared to accept the suggestion, but when Salim[5] moved it as an amendment, and they realised that the amendment will be carried, they accepted the amendment. This will show that while our supporters were not prepared to cast a direct vote in favour of control for fear of electorate and public opinion, they were prepared to support the amendment which did not directly bring the question of control as an issue.

I am afraid, as soon as the public will get to know what took place here, procurement will become almost impossible because hoping that there will be de-control nobody would sell at the controlled rate. I assured the Party, specially the Opposition, that representatives from the Centre will come here within a week to discuss the question with them as the matter is so serious that it cannot be delayed. The Party meeting has been adjourned, and they want 7 days' notice to get back to Dacca. As this question is of so vital importance I would suggest that the Raja Saheb,[6] yourself, Ishaque[7] and any other Minister that you think necessary, should come to Dacca immediately if you want to maintain control of foodgrains in East Bengal. The gravity of the situation cannot be over-emphasised. Without the presence of both the Raja Saheb and yourself it is impossible to get a proper settlement. I will therefore be obliged if you will kindly let me know by Immediate Wire when to expect you here.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam, and the Raja Saheb.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Prime Minister,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

[1,2,4,5&7]Members of East Bengal Legislative Assembly. See Appendix XIII. 9, Vol. I, Part II, 618-9.
[3]Minister for Finance, Revenue and Commerce, East Bengal, 1947-49. See Ahmad Saeed, *Muslim India,* 1857-1947, 150.
[6]Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Minister for Food and Agriculture; Health.

307

Rupert W. Hornabrook to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/272-3

10 TOORAK AVENUE, TOORAK, S.E.2,
MELBOURNE,
21 December 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Good news—which I sincerely hope is correct—came over the air yesterday.

It was to the effect that you would be paying an official visit to Great Britain in the near future.

I hope that you will not mind my speaking very plainly, but, in view of the fact that the recent meeting in London of the four Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, Russia, France and the United States of America has broken down and revealed the complete inability of the Four Powers of the Occident to come to any agreement, it is now for the Orient to prove to the Occident that the East can settle her differences and be the means of bringing about a better understanding in international relations and peace on earth.

Today the Dominions of Pakistan and India have an opportunity unequalled by any other power in the world of proving to the Occident that the East can lead the world to sanity.

The geographical situation of the Dominions of Pakistan and India can be and should be the cement which binds the West and East together to the benefit of humanity and world peace.

I am enclosing for your information my belief and record of service and it is the result of these personal and practical experiences that makes me write and express the views enclosed.[1]

A medical man comes possibly in closer contact than any other person with the views of his patients and humanity, and he is given confidence that do not fall to the lot of the ordinary individual. The world over and in all countries I found on the whole it is *the people*[2] who long most for peace and international understanding—especially so does this apply to those who live in the country and are lovers of nature.

We town people are too much "bricks and mortar" and materialists in our outlook. When I meet a man who is a lover of nature and sees the beauties of the countryside and loves the glorious air and expanse of vision of the mountain top—I know and feel that here I have a man, and that there is good in him, no matter what nationality he may be.

I hope you will not mind my writing as I have, but I feel strongly that it is for your country in conjunction with Great Britain to prove that hand in hand in the firm handclasp that has stood us in the past we can do our share to bring peace and mutual understanding on earth.

Where there is the will there is the way. It can be done–it will be done–and you can do it.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

RUPERT W. HORNABROOK

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Underlined in the original.

308

Message[1] by M. A. Jinnah to Pakistan Boy Scouts

22 December 1947

Scouting can play a very vital role in forming the character of our youth, promoting their physical, mental and spiritual development, and making them well-disciplined, useful and good citizens.

If the real aim of the movement is to be achieved, scouts should learn to pay more than lip service to the scout laws and should not think that the scout movement is limited to going about in uniforms, scarves and badges for show. We are living in a far from perfect world. Despite the progress of civilization, the law of the jungle, unfortunately,

still prevails. Might is considered right and the strong do not refrain from exploiting the weak. Self-advancement, greed and lust for power sway the conduct of individuals as that of nations,. If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual—catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed. If our young people learn to befriend all, to help other people at all times, subordinate personal interest to the welfare of others, eschew violence of thought, word and action, I am sanguine that the attachment of universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach. So I wish you Godspeed.

[1]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48*, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Islamabad, 112-3.

309

Mohammad Yusuf Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/109

SHADI COTTAGE,
7 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
22 December 1947

Dear Sir,

I prayed for an interview with our Quaid-i-Azam when he was here but I learnt that on account of his being indisposed, such arrangement was not possible. Again I make the same prayer which, if granted, shall certainly call forth a sincere sense of gratitude and respectful regards for Quaid-i-Azam.

Any convenient time at Karachi up to 30-12-47. In the meanwhile, may I request you to kindly put up before Quaid-i-Azam the enclosed suggestions[1]?

Happy birthday to our Quaid-i-Azam and many many more returns.

Yours etc., etc.
MOHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN
Advocate

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 309

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/110-13

Suggestions for Consideration of the Quaid-i-Azam

Pakistan is, at present, confronted with two problems:

1. Rehabilitation
2. Corruption, moral and administrative

As regards the 1st, it is respectfully submitted that the exchange of population has been an initial blunder. At this stage even a boy can realise the wrong step but before 15th August 1947, keenest intellect and intelligence could never have imagined and foreseen the present situation. The Muslim population in Hindustan, beyond the Eastern Punjab, are cursing Pakistan. It is natural. They are right. Before 15th August 1947, the entire Muslim India was burning [*sic*] for Pakistan, ready to die for the cause with pleasure. Beyond Pakistan the honour, the person and the property of those Muslims are doubtlessly [*sic*] jeopardised. They are, therefore, right in criticising Pakistan anyway they like. Pakistan should sincerely and with a feeling, welcome their criticism and should every moment be anxious to be their shield against the slightest aggression. As regards the Muslims coming into Pakistan from the Eastern Punjab, they come in with pathetic tragedies, loss of honour, loss of life and property, stir [*sic*] in them spontaneous cries and complaints. Their cries and complaints are not to be treated as the outpourings of a wild and foolish rabble. It is the pious duty of Pakistan to extend soothing ointment to the wounds of these incoming Muslims. Thus taking facts as facts actually are, Pakistan is getting unpopular within and without.

When the whole atmosphere in Pakistan is saturated with callous dishonesty, the appointment of corruption committees, the complaint by five citizens or the splitting of the League into two, cannot be the cure. An average officer in Pakistan, if honest, punctual and energetic, can detect corruption and immorality, not only of those who are below him but also of those who are above. One honest man can thus reform an abuse and if he fails, the committees and complaints are, under the circumstances apt to fail.

With the idea of prescribing a tonic for our baby Pakistan the following suggestions are respectfully offered for consideration by our Quaid-i-Azam and the life of the seriously sick patient may prolong for centuries to come:

I. Our Quaid-i-Azam should go on tour throughout Pakistan. Arrangements should be made for administration of oath to all the public servants from the highest to the lowest. The public servants should

appear before the Quaid-i-Azam with our beloved Holy Book *Qur'an* on their chest and both the hands on the Holy Book, and in that pose take a solemn public oath in respect of:

a. No bribe in any form
b. No adultery—An ideal respect for a woman of any country or religion
c. In the discharge of public duty, ideal honesty, strict punctuality, discipline, impartiality, truth and the fear of the All-Knowing God
d. Blind obedience to the higher officer
e. Any dereliction detected, to be at once communicated direct to the Quaid-i-Azam without slightest fear

II. The aforesaid oath to be administered to every young person, starting career after selection for the service.

III. With the exception of those who have suffered losses in honour, life and property in the Eastern Punjab, no one, public servant or otherwise, to have any interest in the property left over in Pakistan by the outgoing non-Muslims. Any interest so acquired to be abandoned forthwith.

IV. The offices of the State should be given to the Muslims coming in from Hindustan and suffering miserably in honour, life and property. It would certainly add to the strength and stability of Pakistan.

V. Responsible officers should not take alcoholic drinks in the public. What God would forgive, the public would not.

VI. Scholars in Arabic and Islamic History should be employed for every district who should tour in the district and address the public on Islamic principles and glorious deeds in Islamic History. Not the voluptuous [*sic*] bearded *maulvies* who regard Islam as a prayer-saying and *Tasbih*-telling institution. Prayer in Islam means all in all action, energy and perseverance in refusing to be cowed down by wrong. These scholars should impress upon the masses and the educated class that to rape a woman, to stab a child or an innocent person is not only un-Islamic but a sin that God would never forgive. If a non-Muslim resorts to these fiendish, snakish methods the Muslims should never stoop to meet mean wrong with wrong. If a Muslim sees another Muslim, raping or lifting a non-Muslim woman, he should defend the woman in a true Arab Muslim spirit.

VII. Everyday one hour and every week one full day to be reserved by the Quaid-i-Azam for every one to have free access. It would certainly purge Pakistan of all the prevailing vices and would further create an ideal Islamic unity which, if once created, shall never be broken and shall certainly be a steel shield to our dear Muslim brotherhood in Hindustan,

at present exposed to every possible danger from the non-Muslim.

VIII. On the ensuing birthday of our Quaid-i-Azam no celebrations of any kind. The refugees all over Pakistan to be entertained with one full meal—at least one *pao* of nicely cooked beef, with nicely cooked *chapaties*, followed by a prayer that God may give them all, in their homes, dishes of fowl next year on the same occasion. Quaid-i-Azam should broadcast this fact and arrangements for the proposed meal should start forthwith.

Quaid-i-Azam, as an advocate, said no to a seat on the Bench, said no to a seat on Indian Central Executive, said no to Kinghthood, preferring to be addressed as Jinnah Sahib to Sir Jinnah. If the above is a fact, it certainly leads to the inference that the office of the G. G. has been taken by Quaid-i-Azam, not in personal but in Muslims interest. There are quarters where it is entertained that the Quaid-i-Azam accepted the aforesaid office not in Muslims, but in personal interest.

As regards the administration of oath, it is respectfully submitted, that the suggestion should not be regarded as fantastic and impracticable. Details of the oath to be prepared in Urdu. There is no doubt that we are down the depth of degradation, still an average Muslim would feel solemnly bound down by his oath. Any abnormal case would not be difficult to be detected. With all our vices, we have not as yet started worship of money. Worship of money is the prerogative of the Hindus alone whose religion teaches them to wash silver and gold with milk and then to make an offering to the goddess Lakshmi. It is worship of money that would prompt a person to forget the oath. Through administration of the proposed oath, Pakistan would certainly be purified and the purified Pakistan would certainly be able to extend protection to a Muslim in the remotest corner of Hindustan. God forbid, even if after the administration of oath, things go on as they are going on now, Quaid-i-Azam should say final goodbye to Pakistan, regarding it as a land of dirty detestable human beings.

MUHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN
Advocate

310

Australian Red Cross to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/135

MELBOURNE,
22 December 1947

Governor-General, Dominion of Pakistan, Karachi

We propose ship undermentioned goods value nearly six thousand pounds for relief needy. Your Dominion please cable Red Cross or Red Crescent address to whom we consign and who will be responsible for distribution on Red Cross basis. Blankets, woollen shirts and cardigans, bandages, dressings, sulpha drugs.

AUSTRALIAN RED CROSS

311

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/201

UNIVERSITY OF SIND, KARACHI,
22 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a note[1] on the resettlement of refugees on land by Mr. M. L. Qureshi, Professor of Economics, Sind Muslim College, Karachi, and Joint Secretary of the Muslim League Planning Committee, for your kind perusal and consideration.

May I have your permission[2] to send a copy of the note to the press?

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

A. B. A. HALEEM

[1]Enclosure.

[2]Jinnah conveyed his inability to examine his suggestions and give his permission to send a copy of the note to the press. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/200. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 311
Scheme for the Resettlement of Refugees on Land

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/202-8

INTRODUCTION

The West Punjab Government was faced, all of a sudden, with the gigantic and unprecedented problem of resettling millions of refugees from the East Punjab. There were no previously thought-out plans based on reliable statistics of the agricultural land available and the number and character of the refugees and their previous habitations and occupations. The result was that the refugees were resettled in a manner which was as unplanned and haphazard as was their evacuation from the East Punjab. For obvious reasons this has left much to be desired.

In many cases, refugees coming from the same village have been scattered in different places. Agricultural lands have been allotted to non-cultivators and lands left by the non-Muslims have been frequently occupied by the local people under the names of fictitious refugees. As the available agricultural land was limited, its defective allotment would mean that a very large number of agriculturist refugees would not be able to get any land for their resettlement.

The refugees are being advanced *takavi* loans. These are necessary to enable them to start life afresh as cultivators. The recovery of such loans is difficult even in normal times when the borrowers are permanently rooted to the soil in which they have considerable stake. It would be much more difficult under the present conditions when there is nothing to prevent the borrowers from getting away with the loans.

The backward character of agriculture in this country is due to a number of causes such as the small size of the holding, the use of primitive implements and unscientific methods of agriculture, etc. There was a possibility of remedying some of these defects in the utilization of agricultural lands vacated by the non-Muslims. But these evils are likely to be further intensified if the present unplanned resettlement is made permanent.

It would seem that inspite of all the difficulties the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees could have been approached in a more scientific manner than has actually been done. The position can, however, be set right even at this late stage by following a carefully worked-out plan. The outline of a scheme that can provide a solution of the problem is given below:

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The refugees should be asked to form themselves into co-operative societies of the multi-purpose type. The societies should have co-operative farming as their main object but should, in addition, provide credit, purchase, sale and other facilities to the members. After the termination of the existing temporary allotment, lands should be re-allotted to societies and not to individuals. This would virtually make the membership of a society compulsory for a refugee. The liability of the members should be unlimited unless otherwise justified by the circumstances. The distribution of the net proceeds of the co-operative farm amongst the members should be on the basis of the number of labour units put in by each with necessary discrimination in favour of persons entrusted with work requiring greater responsibility, ability or skill. The membership of the society should also be open to the local peasant proprietors who may, if they so choose, be admitted to the society, provided they are prepared to surrender their own lands to the society. They should be entitled to the economic rent of their lands in addition to their share on the basis of the labour units put in by them.

The present practice of making *takavi* loans to individual refugees should be replaced by a system of loans to societies. Such loans are likely to be better utilized and the chances of their recovery would be much greater than in the case of loans to individuals.

The societies should be so organized that they can purchase the seeds, implements, manures, etc., required by them and dispose of their produce that is surplus to the requirements of the members. They should also purchase, for their members, the various articles controlled by the Department of Civil Supplies which can safely allot quotas to the societies on the basis of their membership. This would go a long way in making rationing more efficient and in uprooting the black market. The societies could also be used by the Government as a part of its procurement machinery for surplus food.

In the formation of societies and in the allotment of land, the compact character of village communities should be preserved. All the inhabitants of the same village from the East Punjab should be encouraged to settle together in same village in the West Punjab where sufficient land is available for their requirements. If this important principle of colonization is ignored, the social and economic consequences would be disastrous. People who have been uprooted from their homes, if scattered in different localities, would find themselves in a completely strange and uncongenial environment. They may go on moving from place to place without settling anywhere. They are a great

social danger. The presence of friends, relatives, old associates and acquaintances who really constitute public opinion provides an effective restraint against unbecoming behavior. In the absence of this restraint, people are likely to be degraded and demoralized. Besides, mutual knowledge of one another's past life and character is one of the essential conditions for the success of a co-operative society.

The technique of co-operative farming has been thoroughly developed elsewhere at the cost of considerable human suffering. We can benefit by the experience of others and avoid the various pitfalls. It can be confidently stated that co-operative farming on Russian lines with important modifications to suit conditions in Pakistan which are in many important respects different from those in Russia, can be adopted with success.

The principal and the most serious difficulty in co-operative farming is of a political character, namely the existence of vested interests in land and the intransigence of individualistic farmers who refuse to fall in line. A bloody revolution was necessary to overcome these difficulties in Russia. Fortunately for Pakistan there are no such difficulties, at least in so far as land vacated by the non-Muslims is concerned, unless new vested interests in such land have already been allowed to spring up. The refugees are not in a position to be intransigent. A policy of resettlement on a co-operative basis, can be easily enforced. Co-operative farming is now mainly an administrative problem which is certainly capable of being solved. We have been presented with a rare opportunity which is unique in the history of the world. If we fail to avail ourselves of this, we would stand condemned at the bar of history.

The rent to be charged for the cultivation of land should be a multiple of the land revenue. As to what multiple it should be, can be determined after taking into consideration the agricultural price index in the year in which the last land settlement was held and the present agricultural price index. This would be a more scientific basis than any in which the discretion of the local officers comes into play and it would avoid a good deal of corruption. In order to encourage the formation of co-operative farming societies, such societies may be required to pay a lower rent than is to be charged from individual cultivators.

The societies can be used as liaison institutions between the Government and the village communities. They can be a valuable instrument available to the Government for organizing and mobilizing the country-side for any purpose in the event of an emergency.

If the scheme succeeds it would be one of the greatest achievements

in the history of the world. It would make for prosperous agriculture and bring about remarkable improvement in the whole economy of the province, which is, on final analysis, dependent on agriculture. It would cause no hardship or even dislocation to the existing landed interests and would not interfere with the right to private property. In fact, if there is any thing which does not spell ruin to the propertied classes but gives them a longer lease of life, it is the development of the co-operative movement, for the co-operatives, as such, have no hostility towards the rentier classes and usually leave them alone. Thus enlightened self-interest should dictate to the landed proprietors and other monied people to do everything that lies in their power to make the movement succeed. The failure to resettle the refugees in such a manner as would enable them to earn a reasonable living, would bring into existence a class of people, numerically very strong, having no stake in the country. Then a violent revolution to overthrow the existing social structure would only be a question of time.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

1. *Planning Organization*: An organization should be set up to collect the statistics required, to prepare detailed plans on the basis of the statistical information available and to offer advice on a large number of economic problems that are bound to arise from time to time. A complete census of refugees whether settled or unsettled should be immediately undertaken. This information to be collected should include the place of origin, the profession last followed, the present address, the type of work for which the refugee is fitted, etc. A questionnaire can be prepared and the necessary staff will have to be appointed for carrying out the census operation.

Statistics about agricultural land in each village should be collected as follows:

a. Land owned by non-Muslims and cultivated by non-Muslims.
b. Land owned by non-Muslims but cultivated by Muslims.
c. Land owned by Muslims but cultivated by non-Muslims.

This work can be done by the staff of the Revenue Department.

The planning organization should include economists and experts on co-operation and agriculture.

2. *Leadership and Trained Personnel:* The establishment of an enormous number of multipurpose co-operative societies as envisaged in the scheme would require an extremely large number of people possessing organizing and business ability and having the qualities of leadership and drive, for there would be required countless numbers of managers, secretaries, salesmen, in addition to accountants, clerks,

etc. This would be the most serious difficulty. The leadership can, however, be supplied by the landed proprietors who have been driven away from their homes where they were the natural leaders of the people. As refugees in West Punjab, they have lost their privileged position. So they would be willing to work as managers, or secretaries or hold other positions of responsibility in the set up of a co-operative society where they will find even greater opportunities for self-expression and the exercise of initiative. They would, however, require some sort of training in co-operative work. This can be imparted by the Co-operative Department which can institute short courses of training for the purpose. The accountants and clerks required can also be similarly trained. The demobbed personnel of the defence forces, with their sense of discipline and devotion to duty, can also be made to play an important role. The scheme would offer opportunities of employment for the educated unemployed and help in absorbing the surplus staff of the Central and Provincial Governments.

3. *Development of Other Avenues of Employment:* It would not be possible to settle all the refugees on land for want of sufficient agricultural land vacated by the non-Muslims. Besides other things being equal, co-operative farming, by itself, would result in considerable economy in human labour and would result in a larger number of people becoming surplus so far as agriculture is concerned. The need for the development of other avenues of employment is imperative. Next to agriculture, the cottage industries create the largest volume of employment. So an all-out effort should be made to develop them in a planned manner. The cottage worker should be given every possible help for obtaining raw materials, equipment and finance at reasonable prices and should be provided with facilities for the marketing of his products. All such help can very conveniently be given through the co-operative societies. Such large scale industries as provide raw materials to the cottage industries, as for example the cotton yarn industry which supplies yarn to the handloom industry, should be developed with the utmost speed. Other schemes of economic development should also be expedited, particularly those in which the labour costs are the highest, for example the construction of roads and canals.

4. *Publicity:* The co-operative movement is based on the spirit of mutual help. Its chances of success are the greatest when the urge to unite for mutual benefit courses from within. The creation of this urge on a mass scale is by no means an impossible task. The technique of publicity has been so well developed that even the moral values of the people can be altered. By an intelligent use of the propaganda machinery

whole nations have been made to believe fanatically in certain ideologies for which they have willingly laid down millions of lives. An appeal can rightly be made in the name of Pakistan and all the instruments for educating the public mind, such as the radio, the cinema, the platform and the press, should be fully mobilized to create a proper atmosphere for the success of the scheme.

312

S. M. Yusuf to Mahmud Brelvi

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/98

23 December 1947

Dear Mr. Mahmud Brelvi,

Please refer to your letter dated the 19th December 1947.[1]

I communicated your request to the Quaid-i-Azam and he has instructed me to write to you that he cannot write a foreword to a book without going through it, and he cannot possibly find time to read your manuscript. He further desires that his name should not in any way be associated with the book, not even in the dedication. You may come and collect your manuscript from my office on any working day between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. I would not like to take the risk of sending it through post or through a peon, lest it should be delivered to a wrong person.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

[1]No. 298.

313

Khan A. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 184-GG/1-4

BY AIR MAIL

PUNJAB AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
LYALLPUR,
23 December 1947

May it please our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

The Punjab Agricultural College and Research Institute was founded

in 1909.

There are about 250 students on the rolls of the College and of these 75 are refugees from different parts of the India Union. We have also students from Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Persia studying with us. It is my earnest and constant endeavour to raise the standard of teaching in the College to that degree of efficiency which will attract to it students not only from all over Pakistan but from America, Europe, etc., as well. In addition to making our students proficient in agriculture we *now*[1] also teach them good citizenship and instil in them an urge to nourish Pakistan with blood and intellect.

The Research Institute is composed of twelve Sections. The aim of research under way in these Sections is to discover and devise ways and means of enabling cultivators to grow "nine ears of wheat where one grew before". The staff engaged on research is sparing no pains to achieve this goal.

The College has not lagged behind in doing its bit in alleviating the sufferings of our refugee brothers and sisters. We housed about 52,000 of them in our hostels and the lawns round about them. At present we are looking after the Central Pakistan Staff evacuated from Delhi, Dehra Dun, Izzatnagar and Muktesar. The refugee students are being helped financially through an "earn and learn" scheme as well as in various other ways.

The College holds its prize-distribution ceremony once a year. It is my earnest prayer that the Founder and Architect of Pakistan should be able to find time to preside over our next prize-distribution, which will be the first after the attainment of Pakistan. I am fully aware of the fact that our beloved Quaid-i-Azam is exceedingly busy with important matters of our beloved State, but I most humbly submit that Agriculture, for the service it renders to our people in feeding them and is capable of rendering to our industry which we are all so very anxious to develop, is equally important for the State and deserves an equal share of our Quaid-i-Azam's gracious attention. I assure our beloved Quaid-i-Azam that his presence amongst us at our first prize-distribution ceremony as Pakistanis will stimulate us to further efforts in making our College one of the best in the world and in devising methods for developing our agricultural resources to the fullest extent possible.

Normally we hold our prize-distribution about the end of February or the beginning of March but this time I propose to hold it during the period from 20th February to the 31st of March on a date which will suit the convenience of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. I, therefore, most earnestly request our beloved Quaid-i-Azam to most graciously inform me about

the date which will suit Quaid-i-Azam to preside over our prize distribution.[2]

In the end I may mention for our beloved Quaid-i-Azam's information that there is a good landing ground for aeroplanes at Risalewala, a place about four miles from the College to which it is connected by *pucca* road.

I beg to remain,
our beloved Quaid-i-Azam's
most faithful follower,
KHAN A. RAHMAN
Principal

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]S. M. Yusuf informed him to seek confirmation of Jinnah's availability in February 1948. See F. 184-GG/5. Not printed.

314

S. M. Yusuf to M. Mahomed Ismail

F. 151 (II)-GG/10

23 December 1947

Dear Mr. Mahomed Ismail,

I placed your letter of the 22nd [20] December[1] before the Quaid-i-Azam and he desires me to write to you that most of the matters referred to by you in your letter were adequately dealt by him in the two long speeches he delivered at the recent session of the All India Muslim League Council.

Things that are happening in Madras are not unexpected in the present conditions and it is for the Muslims of Madras to use tact and patience and adjust themselves to the changed conditions.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

M. Mahomed Ismail, Esq., MLA,
16 Thambu Chetty Street, G. T. Madras

[1]No. 303.

315

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 185-GG/1-2

IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
MOHATTA PALACE, CLIFTON,
KARACHI,
23 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I enclose a copy of a memorandum[1] just received from the High Commissioner for Burma formally inviting the Quaid-i-Azam to the Burma Independence Celebrations to be held on the 4th January 1948. The High Commissioner's Office has very properly sent the formal invitation through this Ministry though the High Commissioner has already spoken to the Quaid-i-Azam personally about it. They have also enclosed with their formal note two invitation cards.[2] I understood from you that when the Quaid-i-Azam was approached by the Burma High Commissioner personally, he was pleased to accept the invitation for the evening function at the Karachi Club Annexe and declined the morning invitation. Would you kindly now let me know whether this Ministry can send a reply to the formal invitation informing the High Commissioner for Burma that the Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to attend the evening function.[3] After taking the Quaid-i-Azam's approval you will no doubt tell the Military Secretary also who will have to inform the Police authorities in regard to security arrangements and make a note of it for the Governor-General's staff.

An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]See F. 185-GG/3. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]A reply to that effect was sent by S. M. Yusuf on 24 December 1947. See F. 185-GG/4. Not printed.

316

S. B. Thakur to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/10

BULBULANI LANE,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
24 December 1947

May it please your honour,

This humble petitioner most respectfully encloses herein a petition[1] addressed to His Excellency through your honour as a proper channel, and respectfully requests your honour to help the petitioner in getting the necessary permission granted by His Excellency.[2]

Insha Allah this humble petition will be granted through your kind help for which the petitioner will ever remain grateful; and praying for many happy returns of such auspicious day as falls on the 26th [25th] December 1947.

Your petitioner remains a humble servant of Pakistan and a servant of humanity.

S. B. THAKUR

[1]Enclosure.

[2]F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's disapproval to allow association of his name with any firm. See F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/12. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 316
S. B. Thakur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/11

BULBULANI LANE,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
24 December 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

The undersigned, a Pakistani national, resident of Hyderabad, Sind, descendent of ancestors living in this town from the time of [the] Mirs of Sind, most respectfully and humbly begs to intrude upon Your Excellency's precious time and most respectfully craves *Your Excellency's permission to name his clinic for treatment of various diseases by radio magnetic cosmic rays and chromopathy, after Your Excellency's name, on the auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's next birthday falling on the 26th* [*sic* for *25th*] *December 1947.*[1]

Treatment of radio magnetic cosmic rays is done by magnetos and is a sort of electro-culture, different from electro-therapy, and the treatment of chromopathy is done by colour charged water and other things in coloured bottles with the aid of the sun and by special colour plates through suitably devised instruments designed by an American doctor, the late Dr. E. D. Babbitt, viz. chromo-discs, thermoulumes, etc. The petitioner has the above mentioned apparatus and instruments.

These methods are unique in treatment of chronic diseases and differ widely from the allopathic and other treatments. This humble servant of humanity holds the necessary diplomas and treats poor patients free of charge, and undertakes to train others to acquire these methods which have so far not been recognised by the previous government.

Humbly beseeching again for grant of Your Excellency's required permission and praying for many happy returns of such auspicious day.

Your petitioner remains a humble servant of Pakistan (our new motherland) and a servant of humanity,

SUNDERLAL BHOJRAJ THAKUR
Dr.

[1]Sidelined in the original.

317

T. B. Creagh Coen to S. M. Yusuf

F. 182 (2)-GG/3

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
& COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
24 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I am to enclose, in original, a letter[1] from the American Charge d'Affaires, of which we have kept a copy, and to say that as verbally explained by Ikramullah, we are releasing the message to the press for publication on December 26th morning.

2. A draft message[2] of thanks is enclosed for the approval of the Quaid-i-Azam. If it is approved,[3] we will communicate it to Lewis for

transmission to the President.

Yours sincerely,
T. B. CREAGH COEN

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]F. 182 (2)-GG/5. Not printed.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 317
Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to M. Ikramullah

F. 182 (2)-GG/4

URGENT

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
No. 35
24 December 1947

My dear Mr. Secretary,

I have received the following message for transmission to the Quaid-i-Azam from President Truman on the occasion of the Governor-General's birthday and the national holiday [which] is to be observed, in that connection, on December 26 [*sic* for 25].

> I am happy on this national holiday of Pakistan to send you my sincere birthday felicitations and to convey to you and the people of Pakistan the good wishes of the people of the United States.

I would be grateful if you would communicate the above message to the Quaid-i-Azam, and I would like to be privileged to add my warm congratulations on his birthday and my best wishes for his health and long life.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR.
Charge d'Affaires, a. i.

M. Ikramullah, Esquire,
Secretary,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

Enclosure 2 to No. 317
S. M. Yusuf to T. B. Creagh Coen

F. 182 (2)-GG/2

25 December 1947

My dear Creagh Coen,

Please refer to your letter dated the 24th of December about President Truman's message.[1] The Quaid-i-Azam has suggested the following reply:

> Pakistan and I deeply appreciate and thank you for the good wishes of the people of United States and felicitations on the occasion of my birthday.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

T. B. Creagh Coen, Esq., CIE,
Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Mohatta Palace, Karachi

[1]No. 317.

318

R. Joesoef Ahmadi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/52-3

PETODJO OEDIK VII/10,
BATAVIA, JAVA,
25 December 1947

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
All Praise and Admiration be upon the Holy Prophet, and on His Servant, the Promised Saviour
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

We, Indonesian Ahmadis, have followed your struggle for the national erection [*sic*] with great interest and we cannot leave to testify our admiration to you [*sic*].

Your figure [*sic*] who has brought about so much for the country and especially who has shown so much hospitality and rendered so much assistance to our beloved spiritual leader Hazrat Mir[za] Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad and his staff during the days of trouble in consequence of the Qadian affairs—we shall not forget the reason

why we do not like to pass your birthday imperceptibly.

In order to pay homage actually and to perpetuate the tribute we publish[ed] two books on your birthday, viz.

1. *Perdjoeangan Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (The struggle of Mohammad Ali Jinnah) written by our Reverend Maulvi Rahmat Ali, H.A.O.T., [a] missionary of our Movement.
2. *Hindoe contra Moeslim atau pertikaian di India* (Hindu versus Muslim or the disturbances in India) written by the undersigned.

These books, we are sending to you separately. By the publication of these books we are trying to win the hearts of the Indonesians for Pakistan in the hope, that the bond between Indonesia and Pakistan, two such important Islamic countries will be strong.

However, it is a pity, that there are so little news getting through from Pakistan. We shall therefore be pleased if we may get some newspapers and books (in English and Urdu) on your advice, so as to enrich our knowledge about Pakistan and get better idea about the situation of your country.[1]

At last we turn to *Allah* with the supplication that He may give you the needful power for the arduous task you have to fulfil, and we hope you will govern the country in imitation of the prescriptions of our holy Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. (*sallallaho alayhay wasallam*).

We Ahmadis are convinced, that simply and solely this principle will bring about welfare on earth.

Yours sincerely,
R. JOESOEF AHMADI
Secretary of Foreign Affairs,
Anjuman Ahmadiyya

[1]Sidelined in the original.

319

Phya Srivisarvacha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 190-GG/6

BANGKOK,
25 December [*1947*]

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter dated 29th November 1947,[1] addressed to my predecessor, Nai Arthakitti Banomyong, regarding the desire of the Pakistan Government to secure

1000 tons of rice from Siam.

In reply I beg to mention in the first place that when Nai Arthakitti Banomyong referred in his letter to the office of the Special Commissioner in South East Asia, he probably meant the I.E.F.C. (International Emergency Food Council) Sub-Committee at Singapore. However, as Your Excellency is already aware, Siam being a member of UNO, the export of Siamese rice to foreign countries is governed by the allocation made by the I.E.F.C. in Washington which is an organ of UNO. In this connection, we have been informed that the allocation for rice from Siam to India during the first half of 1948 is 15,000 tons. As there was no mention of Pakistan in the allocation of rice from Siam, the authorities here understood that the 15,000 tons of rice allocated to India, meant that this amount was solely for the Dominion of India.

In view of the above, the Siamese authorities would be pleased to export rice to your country on the intimation from I.E.F.C. in Washington that an allocation has been made to Pakistan in this connection.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

PHYA SRIVISARVACHA
Foreign Minister of Siam

[1]See No. 230.

320

Frederick & Emmaline Pethick-Lawrence to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/147

FOURWAYS, GOMSHALL,
SURREY,
[*25 December*] *1947*

My dear Jinnah,

We send you our warm greetings and all good wishes for Christmas joy and good fortune in the coming year.[1]

Yours,
FREDERICK PETHICK-LAWRENCE
EMMALINE PETHICK-LAWRENCE

[1]S. M. Yusuf sent a letter of thanks on 30 December 1947. See F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/146. Not printed.

321

S. G. V. Moosani to Abdul Qadir
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/225

QUEENS' COURT NO. 14,
VICTORIA ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 December 1947

Sir,

Most respectfully I attach herewith a copy of my report[1] regarding currency arrangement in Pakistan Government. I am an experienced man for about 28 years for the currency. I prepared the report according to your instruction after full study and this is my challenge that if your Government will recommend it, Pakistan Dominion will not depend on any other Government and earn millions of pounds.

Yours obediently,
S. G. V. MOOSANI

Abdul Qadir, Esq., OBE,
Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Finance, Karachi

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 321
S. G. V. Moosani to Victor Turner[1]

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/226-7

26 September 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to give below my suggestions for a scheme of Pakistan Currency:

SCHEME OF PAKISTAN CURRENCY

A goodwill of public helps much to [*sic*] a Government and their discontentment leads to its failure.

I suggest that currency should be established on shilling currency

equal to one shilling and 50 cents to one rupee. In the beginning this currency should keep the coupon [of] two shillings for one rupee up to three months' time for exchanging Pakistan shillings for India rupee. The payment should start throughout Pakistan Dominion at the same time.

A Currency Board comprising one member from each Province of Pakistan Dominion or two as may be convenient, should be established to control the issue of this currency. The name of this Board should appear on notes as issuing authority.

The denomination of various notes should be 5 sh., 10 sh., 20 sh., 100 sh., 1,000 sh, and 10,000 sh. This shilling currency will be convertible into sterling pounds at the ratio of 20 sh. for one pound. This fact should be noted on each currency note according to its face value for the convenience of the public as well as the Government for maintaining the accounts.

The following coins should be introduced:

1sh.	equal	to	10	annas (100 cents)
1/2 sh.	equal	to	5	annas (50 cents)
10 cents	equal	to	1	anna
5 cents	equal	to	1/2	anna
$2\frac{1}{2}$ cents	equal	to	1	pice

This system will have the following advantages:

By exchanging a current rupee note the public will get two shillings whereas after three months the face value of the same note will be 1.50 sh. Thus there will be a profit of annas five per rupee and Rs. 31/4 for each hundred rupees. This will attract large sums of money from the people who have already left Pakistan and others within or without Pakistan. It may also influence other traders from Indian States, Europe, Africa, America and other foreign countries. This rush of exchange for three months will result into bringing the Pakistan shilling currency into the forefront of the world currencies.

The Pakistan shilling notes should be printed having regard of the rupee notes in circulation in whole of India and Pakistan. The present amount is about 12,00,00,00,000. The Pakistan currency should therefore be double of that amount.

The Pakistan Govt. will be much benefited in the initial stage of three months. The Reserve Bank maintains separate accounts both for Pakistan and India for the present common currency, stamps and revenue. The rupee notes exchanged for the Pakistan shilling notes will be controlled by the Currency Board who will also maintain a separate account for them, in addition to the one kept by the Reserve Bank. The money so collected will be the property of Pakistan.

During the period of three months as long as the rupee notes are

legal tender, all the money collected should be invested in business, such as:

a. Pakistan Foreign Exchange
b. Pakistan Steam Navigation
c. Pakistan Industries
d. Pakistan Aeroplane Industry
e. Pakistan Agricultural Product Company
f. Pakistan Property Dealings

This business needs not be limited concerns [*sic*]. They should be controlled by the Currency Board through secret agents specially employed for this purpose. The functions of each concern will be as follows:

a. *Pakistan Foreign Exchange*: This will purchase all commodities much in demand in foreign countries such as jute, cotton, gold [and] silver, lying in India, with Indian currency. These commodities should in turn be bartered for machinery and other goods urgently required by Pakistan.

b. *Pakistan Steam Navigation*: This will purchase steamships from other Indian and European steamship companies during the first three months of exchanging our currency.

c. *Pakistan Industries*: This will be able to purchase most of the Indian Industries (Hindu concerns), e.g. cement, iron, cloth, flour-mills, etc., etc. whatever and to what extent it might be available within the same period of 3 months.

d. *Pakistan Aeroplane Industry*: Will purchase all the available aeroplanes all over India or outside within the period of 3 months.

e. *Pakistan Agricultural Product Company*: This will purchase all the available land in India or Pakistan wherever the Hindu concern may be available in the same period of three months.

f. *Pakistan Property Dealings*: Will purchase all the available Hindu concerns, buildings, hotels, cinemas, bungalows whatever property of Hindus may be available within the same period of three months.

The above proposal of business has been drawn entirely on the lines of the Britishers policy in East Africa and all Dominions of world, e.g. Ministry of Food, U.K.C.C., E.C.B., C.G.A., Control Board.

In 1919 the British Government in East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika territories the Indian Currency had been enforced [*sic*].

At the time, the British Government started East Africa Currency Board instead, with Shilling System, was [*sic*] given above and a period of two months for the collection of Indian Rupees was notified. Two shillings were offered for each rupee. Consequently, most of India's

gold and silver fell into the hands of the British Government. The population of all the above mentioned African territories was only one crore people, whereas population in India is 40 crore. So, the fixation of 3 months or 4 months period for collecting rupees will be reasonable, and every body will naturally be anxious of getting 5 annas profit on each rupee.

Pakistan Stamp: It will be necessary also to mention price of shillings on Pakistan stamps, such as, 1 cent, 5 cents, and 1 shilling. A few samples of the stamps required are enclosed herewith.[2]

Since 23rd September 1931, the British Government left the gold-standard and remained with the paper currency. The same procedure should also be adopted by the Pakistan Government, for currency notes and the nickled shillings. By adopting this procedure the subject[s] of the Pakistan will be prosperous, as a man having a sum of one lakh rupees will be able to get a benefit of Rs.33,000. The Government will then naturally gain and be able to clear off all its Provincial debts from this exchange.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. G. V. MOOSANI

[1]Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan.
[2]Not traceable.

322

Palestine Anti-Partition Committee, Singapore, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/66-8

SINGAPORE,
26 December 1947

His Excellency Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan
In the name of 100,000 Muslims of Singapore it was unanimously resolved at a mass meeting on 26th December to express horror at and voice protest against the proposed partition of Palestine which is the holiest place of Islam after Mecca [Makkah] and Medina and against the violation of the sovereignty of the Arabs. The mass meeting trusts that in the interest of justice based on historical facts and in the interest of world peace the partition of Palestine will not be forced on the

Arabs lest thereby a holy war involving 400,000,000 Muslims be precipitated.

[PALESTINE ANTI-PARTITION COMMITTEE]

323

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/113-4

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
26 December 1947

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I am grateful for your kindness in asking me to the Garden Party in honour of the Governor-General's birthday. As I am indisposed and have a long journey ahead of me, I am unable to attend. Kindly convey my best wishes to the Governor-General.

Please accept my thanks for the courtesy extended to me by your Government at the Karachi Airport.

Yours sincerely,
VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

324

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 102-GG/5-6

KARACHI,
27 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

Please refer to my previous D.O. No. 2663-P/47, dated the 23rd December 1947.[1] The Royal Transjordan Mission consisting of three persons (H.E. Mohammad Pasha El-Shuraiki, Minister of State, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Transjordan, the Shariff Hamid Sa'ad Eddin, Adviser and Mr. Hajem K. Tell, Secretary) arrived suddenly at 4 a.m. this morning *without notice*.[2] We went and

collected them from the Drigh Road Airport and have installed them in the Palace Hotel as State Guests. They have since signed the Governor-General's Book and have left cards on the Prime Minister. They called on the Foreign Office at 5 p.m. today and were received by the Foreign Minister. During this meeting, the Leader of the Mission, His Excellency Mohammad Pasha El-Shuraiki (who by the way, was until recently the Foreign and Finance Minister of the Transjordan Government) informed our Hon'ble Minister that the Mission has brought a special letter[3] to the Quaid-i-Azam from His Majesty King Abdullah which he would like to present in person and make a short speech in Arabic. We have agreed to arrange the ceremony which will be a formal affair almost exactly as it was in the case of His Excellency Sardar Najibullah Khan of Afghanistan. Would you kindly obtain suitable date and time for this ceremony[4] at the Governor-General's House from the Quaid-i-Azam and let me know so that I might proceed with further arrangements.

The Mission intends to stay here till *Wednesday* the 31st December, when it will leave for Peshawar via Lahore on its way to Afghanistan. We are arranging railway accommodation for them accordingly.

The next matter to consider apart from the ceremonial presentation to the Quaid-i-Azam is the question of their social programme. If you could kindly enquire and let me know what the Quaid-i-Azam wishes in regard to this matter so far as he himself is concerned, I can then inform the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister who will arrange social functions for them after a date and time has been fixed for the Quaid-i-Azam's function. I will be grateful for an early reply as until we know whether the Quaid-i-Azam is inviting the Mission for a meal or for tea, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister cannot fix their programme.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]See F. 102-GG/7. Not printed.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3]Enclosure.
[4]See No. 331.

Enclosure to No. 324
Abdullah Ibn Elhusein to M. A. Jinnah

F. 102-GG/7
[Original in Arabic]

AMMAN,
11 November 1947

My dear and noble friend,

The announcement of Pakistan as an independent State and Your Excellency's appointment as the Head of this exalted State has given great happiness to my mind and to the minds of the people of my country who wish to co-operate with your country thereby strengthening the Islamic brotherhood and the Mohammadan fold. This brotherly feeling has led us to realise the hope of Islamic strength and has moved us to select our Minister Mohammad Pasha El Shuraiki as our Envoy Extraordinary to your court accompanied by His Excellency Hamid Beg Saaduddin who is one of our cousins. This we have done to convey our greetings on the establishment of the dignified State of Pakistan and to show happiness and good wishes of our Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan and to appreciate the great change that Your Excellency has brought about. For your noble people we wish honour and greatness. We had a talk in this connection with Your Excellency's experienced Personal Representative, Malik Firoz Khan Noon. We have that talk in view and await whether we both agree in that connection. I repeat my assurances of good wishes and those of my people towards your free people and our cooperation and friendship between these two sister Islamic countries. I again repeat in the end my sincere brotherly Islamic feelings for ever. I wish for Your Excellency health and happiness for ever and for your exalted country the best of honour, greatness, prosperity and welfare.

I remain, my dear friend,
always yours,
[ABDULLAH IBN ELHUSEIN]

325

National Bank of India to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (6)-GG/17

KARACHI,
27 December 1947

Your Excellency,

We have received the following telegram from our London Office:

> Pay Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, by order of H. H. the Aga Khan £ 18, 750.

We, therefore, enclose our Pay-Slip for Rs.249,566-11-6 (equivalent of £ 18,750) in Your Excellency's favour.[1]

Kindly return to us the enclosed form "C" duly signed by Your Excellency for submission to the Exchange Control Authorities.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
[SIGNATURES ILLEGIBLE]
Manager

[1]Also see No. 272.

326

Faiz Ahmad Faiz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (2)-GG/1

LAHORE,
27 December 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg leave to write that the *Pakistan Times* will complete the first year of its existence on February 3, 1948. The seedling that you planted has in this short period attained the stature of a flourishing tree. The gracious interest that you have so far displayed in the progress of our Paper encourages me to hope that you will be good enough to send us a brief message for inclusion in the *Pakistan Times* Annual that we

propose to bring out on the first anniversary of our publication.[1]

Yours sincerely,
F. A. FAIZ
Editor
The *Pakistan Times*

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 326
Message by M. A. Jinnah for the Pakistan Times *Annual*

F. 65 (2)-GG/4

[KARACHI,]
19 January 1948

The role of newspapers in voicing and moulding public opinion cannot be over-emphasized. The Muslim view point never got enough publicity for want of Muslim controlled daily newspapers in English. The *Pakistan Times* was started at a time when momentous issues affecting the future of Muslims of India were on the anvil and the need for Muslim papers was the greatest. I have watched the development of the *Pakistan Times* during the twelve months of its existence with great interest and I am glad to note that it has established itself now fairly firmly. It has considerably grown in stature during this short period and I am sure it will grow from strength to strength as time passes provided it maintains high traditions of the press and advocates the cause and true interests of the people without fear or favour. I wish *Pakistan Times* every success and prosperity.

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Alan Lascelles[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

Telegram, F. 125-GG/3

SANDRINGHAM,
[ENGLAND,]
27 December 1947

Begins: Your telegram No. 1233 December 25th.[2] The King gives

informal approval to exchange of Ambassadors between Pakistan and Burma from January 4th, 1948. *Ends.*

[1]PS to the King George VI.
[2]See F. 125-GG/2. Not printed.

328

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 11-GG/19

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL *29 December 1947*

Your telegram No. 147 GGI of 27th December.[1] Will be glad to meet Governor-General Malaya[2] while he is in Karachi on 10th January. Please wire time of arrival to fix up appointment.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Malcolm Macdonald.

329

Khwaja Nazimuddin to S. M. Yusuf

F. 167 (2)-GG/17

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
29 December 1947

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

I wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam on 21st instant,[1] and sent it to you with the request to place it before him. Col. Shahid Hamid, who left Dacca by air on the 22nd morning, kindly agreed to deliver the letter to you.

Please let me know if you have received the letter, as I have not heard anything either from the Prime Minister or the Food Minister. The situation here about the food control is serious, and immediate action is necessary.

May I also remind you about the letter[2] I wrote to Quaid-i-Azam requesting him to fix the salary of the Chief Justice[3] of East Bengal. This is most urgent, as he has not been able to draw his salary for the last five months. I will be obliged if His Excellency will kindly pass

orders and communicate to us immediately.

Yours sincerely,
K. [HWAJA] NAZIMUDDIN

[1]Enclosure to No. 306
[2]See F. 167 (2)-GG/10. Not printed.
[3]Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram.

330

Abid Ahmedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120-GG (Vol.IV)/13-8

7 GARDEN TOWN,
LAHORE,
29 December 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a copy of the memorandum[1] I prepared for the Cabinet Mission in April-May 1947 [*sic* for 1946], copies of which I also sent to Attlee, Bevin, Churchill, Eden and Editors of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, from whom I received acknowledgments.

As you will see from a perusal of this note, many of the inferences contained therein have been confirmed by subsequent events, and things which were not clearly apprehended at that time stand out in bold perspective at the present time. You will also see that British policy too has undergone some change in more than one way, e.g. with regard to Spain, Western Germany, Palestine, etc. Of course, India has been divided into Muslim India and Hindu India. I do not pretend that this policy has changed because of my note; but I apprehended the inevitability of this change.

My object at present is to emphasize that the task before Pakistan is twofold:

1. External Security and
2. Internal Security

As regards (1), strong bonds of friendship be forged with USA and Britain. As you are aware, I am sure, the British at present are not inclined in a very friendly way towards Pakistan. No nation befriends another unless its friendship is to its own good . I believe that if Pakistan adopts its policy as enunciated in this note, the friendship of both USA and Britain can be won. They should be made to realise that it will be in their own

interests if they are on friendly terms with Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan should realise that no nation in the world can stand alone. When USA is befriending Turkey, she will also befriend Pakistan for exactly the same reasons. Pakistan should only know how to proceed about the work.

Among the various methods, besides of course strong diplomatic relations, to be adopted with that object in view should be (i) employment of American technical personnel who will be automatically good instruments of propaganda in USA for Pakistan and (ii) concessions to industrialize and to exploit the mineral resources of Pakistan should be given to USA. In short, you have to make USA interested in Pakistan.

If you succeed in making USA the friend of Pakistan, you will guarantee its security and stability.

Strong bonds of friendship should also be formed with the Muslim countries, especially the Arab countries, whose potentiality is the greatest of any country in Asia. It is wrong to suppose that Turkey is the leading power, as Firoz Khan Noon declared in the Middle East; it is the Arab countries, especially Egypt, which really matter in the world politics, and are going to be a great force. It is very easy to form ties of diplomatic friendship with them, as bonds of Islamic friendship already exist between them and Pakistan.

As regards (2), I would suggest the following nation-building items:

a. Complete overhauling of the educational system from the lowest school class to the highest in the University. We do not require now only clerks and officials, but statesmen and diplomats—in short, rulers and nation-builders. It is only by re-constructing our educational institutions on new foundations and new principles that we can raise generations who will be the true custodians of Pakistan.

With this object in view there should be *one central educational institution*[2] in Pakistan, either in Lahore or Karachi, which would cater for such needs of Pakistan in educational matters, as there was Aligarh or the All India Muslim Educational Conference. I believe that the yet still-born Sind University can be turned into an educational institution of this type, if a proper man is placed at the helm of the affairs.

In order to bring up a generation of right type of civil servants of Pakistan, an educational centre for their training is also essential.

b. *Conscription or whatever name be adopted*: There should be compulsory military training in higher classes of schools and lower classes in colleges. This is the simplest and the cheapest method of imparting military training to the Muslim youth; the National Guard System would prove expensive and more difficult to

handle. In schools and colleges you have got the right type of young men already enrolled and under proper discipline. You have only to select and give proper military training. It is no use enlisting riff-raff.

c. *Industrialization*: A programme of intensive rapid industrialization should be adopted. Of course the first requisite is power. Industrialization would also solve the problem of increase of population.

d. *Educating the masses*: I am not a great admirer of the so-called adult education; but what I regard essential for the stability of Pakistan is that every man and woman, public men and government servants, should be made to realise their responsibility individually and collectively towards the State; and the duties and obligations that now devolve upon each of them by its creation. In this connection I can do no better than cite a paragraph from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*:[3]

> The question of 'nationalising' a people is first and foremost one of creating healthy social conditions as a foundation for the possibility of educating the individual. For only when a man has learned through education and schooling to know the cultural, economic and above all the political greatness of his own Fatherland, can he, and will he, gain that inner pride in being permitted to be member of such a nation. I can fight only for what I love, love only what I respect, and respect only what I know to be great.

Ministers and other responsible men should tour the country making the people realise the greatness of their traditions, culture and history and the important role they have to play in the world; besides the children in schools and grown-ups in colleges should be taught these things as part of their curriculum.

In the end, I offer my services for the cause of Pakistan in any capacity in which I can be of any use. I do not do this in a spirit of hankering after a job. If you think I can be of no use to Pakistan, I shall not feel in the least sorry. In Aligarh, I believe, I have done my work in such various capacities as the President of the Muslim University Muslim League, organizer of the National Guards, etc. I believe I can serve Pakistan in any of these capacities:

1. As head of an educational institution where the placing of a new ideal before the Muslim youth is the main object.
2. As head of an academy for Islamic Studies; for unless the Muslims are re-taught the greatness of their culture and history, how can they be a great nation?
3. As a representative on behalf of Pakistan in any of the Arab countries; for I have all my life been a student of Arab history, language and modern movements in Arab countries.

4. As Director of Education in Pakistan, etc., etc.

Again I say that I offer my services in a sincere spirit of serving the cause of my people.

With the most respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
ABID AHMEDALI
M. A. (Alig), D. Phil. (Oxon)
Reader in Arabic,
Muslim University

PS. I enclose also a statement[4] of my qualifications for your information.

[1]See F. 120-GG (Vol.IV)/20-2. Not printed.
[2]Underlined in the original.
[3]Hitler's book published in 1923 which contained his political aims.
[4]See F. 120-GG (Vol. IV) 23-5. Not printed.

331

Address by M. A. Jinnah in reply to the speech by the leader of the Transjordanian Mission[1]

F. 102-GG/15-7

29 December 1947

Your Excellency,

It is a great pleasure and indeed a great privilege for me to welcome Your Excellency and your colleagues and to receive through you a message of good wishes and congratulations from His Majesty the King of Transjordan on the achievement of independence by Pakistan. I assure Your Excellency that my Government and the people of Pakistan greatly appreciate the gracious message of your august sovereign and the affection and regard expressed by the people of Transjordan for their brethren in this country. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that the Government and people of Pakistan heartily reciprocate the noble sentiments so generously expressed through Your Excellency's Mission.

In the struggle for freedom which the Muslims of this great subcontinent had to face, the thought that we always carried with us the sympathies of the Muslim world and particularly of such great torch bearers of Islam as His Majesty the King of Transjordan, was a source of great encouragement and inspiration. It is all the more gratifying, therefore, for the people of Pakistan to receive this message on the occasion of their Independence.

I have no doubt that Your Excellency's Mission will further cement the bonds of brotherhood and affection which exist and subsist between our two peoples. Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab world that there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause.

I request Your Excellency to be good enough to convey my most grateful thanks and the thanks of the people of Pakistan to His Majesty Your King and to the people of Transjordan for the good wishes conveyed to us through Your Excellency's Mission.

Finally, I have great pleasure in informing Your Excellency that my Government has agreed to the proposal of your Government that there should be an exchange of diplomatic missions between Pakistan and Transjordan. In the fulfilment of this desire I am looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming to Karachi a Representative of your great country.

I am sure my Government and our people will do all they can to make your sojourn in Karachi happy and pleasant.

[1]Also see No. 324.

332

R. C. Curtis to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/157

QUETTA,
29 December 1947

Your Excellency,

I shall be leaving Karachi, for the last time I suppose, by the *Empire Windrush* on or about 31.12.47. I, therefore, wish to take this opportunity, with the greatest respect, to wish you and Pakistan all the success and future prosperity that a great man and a great nation so fully deserve. In leaving this country I have two regrets, (a) that I have never had the privilege of meeting Your Excellency, and (b) that I am not young enough to offer my services to Pakistan.

Good luck, Sir, and all good wishes.

Yours faithfully,
R. C. CURTIS
Lt. Col.

333

M. A. Jinnah to King Abdullah Ibn Elhusein

F. 102-GG/21-2

30 December 1947

Your Majesty,

I am writing to express my grateful thanks for Your Majesty's most gracious letter[1] delivered to me by Your Majesty's Minister of State, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency Mohammad Pasha El-Shuraiki. The arrival of Your Majesty's letter was all the more gratifying as it afforded me an opportunity to welcome for the first time to the capital of our new country a Mission [*sic*] from Your Majesty's family the Shariff Hamid Sa'ad Eddin. The people of Pakistan and myself consider it a great privilege to welcome amidst us such honoured guests. I assure, Your Majesty, that this visit will greatly help in bringing our two countries in closer bond of understanding and brotherly relations.

Your Majesty's expression of good wishes and regard for Pakistan and Your Majesty's assurance of lasting friendship and affection towards us has deeply moved the people of Pakistan and myself. Your Majesty's assurance of co-operation is of singular significance to us as it comes from a sovereign and a people whom we hold in great esteem and for whom we have the most genuine feelings of friendship and sympathy.

To Your Majesty we send our respectful greetings. To the people who are our brothers in Islam we extend our hand in friendship and send greetings of goodwill and fellowship. As free people of a newly independent nation, we look forward to playing our role and making our contribution towards strengthening the great Islamic brotherhood and fully supporting the cause of Islam against all its enemies. I also look forward to welcoming Your Majesty's Diplomatic Representative, which was mentioned to my Personal Representative Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, so that it may further cement our relationship and join us in stronger ties of friendship.

I wish for Your Majesty health and happiness and for your noble Kingdom all good fortune and prosperity.

I remain,
With my respectful regards,
Your Majesty's
most sincere friend,
M. A. JINNAH

Hazrat-i-Sahib-ul Jalalah al-Hashmeah al-Malik
Abdullah Ibn Elhusein, Malik-ul-Mamlakat ul Urduniah al-Hashmeah,
His Majesty the King of Transjordan

[1]Enclosure to No. 324.

334

A. P. Fonseca to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/256

OPPOSITE DENSO HALL,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
30 December 1947

RE: COINAGE

May it please Your Excellency,

I have the honour to make the following suggestions for your kind consideration.

1. I speak subject to correction on this point. Since Pakistan and India are in the British Commonwealth, it probably follows that at least the face of the main coin, e.g. the rupee should bear the representation of the British Crown. In this case it may be the face of the king. It is usual to have on the obverse the local insignia. This is important also for other reasons. In this way the rupee in both the dominions will bear a ratio to sterling or the sovereign. The inter-dominion exchange will be more stable and the citizens of each dominion whether in the same dominion or the other will not have their assets and property diminished by any local manipulation. Further, this rupee being a commonwealth token and linked to the sovereign or sterling will have a better value in the international exchanges and markets. If it is properly pegged it will not be subject to monetary fluctuations. This will help the trade and commerce of each dominion. As many Mahomedans

have left India and Hindus have left Pakistan, it will be advisable to have regard to certainty of value.

2. Seeing the local trade and market, it becomes clear that with the presence of the Europeans, whether in trade or in the services, previously trade was brisk. They earned a lot and spent a lot. It went to increase the wealth of the local people. Indians do spend less or rather their standard of living is lower. It is, therefore, advisable to encourage British or European or American traders (and servicemen). It will also be useful in many other ways.

I have the honour,
A. P. FONSECA
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

[1]Copies were endorsed to Governor-General and Prime Minister of India.

335

Mrs Fatma Nimet Rached to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/218[1]

40 SOLIMAN PASHA STREET,
CAIRO,
30 December 1947

Dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I have been designated by the members of the Feminist National Party of Egypt, to thank you so much, in the name of the Arabic people, for your country's decision on behalf of Palestine. Let me join to them my own thanks, as well as my sincere good wishes for Pakistan's welfare and glory.

I hope that you will excuse the familiar tone of my letter, but we like and admire you so much in Egypt.

I remain,
Sincerely and admiringly,
FATMA NIMET RACHED
President of the Feminist National Party of Egypt

[1]Mrs. Fatma Nimet Rached also wrote an identical letter to Miss Fatima Jinnah. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/215. Not printed.

336

S. A. Jawad to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/105

PRESS INFORMATION DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
KARACHI,
30 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

Two distinguished Americans, Mrs. Nada Patcevitch and Mr. Constantine Joffe, are at present in Karachi on a study tour of Pakistan. The purpose of their visit is explained in the enclosed copy[1] of a letter from the President of Conde Nast Publications, New York. Mrs. Patcevitch is anxious to have the honour of an interview with Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah. She will be accompanied by Mr. Constantine who would help her in taking photographs of Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah. As they will be leaving Karachi for Lahore and Peshawar after 3 or 4 days, I shall be grateful if you will kindly arrange their interviews on 31st December or 1st January 1948.

I might mention here that our High Commissioner in India, Mr. Zahid Husain, has specially asked me to look after these distinguished guests and to help them in every possible way.

Yours sincerely,
S. A. JAWAD

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 336
President, The Conde Nast Publications, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/106

NEW YORK,
13 May 1947

This is to certify that the bearers of this letter, Mrs. Nada Patcevitch and Mr. Constantine Joffe, are being sent on an editorial assignment to India by the Conde Nast Publications, Inc., to take photographs, motion pictures and collect other material for publication in our magazines in this country.

The principal subjects to be covered by them in collecting this material for our magazines are in the realm of cultural, artistic, arts and

crafts developments in India, it being our main interest to bring to the readers of our magazines a greater knowledge of Indian affairs, in order to foster better understanding and cultural relations between India and the United States.

Any assistance that you may render Mrs. Patcevitch and Mr. Joffe in the carrying out of this assignment will be greatly appreciated.

President,
The Conde Nast Publications Inc.

337

T. B. Creagh Coen to S. M. Yusuf

F. 135-GG/25

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
31 December 1947

My dear Yusuf,

One Mr. Vincent Sheean, who has just arrived from Cairo, came to see me on December 29th on the introduction of the American Charge d'Affaires. Mr. Sheean is a well known American journalist and writer of left-wing views but 'socialite' background; I rather think that he was at one time a sympathiser of the Indian League of America but it is clear that he is sound on the Palestine question. He has only visited India once, during the war when he was in service in Bengal, but he has lived a good deal in Europe. He is, I believe, married to an English woman.

2. Mr. Sheean brought me the enclosed letter[1] from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and asked that it might be transmitted to the Quaid-i-Azam with a request for an interview. He explained that he is now employed by an American magazine called *Holiday* to write a series of five articles. Two he has written—one on Vienna and the other on Cairo and the Palestine problem. The third is to be on Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam, the fourth on the Government of India and P[andi]t Nehru, and the fifth on religious and philosophical trends in India and Mr. Gandhi. Thus his interests are long range and not spot journalism: and he is prepared to spend some time in Pakistan and not to rush through.

3. This Ministry is recommending to the Hon'ble Minister(whom Mr. Sheean would also like to see) that he be given an interview, and

supports his request for an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. He is staying at the Palace Hotel, and if the Quaid-i-Azam approves, perhaps you will let him know direct the date and time of the interview?

Yours sincerely,
T. B. CREAGH COEN

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 337
Amin El Husseini to M. A. Jinnah

F. 135-GG/26

CAIRO,
24 December 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It gives me great pleasure to introduce to Your Excellency Mr. Vincent Sheean, who has, for the last eighteen years, been a staunch supporter of the just cause of Palestine as well as a personal friend of mine.

Mr. Sheean's enlightened and unceasing efforts for that cause have been invaluable, and, having regard to my belief in his integrity and fair mindedness, I have no doubt that he will be as good and invaluable a friend to the just cause of Pakistan as he has been to that of Palestine.

I take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that, notwithstanding the life-and-death struggle in which they are now engaged, your brothers in Palestine are watching with the keenest interest and complete readiness to cooperate in the efforts of their brethren in Pakistan for the full attainment of their noble aims.

Yours sincerely,
AMIN EL HUSSEINI

338

Maulana Fazlur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/119

CHITTAGONG,
[*Undated*] *December 1947*

Sir,

Jamiat Ulema Islam Conference [was] held on 12th inst. at Chittagong

Jami'a Masjid. Many thousands of people from all parts of Chittagong assembled. The following resolutions were passed unanimouly at this huge assemblage:

This Conference on behalf of people of Chittagong expresses their deep implicit faith in and earnest devotion to their great beloved leader Quaid-i-Azam M[ohamma]d Ali Jinnah and the present Pakistan Government.

This huge Conference most emphatically proposes that Urdu be the only State language and Court language of East Pakistan positively. In this huge assemblage all the mass people of Chittagong earnestly move the Central Pakistan Government to declare it at once in the interest of Islamic culture, civilisation and uniformity of Islamic Brotherhood.

MAULANA FAZLUR RAHMAN
President,
Zilla Jamiat Ulema Islam, Chittagong

339

Raja Allah Dad Khan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/115-7

CONFIDENTIAL/PRIORITY

SARGODHA,
[*Undated*] *December 1947*

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, has, by the grace of God, succeeded in establishing the new State of Pakistan, where alone the Muslim can live in security and enjoy the privileges of a free nation. The recent happenings throughout India have confirmed, beyond all doubts, that the Hindu is the arch enemy of the Muslim and would spare no efforts, whenever he finds an opportunity, to endanger, rather crush, the very existence of the new born State. A glaring example of this can be found in the happenings of East Punjab, where the Hindus incited the Sikhs to rise as one against the Muslims which resulted in the mass massacre of Muslims and their wholesale evacuation from the East Punjab. Judging from the past events, it is feared (and the fear is based on hard facts) that the Hindu is determined to continue his nefarious activities to undermine and endanger the security, stability and peace of our State.

For some time past, I have been seriously pondering over the problem of providing adequate defence on the Eastern borders of Pakistan, adjoining the Sikh territory, as the present arrangements are certainly quite inadequate to meet an emergency. I have been encouraged to

offer the following suggestions in view of the fact that every true Muslim is duty bound to contribute his humble share to the well-being of the State. I might point out that, as a lay-man my proposals may not look very impressing [*sic*] at a cursory reading but in case I am given an opportunity to discuss the whole case in detail, taking into consideration short as well as long term views of this important problem, I will be able to convince you of its soundness.

I have seen service in all the districts of the West Punjab, with the single exception of Dera Ghazi Khan and I am well-acquainted with the climatic, political and economic conditions existing in these *ilaqas*. I have been helped by my long experience of these districts and frequent contact with the public in making these proposals. The following are the barest outlines of this scheme and the details will be submitted, if these proposals are considered worth a trial:

1. The primary need at the moment is to protect our Eastern borders against the 'raids' by the Sikhs, which are definitely assuming the shape of well-organized and formidable aggression, and may at any time develop into regular skirmishes, eventually leading to an undeclared or declared war. Since desperate actions [*sic*] need desperate remedies, it is imperative that we should discourage all such activities by strengthening and adequately protecting our borders to such an extent that the raiders may not have the courage to indulge in such daring acts. These have been successful, in some cases, owing to the fact that the Muslim population on the border is neither well equipped nor properly trained in the use of arms and military strategy, and also in some cases, because their morale is at a very low ebb. Moreover, to check these things , it would be essential that a belt, let us say twenty miles in width, stretching along the entire length of Eastern border, be got evacuated, in slow stages, of civil population.

2. This belt may be put under the control of the army, who may be entrusted with the tremendous task of protecting our borders. Agricultural experts should be attached with these forces, whose duty would be implementation of scientific methods of cultivation: e.g. the use of modern tractors. The forces will be employed on farming in their spare time which will produce enough food stuffs to meet their requirements. This will serve the dual purpose of raising the economic condition of the state, as well as the creation of an idea of security in the nation, and raising their moral.

3. I have come to know that Government contemplates settling Meos, Pathans and other allied tribes on the borders, but they will be seriously handicapped by the presence of their families in the effective discharge of their onerous duties of defence. I am also of the opinion

that it is inherent in the hot and moist climate of the belt that the new settlers will become sluggish and lethargic, and are apt to lose their active habits, after some time of their residence there. Military personnel on the contrary will not be handicapped by the presence of their families. Climatic conditions would not count for much in their case, as the army routine is of such a nature as to effectively off-set such disadvantages. Besides, different units of the army can always be transferred to places of active climates. This cannot be done in the case of civil population. The matter of establishment of regimental centres in the belt may be left to military authorities.

4. In order to feed and reinforce the proposed border force it would be necessary to form Reserve Boundary Forces. After taking into consideration all the relevant matters I have reached the conclusion that some of the *rakhs* (Pakistan Govt. land) situated in the Thal Project and other colonies and districts could usefully be turned into military agricultural farms. If preference is given to martial classes in opening their training centres and feeders in the above-mentioned *rakhs*, this will encourage them to a great extent, and may in addition help in the formation of a well trained army.

The scheme, if followed, will curtail to quite an appreciable extent the expenditure on account of the maintenance of such an army. It will have the effect of training a sufficient number of soldiers in the rudiments of modern agriculture. These soldiers could always be absorbed on farming when they are not actively required in the army, and will not be a drain on the State resources. By employing these forces on farming, the State is not likely to feel the burden of their maintenance because they will thus be contributing their share by way of producing the much needed food stuffs. It will also create a sense of security among the nation who could devote their attention wholeheartedly to other constructive work. World events have proved that only the strong nations can exist as free people and the operation of this scheme will certainly make us strong enough to resist aggression from whatever quarter it comes.

I have tried in the foregoing lines to give a brief sketch, which, if enlarged on elaborate lines, can work out into a plan which can bring security and peace to the nation.

Pakistan Zindabad!

RAJA ALLAH DAD KHAN
PCS
Killabandi Officer, Thal Project

[1]Copies were sent to nineteen others.

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M. A. Jinnah to Imam Yahiya

Telegram, F. 189-GG/2

[Undated] December 1947[1]

His Majesty Imam Yahiya, King of Yemen, Sanaa

Your Majesty's telegram of third December.[2] On behalf of my Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own I thank Your Majesty most sincerely for your message and all the kind sentiments expressed therein.

I fully share Your Majesty's surprise and shock at the serious lack of judgement shown by UNO by their unjust decision in respect of Palestine. I once more assure you and our Arab brethren that Pakistan will stand by them and do all that is possible to help and support them in their opposition to UNO decision which is inherently unjust and outrageous.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]The telegram was sent on 24 December. See the *Pakistan Times,* 25 December 1947.
[2]No. 236.

APPENDIX I

QUAID-I-AZAM'S RELIEF FUND

Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund (QARF) was instituted on 12 September 1947 for providing relief and succour to the mass of destitute Muslim refugees who had to emigrate from East Punjab, Delhi, and other parts of India because of savage communal violence.[1] As the influx of displaced persons continued unabated, the Central and Provincial Committees of the Fund remained engrossed in the collection of funds and relief goods. With the help of the provincial and district administrations, they coordinated the massive relief operation.

The implicit trust that the Quaid inspired and his absolute credibility motivated Muslims the world over and contributions in cash and kind poured in—from patricians and plebeians, from the rich and poor, from Muslim organisations in South Africa, from a company of Pakistani soldiers in Rangoon who had collected Rs.1,700 to celebrate their departure from Burma (now Myanmar), but instead contributed the entire sum to the Fund,[2] among many other donors.[3]

The Quaid ensured that each and every donation was properly accounted for. He thanked all donors, especially those who had contributed only a rupee[4] or two.[5] He thanked the Aga Khan for donating Rs. 5 lakh as well as the Ameer of Bahawalpur[6] for his contribution of Rs. 5 lakh and for opening a Relief and Rehabilitation Fund for the refugees in his State. When the Nizam of Hyderabad, then reputed to be the richest man in the world, insisted on equating India and Pakistan by donating Rs. 5 lakh to each Dominion, the Quaid remarked"... the resources of Dominion of India are very vast whereas Pakistan is starting from scratch".[7]

In those days of dire need, and despite his ardent desire for maximum possible donations, the Quaid never compromised on principle. When Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad suggested collection of "... one piece of gold jewellery from every rich lady",[8] he replied "... I regret I cannot do so on principle. I am opposed to this method of collecting funds...."[9]

Besides providing food and shelter to the refugees, the Fund Committees were concerned about the fast approaching winter which necessitated the acquisition of blankets, quilts and warm clothing in huge quantities. Through negotiations conducted by Yusuf Haroon, 100,000[10] reconditioned army blankets were obtained at concessional rate from the UK which also remitted the excise duty. A sum of Rs. 168,000[11] was set aside for warm clothing and another Rs. 270,000[12] were spent on procurement

or preparation of *razais*. On a query from the Governor of East Bengal, it was clarified that "the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund does not preclude relief being given to persons other than Muslims".[13] In fact, Kiron Sankar Roy[14] was appointed a member of the East Bengal Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund Committee.

The spirit of prompt service had supplanted the traditional inertia of the bureaucracy, evoking praise from the American Friends Service Committee for "... the very quick action which you have obtained in connectiion with our request regarding free transportation of relief goods for the Punjab. It seems to me that action at this speed would form an example for virtually any other Government in the world".[15]

A strict control was exercised over the collection and utilization of the funds by the Central and Provincial Committees. A thorough check on the Fund was exercised and all expenditure was to be accounted for. Nobody could incur any expenditure from the Fund on individual whims as remarked by the Quaid "... individualism must be suppressed. Co-operative spirit will lead us to success".[16] All other existing welfare funds like Premier's Fund in Sind were closed and their balances transferred to QARF.

The enthusiasm and fervour with which the citizens of the new country rallied to face up to the challenge of large-scale migration from an unfriendly India that had driven innocent Muslims from their hearths and homes were indeed commendable and should serve as an abiding source of inspiration for us.

[1]For organisation and functions of QARF, see Appendix II, Vol. V, 435-56.
[2]See Appendix I. 1.
[3]Representative names are included in the supplementary list at the end of this Appendix. See No. I. 41.
[4]See Appendix I. 16.
[5]See Appendix I. 13.
[6]See Appendix I. 9.
[7]See Appendix I. 14.
[8]See Appendix I. 29.
[9]See Appendix I. 30.
[10]See Appendix I. 22.
[11]See Appendix I. 31.
[12]See Appendix I. 28.
[13]See Appendix I. 3.
[14]Member of Pakistan Constituent Assembly.
[15]See Appendix I. 26.
[16]See Appendix I. 30.

I. 1

Riaz Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/31

156 COY. RIASC (G.T.),
RANGOON, BURMA,
1 October 1947

May it please Your Excellency,

I, on behalf of the men of HQ 156 Company R.I.A.S.C. (G.T.) Rangoon, take this liberty to address you direct and sending [*sic* for send] you the two drafts Nos. AV/98699 [and] AV/98700 for Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 700, respectively, on Imperial Bank of India, Karachi, for the Relief Fund opened by you.

This Company consists of all Muslims from Punjab and Bengal. The Company is due to proceed to his [*sic*] Motherland after having served in Burma for over three years. This petty sum of Rs. 1,700 (Rs. one thousand seven hundred) was collected gradually to celebrate the day of departure from Burma.

A general *Durbar* of this Company was held to discuss as to how this amount should be expended and it was unanimously agreed by all ranks to contribute the entire amount towards our brethren who have suffered in the recent disturbances in the Punjab.

The Company is leaving on or about the 14th of this month and it is the earnest prayers of one and all to serve the Great Muslim Empire, which we have got through your efforts.

RIAZ AHMED KHAN
Major
Officer Commanding

I. 2

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Swat

F. 80(3)-GG/36

2 October 1947

My dear Wali,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th of September[1] informing me that you have asked your Bankers—Imperial Bank of India Ltd., Peshawar Cantt.—to remit to me a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 which you so

generously donated to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

Thereafter, I received your letter of the 22nd of September[2] and, as directed by you, we have instituted an inquiry through the Karachi Branch of the Imperial Bank. It is not yet paid to me, and I will do the needful as indicated by you in your letter.

I note that you have already sent direct to the Khan of Mamdot Rs. 40,000 (Rs. 20,000 from yourself and Rs. 20,000 from the people of your State). I am glad to know that further funds are to be collected, and I am grateful to you for that.

I think the best course will be to send further donations to me direct, and I shall pass them on to the Treasurer of the Central Committee, and an official receipt will be sent to you in due course.

I am very thankful to the Malakand Agency for their efforts in this connection, and to you for your further contribution to that Agency.

I also note that over and above that another sum of Rs. 60,000 has been subscribed by Swat State. I do not know how adequately I can thank you and your people who are giving this spontaneous and wonderful help for the relief of our people.

As regards your purchasing 3,000 woollen blankets for the *muhajireen*, I think it will complicate matters if different people were to purchase various articles, such as woollen blankets suggested by you. In my opinion the best course will be that money should be paid through the Bank to me, and the Provincial Committees of which Governors are the Chairmen will buy such things as they may feel necessary in each province, and thus it will remain under one consolidated control, because they will know their needs best and they will certainly receive from time to time, or in cases of emergency at once, such amounts as they may require through the Central Committee of which I am the Chairman.

I am very heartened and encouraged by your help and once more thank you for your readiness to serve Pakistan with all the resources of your State.

Yours very sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Miangul Gulshahzada Sir Abdul Wadud, K.B.E.,
Wali of Swat,
Saidu Sharif, Swat State, NWFP

[1]F. 80 (3)-GG/33. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., 34-5.

I. 3

S. M. Yusuf to Z. A. Khan

F. 80(Part II)-GG/24

2 October 1947

My dear Khan,

Please refer to your letter No. QARF/E.B. dated the 30th September, 1947.[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam desires that the following reply may be sent to the Governor of East Bengal's telegram No. 4/C dated the 26th September, 1947:[2]

> The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund does not preclude any relief being given to persons other than Muslims. It will be for the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees to give relief in such manner as they may think proper. There is, therefore, no question of making any condition with Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy. If he is willing to serve on the Committee, you may invite him to do so. Please wire final personnel of your Committee.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Z. A. Khan, Esq.,
Honorary Secretary, QARF, Karachi

[1]F. 80 (Part II)-GG/25. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., 26.

I. 4

Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/10-247

No. 155

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
2 October 1947

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 122 of September 25, 1947, and other communications with the Department on the subject of relief for refugees in Pakistan, and to enclose a copy of a message[1] which the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, has sent to me in his capacity as Vice-President of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

I. 3

S. M. Yusuf to Z. A. Khan

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Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Z. A. Khan, Esq.,
Honorary Secretary, QARF, Karachi

[1]F. 80 (Part II)-GG/25. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., 26.

I. 4

Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/10-247

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KARACHI,
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help. In this connection, it may be possible for the Vice-President of the Central Committee to address a conference of foreign correspondents. I do not know if the press correspondents would be willing to help by sending personal despatches but contacts can be made to find out their reactions to this proposal. They may like to visit the Refugee Camps.

3. Appeals to Muslim countries and to other foreign countries have already been issued but I think a more direct approach is required, such as, Quaid-i-Azam writing personal letters to Rulers and Heads of Muslim States. Similarly, the Heads of other foreign States can also be approached but in their case it may not be considered advisable for the Quaid-i-Azam to write himself. Would it be possible for Miss Fatima Jinnah to write to the wives of the various Heads of States, such as Mrs. Truman, Mrs. Attlee, etc. Such personal messages would receive very wide publicity throughout the press in the country concerned and the results would be beneficial. This may be considered by the Committee.

4. I think we should produce a detailed and illustrated pamphlet for circulation abroad. To begin with, [a] pamphlet in English need be produced. If [the] Committee approves of this suggestion, I shall have to get detailed information from the Ministry of Refugees and thereafter proceed with the production of the pamphlet. Two pamphlets—one in English and the other in Urdu for internal use—have already been prepared and if desired the manuscript[s] can be shown to the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. ARSHAD HUSAIN

I. 6

Ahmed Jan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/90

IST. BN., 14TH PUNJAB REGIMENT,
DAMDIL, WAZIRISTAN,
6 October 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Rank and file of 1/14th Punjab Reg[imen]t present their humble duty to their beloved Quaid-i-Azam and beg to offer a sum of Rs. 6,800 towards Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, of which a sum of Rs. 6,300 was remitted through Bannu Treasury on 30 September, 47 and a cheque for Rs. 500 is herewith enclosed. We shall be proud if this meagre

contribution is accepted.

We shall deem it a great honour if Quaid-i-Azam would be kind enough to send his two or three autographed photographs to be placed in the officers and VCOs' messes.

Yours sincerely,
AHMED JAN
Lt. Col., M.B.E.

I. 7

M. Gunn to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80(3)-GG/91

No. 38/4047

THE EASTERN BANK LIMITED,
KARACHI,
6 October 1947

Your Highness,

We have received telegraphic instructions from Barclays Bank (D. C. & O.) Pretoria, to pay Your Highness the sum of Rs. 66,092-13-0 from Pretoria & Suburbs Muslim Relief Fund with the following message:

> Muslims Pretoria and Suburbs greatly distressed terrible plight Muslims Pakistan and Hindustan. Desire express you and fellow Muslims sincerest sympathy hour trial. Distress funds continuing further remittances made time to time. Addition above remittance advise South African Muslims also created fund and collecting.

[*Last para omitted*]

We are,
Your Highness' most obedient servants,
M. GUNN
Manager

I. 8

Ruler of Amb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/103

SHERGARH (AMB STATE),
HAZARA DISTRICT,
6 October 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am extremely grateful to you for your kind letter No. 1361-GG/47 dated the 23rd of September 1947.[1]

I am enclosing herewith a cross cheque in your name on the Imperial Bank of India, Abbottabad, No. BB 48669 dated the 6th October 1947 for rupees ten thousand and fifty only as the first remittance from "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Amb State Relief Fund." The amount of rupees ten thousand represents my personal initial donation from my privy purse and the balance of rupees fifty will cover the cost of encashment of this outstation cheque. The contributions to the Fund by my State subjects are also being realised and will be sent in due course.

I am extremely grateful to know what you have felt about my heart being with you in the national calamity facing us. Yes, not only my heart but my life and soul are at the service of Pakistan and yourself and I shall welcome any opportunity to stake my all for the sake of Islam and my nation in the wake of my worthy forebears. It is not a new offer I am making but you will perhaps recollect that I first made it to you in 1937, when I had the privilege of my first meeting with you at No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, when the Muslim League was having its rebirth, and when you were infusing new spirit in the Muslim nation, which appeared to have utterly lost its bearings. God be blessed [*sic*] for all His kindness, and I have no doubt that we will pass over the hurdles that have crossed our way.

I wonder, if you have received my letter dated the 15th of August 1947[2] sent under a registered cover. In that I have asked if I could come to Karachi to meet you whenever you may find it convenient. I am looking forward to get a reply to the same.

Best wishes and prayers,

Yours sincerely,
M. FARID KHAN

[1]F. 80(3)-GG/102. Not printed.
[2]Appendix V. 6, Vol. V, 541.

I. 9

M. A. Jinnah to Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani

F. 80 (3)-GG/56

8 October 1947

Dear Mr. Gurmani,

I have received your letter of the 29th of September,[1] and I thank you for it.

Please convey my very deep thanks to Alahazrat Jalalat-ul-Mulk the Ameer of Bahawalpur for such handsome and spontaneous help at this critical moment by giving us a donation of rupees five lakh. Not only that, but it heartens me very much that His Highness has started Bahawalpur's Muhajireen Relief and Rehabilitation Fund, and again I am thankful to him that he proposes that 50% of the collections of the Fund will be credited to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and the balance will be spent for the relief and rehabilitation of *muhajireen* within the State.

I have noted the very good work that Bahawalpur is doing for the *muhajireen* from East Punjab. They need every sympathy and care and I am sure they would have hospitable treatment by His Highness and his State.

I am sure under your able guidance, Bahawalpur State will set an example in doing all that is possible for it to do for our Muslim brethren in distress. We are going through a severe trial and facing testing times, and I feel confident that with the deep sympathy of His Highness and your efficient and able handling in Bahawalpur State will set an example to others.

Thanking His Highness and yourself again,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani,
[Prime Minister,
Bahawalpur State]

[1]F. 80 (3)-GG/54. Not printed.

I. 10

Ruler of Swat to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 80 (3)-GG/59

PESHAWAR,
8 October 1947

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam, Karachi

Remitting another fifty thousand from State subjects making their contribution one lakh. Therefore remitting 3,00,000 instead of 2,50,000. Kindly acknowledge.

ABDUL WADOOD

I. 11

Minutes of the Third Meeting[1] *of the Central Committee, QARF*

F. 80 (A)-GG/19-21

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KARACHI,
9 October 1947

PRESENT

1. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah	President
2. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed	Vice-President
3. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	
4. Mr. Fazlur Rahman	
5. Mr. Yaqub Shah	Hony. Treasurer
6. Mr. Z. A. Khan	Hony. Secretary
7. Mr. Hafeez Ahmed	Joint Secretary
8. Mr. M. Arshad Husain	Publicity Secretary

[*Paras 1 & 2 omitted*]

3. *Consideration of Punjab Provincial Committee's Requirements for Funds*

The Committee noted contents of letter and telegram dated the 2nd and 6th October respectively from the Hony. Secretary, West Punjab Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and directed that enquiries should be made from the Provincial Committee as to objects of

the monetary grants and instructions for disbursement issued to the Deputy Commissioners of the various Districts. With regard to monetary requirements of the Provincial Committee amounting to Rs. 54 lakh the Committee felt that although they are anxious to do all they can without hesitation, it may not be possible to meet Provincial Committee's demand in full. In the first place, sufficient funds are not available at the moment, and secondly, requirements of other provinces will also need consideration. The Fund has been started as an auxiliary to supplement the resources of the State and that bulk of the monetary help should be provided by the Provincial Governments. The Committee directed that Provincial Committee's attention should be drawn to the terms of the Quaid-i-Azam's appeal reading:

> But in a national crisis of such magnitude the resources of the State must necessarily be supplemented by those of the people themselves, and private charity and their support and co-operation can accomplish much which Government organisations and aid alone cannot.

The Committee, however, agreed to review the position after further details and particulars of the objects of the monetary grants which have already been made and which are proposed to be made in future are forthcoming.

[*Para 4 omitted*]

5. *Appointment of Auditors for the Funds*

The Committee by a resolution approved the appointment of Messrs. A. F. Ferguson & Co., Karachi, as Honorary Auditors of the Fund.

6. *Any Other Business*

a. The President raised the question of direct contributions received by the Bank. The Committee decided that it is preferable to have only one source of receipts to keep an effective check and control on the remittances and that arrangements should be made that in future all remittances are received by the Hony. Treasurer direct.

b. The President informed the Committee that the Ruler of Swat had donated Rs. 40,000 from himself and Rs. 20,000 from people of the State on 2nd September,[2] and has remitted the total of Rs. 60,000 to the Prime Minister of West Punjab. The Committee directed that the Prime Minister of West Punjab should be requested to hand over this money to the Provincial Committee of West Punjab for disbursement on relief measures.

[*Sub-para c omitted*]

d. The Governor of Sind informed the Committee about the number of refugees who are being daily fed and requested that funds should be allocated for this purpose. After discussion, it was

agreed that since the money from the Relief Fund was only to serve as an "auxiliary" to the State resources, the feeding of the refugees should be a concern of the Provincial Government.

e. The Hony. Secretary drew Committee's attention to an offer received from Messrs. Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon Ltd. through Mr. Yusuf Haroon about the supply of certain warm clothing imported from England by the Company at their net cost, totalling to Rs. 94,289. The Committee decided to postpone the consideration of purchase of these items pending results of Mr. Yusuf Haroon's enquiries about blankets in the United Kingdom.

f. The Committee accorded sanction to purchase 1,500 blankets at Rs. 3-10-0 each plus packing and freight charges for immediate despatch to West Punjab Provincial Committee. The offer of sale of the quantity was communicated to the Committee by the Hony. Treasurer.

g. The Hony. Treasurer raised the question of disposal of gifts which have been received direct in his office. The Committee directed that any blankets received should be sent to the West Punjab Provincial Committee as they will be more useful there, and all the remaining items consisting of small quantities of miscellaneous clothings, soap, empty tins, etc. should be handed over to the Sind Provincial Committee.

[1]For minutes of the First, Second and Fourth meetings, see Appendix II. 1 & 2, and II. 10, Vol. V, respectively.

[2]See Appendix I. 2.

I. 12

M. Yusuf Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/92

CINCINNATI, OHIO,
U.S.A.,
9 October 1947

Bismillah 'ir Rahman 'ir Rahim
Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli Ala Rasulihil Karim
Verily the religion with God is Islam: Holy Qur'an

Your Excellency,

I am enclosing a draft for Rs. 575 ($175-69) for the *Muslims' relief.*[1] $ 75-00 has been collected from the new Muslim converts and $ 100-69 is donated

by me.[2]

I am engaged as a Muslim missionary and lecturer for the past 20 years in this country, and am not connected with any movement or denomination. If I could be of any service to you, please let me know. Long live Pakistan.

Yours obediently,
M. YUSUF KHAN
Dr
Ahmadi Muslim Missionary

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 19 October 1947. See F. 80 (3)-GG/93. Not printed.

I. 13

M. A. Jinnah to Haji Ali Mohammad

F. 80 (3)-GG/84

14 October 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 8th October 1947[1] enclosing a currency note of Rs. 2 which I acknowledge with thanks and I appreciate the spirit behind it although the amount is only two rupees.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Haji Ali Mohammad,
Teacher, P.O. Docara,
Dist. Larkana, Sind

[1]Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 13
Haji Ali Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (3)-GG/80-1

[*Original in Urdu*]

P.O. DOCARA,
DIST LARKANA,
SIND,
8 October 1947

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

After due respect I beg to state with folded hands that on hearing your appeal though I am myself a destitute with a debt of Rs. 700 and

in receipt of a meagre salary as a school teacher, I want to contribute Rs. 2 every month towards the Relief Fund. I am sending Rs. 2[1] per registered post. I hope you will please accept it.

[*Last para omitted*]

HAJI ALI MOHAMMAD
Schoolmaster

[1]For his donation, see Appendix II. 14, Vol. V, 456.

I. 14

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 80 (3)-GG/97-8

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL *15 October 1947*

Your Exalted Highness,

Many thanks for your telegram dated the 11th of October.[1] I was very pleased indeed that you have been good enough to send another handsome donation of [Rs.] two lakh[2] maintaining equality between Hindusthan [*sic* for Hindustan] and Pakistan.

Your Exalted Highness knows that the resources of the Dominion of India are very vast whereas Pakistan is starting from scratch and is certainly poorer in finance and economic resources. Besides, Pakistan has a special claim on Hyderabad as after all Your Exalted Highness is a Muslim Ruler and Muslims, therefore, naturally expect more from Hyderabad having regard to your historic position. It seems that you are trying to hold the scales even without due regard and consideration to the special factors which constitute a strong tie between you and Musalmans particularly those of Pakistan which now stands as an independent sovereign State of great magnitude and power among the nations of the world. Don't you, therefore, think that this meticulous holding of scales so strictly even is calculated to proclaim your neutrality whereas there are special ties and affinities which exist between Your Exalted Highness and the Muslims. Please do not think that I am trying to get more money. God is great, and we shall go through this dire calamity which has overtaken us. But I have drawn

your attention to the position taken up by you which seems to me somewhat unnatural.

Thanking you again for your generous donation,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Exalted Highness
General Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur,
GCSI, GBE,
Nizam of Hyderabad & Berar

[1]F. 80 (3)-GG/96. Not printed.
[2]This raised the tally of Nizam's donation to Rs. 5 lakh. Also see Appendix II. 14, Vol. V, 455.

I. 15

Haq Nawaz Mehal to S. M. Yusuf

F. 80(3)-GG/124

P. O. BOX 269,
HONG KONG,
17 October 1947

Dear Sir,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

A number of Muslim residents of Hong Kong met here last month under the chairmanship of Mr. H. T. Barma to consider ways and means of assisting in the refugees relief work in Pakistan. They decided to organise the Pakistan Relief Committee which issued its appeal for contributions to the Pakistan Relief Fund.

On behalf of the Pakistan Relief Committee, I enclose herewith a demand draft for thirty thousand rupees for favour of presentation to His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, with the request that His Excellency may be pleased to direct it to the appropriate authority for providing *relief to the refugees*[1] in Pakistan.

Kindly acknowledge safe receipt.[2]

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Yours faithfully,
HAQ NAWAZ
Hony. Secretary,
Pakistan Relief Committee

[1]Underlined in the original.
[2]Acknowledged by Jinnah on 3 December. See F. 80(3)-GG/208. Not printed.

I. 16

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Ali Akbar Shah

F. 80(3)-GG/95

No. D-76-GG/47 *17 October 1947*

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] enclosing a currency note of Re. 1 as your contribution which I acknowledge with thanks, and I appreciate the spirit behind it although the amount is only one rupee.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Ali Akbar Shah,
Alipur Sayyadan,
near Bherah City,
Shahpur (Sargodha) District

[1]F. 80(3)-GG/94. Not printed.

I. 17

Z. A. Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 204-GG/1

VARIAWA BUILDING,
MCLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
21 October 1947

My dear Yusuf,

As desired by Quaid-i-Azam, I attach herewith the draft *'Id* message[1] which was put up before the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund this morning. Since it was considered desirable that only one message should be issued by the Quaid-i-Azam, it was agreed that the contents will be incorporated in the general message[2] which the Quaid-i-Azam proposes to issue on the occasion of *'Id al-Azha*.

Yours sincerely,
Z. A. KHAN

[1]F. 204-GG/2. Not printed. Also see Appendix I. 18.
[2]See No. 105.

I. 18

Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80(A)-GG/24-6

21 October 1947

PRESENT

1.	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah	President
2.	Mr. Ghulam Mohammed	Vice-President
3.	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	
4.	Mr. Fazlur Rahman	
5.	Mr. Yaqub Shah	Hony. Treasurer
6.	Mr. Bray of M/S. A. F. Ferguson & Co.	Hony. Auditors
7.	Mr. Z. A. Khan	Hony. Secretary
8.	Mr. Hafeez Ahmed	Joint Secretary
9.	Mr. Arshad Husain	Publicity Secretary

[*Paras 1 & 2 omitted*]

3. *Proposal to send an 'Id Message by Quaid-i-Azam to the Muslim World*

The Committee decided that a separate message for the Relief Fund was not necessary and that the contents of the draft message should be incorporated in the general message which is proposed to be issued by the Quaid-i-Azam.

4. *Proposal for Organising a 'Flag Week' for Collection of Funds*

The Committee considered the proposal forwarded by the Cabinet Secretariat to organise a 'Flag Week' for collection of funds and directed that this proposal should be communicated to the Provincial Committees who should take final decision in the matter.

[*Para 5 omitted*]

I. 19

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Amb

F. 80(3)-GG/104-5

No. D. 183 *23 October 1947*

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 6th of October 47,[1] enclosing a cheque for Rs. 10,050 as your first remittance. I am passing it on to the Honorary Treasurer, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, who will send you a regular receipt in due course.

Such magnificent contributions and support will, I am sure, go a long way in mitigating the sufferings of our unfortunate brethren from East Punjab and other parts of India.

I am also heartened and encouraged by the support you have so very kindly offered to Pakistan. I need hardly say how grateful I am to you for all that you are doing for Pakistan, and how deeply I appreciate it.

With regard to the last paragraph of your letter, yes I have received your letter of the 15th of August, and I thank you much for it. I shall be very glad indeed to meet you and welcome you at Karachi. As regards the time convenient to me, it is not very easy for me to say definitely as I am working all the time, but that cannot come in the way of my meeting you and welcoming you. I shall be delighted to receive you if you will only give me 48 hours notice before your arrival.

My provisional programme just now is that I am leaving for Lahore on the 26th, and then after a few days of my return I propose to go to Baluchistan on the 6th of November. Thereafter I shall be in Karachi for some time, I hope.

With very kind regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 8.

I. 20

Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80(A)-GG/28-30

29 October 1947

PRESENT

1.	Mr. Ghulam Mohammed	Vice-President
2.	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	
3.	Mr. Fazlur Rahman	
4.	Mr. Yaqub Shah	Hony. Treasurer
5.	Mr. Z. A. Khan	Hony. Secretary
6.	Mr. Hafeez Ahmad	Joint Secretary
7.	Mr. M. Arshad Husain	Publicity Secretary

[*Paras 1 to 3 omitted*]

4. *Consideration of Telegrams Received from the West Punjab Provincial Committee for Remittance of Fund*

The Committee sanctioned Rs. 5 lakh for expenditure in connection with either warm blankets or clothing. It was decided that the Hony. Secretary who is proceeding to Lahore should discuss this matter with the West Punjab Provincial Committee and thereafter, if necessary, make arrangements for placing order for blankets through Mr. Yusuf Haroon.

[*Para 5 omitted*]

6. *Consideration of Hony. Secretary's Proposal for Sanction of Rs. 1, 877 for Payment of Bill Received from Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon for Bread Flown to Delhi during the Last Month*

The Committee sanctioned payment of this amount.

7. *Any Other Business*

a. The Committee directed that 52 dozen cotton waists [*sic*] which have been received as a donation from Messrs Ferozedin & Co., Ahmedabad—valued at Rs. 1, 248 should be handed over to the Sind Provincial Committee. His Excellency the Governor of Sind agreed that the actual delivery should be made to the Ladies Committee under advice to the Provincial Committee.

b. The Committee considered the following offers received for blankets:

i. Through Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi—up to 2 million reconditioned army blankets at 7s.-1d. per blanket with export packing F.O.B. British Port.

ii. From Mr. Yusuf Haroon for second-hand mended, washed and baled blankets, delivery 20,000 per week at 7s.-6d. on order up to 500,000 and @ 7s.-3d. if a very great quantity ordered ex-works;

iii. Offer of 3,000 blankets received from Secretary, Ministry of Refugees at 4s. 6d. each F.O.B. or approx. Rs. 9,000 for lot plus landing and transportation charges.

The Committee directed that the Secretary, Ministry of Refugees, should be authorised to purchase, on behalf of the Fund, 3,000 blankets at an approximate cost of Rs. 9,000 plus landing and transportation charges. Furthermore, an order for blankets valued at approx. Rs. 5 lakh should be placed through Mr. Yusuf Haroon @ 7s. 1d. each subject to agreement by the West Punjab Provincial Committee (Please also see para 4 above).

c. The Committee considered two notes from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture for sanction of Rs. 7,80,000 for expenses to be incurred in connection with costs of transport and maintenance of doctors, nurses, ambulance drivers and ex-army officers from U.K. who have volunteered for service in the West Punjab. The Committee could not agree to the Ministry of Food's suggestion that the entire costs should be met by the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, but agreed to a contribution up to Rs.1 lakh towards such expenses after the scheme has been scrutinised by the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammed and the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman.

d. The Committee noted:

i. Contents of letter from Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, advising against personal appeal by the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah to the Heads of other States and their wives.

ii. Letter from Personal Secy. to the Prime Minister of West Punjab, advising remittance of Rs. 60,000 received from the Ruler of Swat to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

e. Contents of letter from Pakistan Ambassador in U.S.A. dated 13th[1] and 15th[2] October were noted by the Committee who directed that arrangements should be made with Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Govt., to afford credit in rupees to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund for equivalent dollars collected for the Fund by our Ambassador in U.S.A.

f. The Committee agreed to the Hony. Treasurer's suggestion to send 43 packages of blankets and warm clothes received by Mr. Ahmad as donation to the West Punjab Committee of the Fund, and to incur expenditure on freight and transport of the same to Lahore.

g. The Committee agreed to the suggestion of Hony. Secretary to approach the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Communications for waiving off customs duty on blankets and warm clothes to be imported for refugees and for remission of railway freight for transport of the same.

[1&2]Not traceable.

I. 21

Majid Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 80 (6)-GG/4-5

JEHANGIR WADIA BUILDING,
51 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
3 November 1947

Dear Sir,

We shall be grateful if you will please inform His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam that we deeply regret we were not able to communicate earlier to His Excellency about the donation of Rs. 5 lakh of His Highness the Aga Khan.

We received a communication from His Highness the Aga Khan and we also received the telegram from His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam to which a reply was sent. We intimated to His Highness the Aga Khan immediately that we had no money from which we could remit money to Karachi for the fund for the relief of refugees and that it would take several months before an amount of Rs. 5 lakh could be raised which also could be done only by raising either a loan or selling some valuable objects belonging to His Highness.

Unfortunately during the course of these communications, His Highness fell ill and had to enter a hospital and undergo an operation and we could not get further instructions from him.

The news that we are now getting about His Highness' health are reassuring and we believe it would be possible for him in the very near future to send us instructions whereafter Capt. Majid Khan, one of Constituted Attorneys of His Highness in India, would gladly come to Karachi and finalise matters.

We hope to be excused for the delay that has been caused but we

wish to assure you that everything will be done to carry out His Highness' instructions at the earliest possible opportunity.

Yours faithfully,
MAJID KHAN
for Mulla & Mulla,
Constituted Attorneys to His Highness the Aga Khan

I. 22

Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80(A)-GG/31-3

4 November 1947

PRESENT

1.	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	
2.	Mr. Fazlur Rahman	
3.	Mr. Yaqub Shah	Hony. Treasurer
4.	Z. A. Khan	Hony. Secretary
5.	Mr. M. Arshad Husain	Publicity Secretary

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. *Consideration of request from the West Punjab Provincial Committee of the QARF for purchase of 100,000 blankets*

The Hony. Secretary gave an account of his visit to Lahore and the discussion he had with H.E. the Governor of West Punjab, Miss Macqueen and members of the West Punjab Provincial Committee on the subject of purchase of warm clothing and blankets. The Hony. Secretary also communicated the decision of the West Punjab Provincial Committee to purchase warm clothes from disposals in preference to blankets against a grant of Rs. 5 lakh which has already been sanctioned by the Central Committee. The Provincial Committee are making efforts for making as many *razais* and quilts as possible locally, but in addition desire to import immediately 100,000 blankets from U.K. for which an offer @ 7s.-1d. F.O.B. port of despatch has been received by the Central Committee through the High Commissioner, Pakistan. The Committee agreed to the request of the Provincial Committee and directed that an order for purchase of these blankets should be immediately placed through Mr. Yusuf Haroon. Although the cost of the blankets will be met from the Central Fund, the Committee directed

that the Provincial Committee should be urged to make immediate efforts to raise this amount by collections in their area.

3. *Consideration of purchase of 650 yds. of* dosuti *available with the Textile Commissioner*

The Committee approved purchase of 650 yards of *dosuti* and directed that this should be handed over to the Sind Provincial Committee for making garments. H.E. the Governor of Sind agreed that the actual delivery should be made to the Women's Committee under advice to the Provincial Committee.

[*Paras 4 & 5 omitted*]

6. *Consideration of cable from our Ambassador in New York regarding appeal for help to His Excellency Ershedel Umara*

The Committee directed that copy of the cable should be forwarded to our diplomatic representatives in Cairo and Tehran for their information and necessary action, and furthermore, that copy of the Quaid-i-Azam's appeal[1] to Muslim countries should be sent through the Foreign Office to His Excellency Ershedel Umara, President, Red Crescent, Baghdad, Damascus and Riadh [Riyadh] and also to Red Lion and Sun, Tehran.

[*Para 7 omitted*]

8. *Any Other Business*

a. The Committee noted contents of telegram received from Governor of East Bengal furnishing details of relief measures that are being taken in connection with Chittagong Flood Relief and also that no assistance is required for the present from the Central Committee.

b. The Committee considered the question [of] donating anti-cholera vaccine to Egypt which is now in the grip of epidemic of cholera and directed that the Director-General, Health Services, Pakistan, may be requested to examine the stock position with a view to ascertain[ing] if any quantities which may be surplus to our own requirements can conveniently be spared for Egypt as a gesture of goodwill. It was understood by the Committee that sufficiently large quantities of anti-cholera vaccines have already been received from abroad and that equally large quantities are being produced in this country.

c. With regard to remittance of Rs. 5 lakh to the West Punjab Provincial Committee sanctioned for the purchase of clothing from disposals, the Committee directed that the Provincial Committee should be authorised to draw from local collections up to Rs. 2 lakh, and that only the balance of Rs. 3 lakh should be remitted from the Central Fund.

[1]Appendix II. 9, Vol. V, 449-50.

I. 23

Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80(A)-GG/34

11 November 1947

PRESENT

1. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
2. Mr. Yaqub Shah — Hony. Treasurer
3. Mr. Z. A. Khan — Hony. Secretary
4. Mr. M. Arshad Husain — Publicity Secretary

[*Paras 1 & 2 omitted*]

3. *Any Other Business*

a. The Hony. Secy. informed the Committee that negotiations with the disposals in respect of purchase of warm clothing have been concluded and that the total price negotiated amounts to approximately Rs. 451,000 against the offer of Rs. 500,000 from the West Punjab Provincial Committee.

b. The Committee noted reply received from Public Health Commissioner, Govt. of Pakistan, regarding supply of anti-cholera vaccine to Egypt and agreed with the views of the Health Commissioner that it would not be proper to make a free gift to Egypt in the face of Pakistan Government's request to Australia for free supply of one million units. Considering, however, the healthy stock position, the Committee were of the opinion that the question of cancellation of request to Australia may be considered by the Health Commissioner, in which case enquiry may be made from Egypt for their immediate requirements. The question of cost and whether a free gift of vaccine should be made to Egypt is a matter which concerned the Govt. of Pakistan and the Health Commissioner should, therefore, take it up with his Government as the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund will not be in a position to contribute anything towards the cost.

c. The Committee noted the total contributions received so far by the Provincial Committees as follows:

Sind Provincial Committee	(Up to 10.11.47)	.. Rs.	11,819
West Punjab Provincial Committee	(Up to 31.10.47)	.. Rs.	8,00,000
N.W.F.P. Provincial Committee	(Up to 8.11.47)	.. Rs.	3,60,011
Baluchistan Provincial Committee		.. Rs.	356
Total net balance available in the Central Fund on 10.11.47		.. Rs.	14,23,756

d. The Committee's attention was drawn to a copy of letter dated 7.11.47 from the Hony. Secretary, West Punjab Provincial Committee, to the Hon'ble the Premier of West Punjab, Lahore, with regard to Rs. 60,000 which were received by him from the Ruler and people of Swat. It appears that the amount has not so far been received by the West Punjab Provincial Committee of the QARF nor credited with the bankers although the P.A. to the Premier confirmed remittance of the same in his letter No. 37 dated 20.10.47 addressed to the Hony. Secretary of the Central Committee. The Hony. Secretary has already asked the Premier of West Punjab for a clarification and on receipt of his reply the matter will be pursued further.
e. H.E. the Governor of Sind pointed out that collections were still being received to the "Premier's Fund" for the relief of refugees which was contrary to the recommendations of the Central Committee vide their resolution dated 22.9.47, which called upon all organisers of the various relief funds to close existing funds and direct all unexpended balances and further contributions to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. The Committee directed that attention of the Premier of Sind should be drawn to the resolution of the Committee and he should be requested to close his fund and remit unexpended balance to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.
f. The Hony. Secretary informed the Committee that the negotiations for purchase of 100,000 blankets in U.K. have been concluded through Mr. Yusuf Haroon at 5s-6d each instead of 7s-1d which was the original quoted figure.

I. 24

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 140-GG/2

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 243

LONDON,
12 November 1947

After conversation with me, Lord Woolton, Sir John and Lady Lime representing British Red Cross, have agreed to place at our disposal a sum of one (half of two) hundred thousand pounds in view of immediate requirements of funds for relief purposes. Three conditions[1] have been imported [*sic* for imposed]:

i. that this amount be treated as a capital advance returnable by Government of Pakistan in due course and not (repeat not) as an outright gift.
ii. an order of priority of requirements such as clothing, medical supplies including field ambulances and camp volunteers should be set up keeping in mind similar supplies from other sources to avoid overlapping.
iii. this amount is to be used for Red Cross purposes only such as clothing, medical supplies for volunteers and not (repeat not) for rehabilitation. They have also agreed to raise donations which will be treated as separate funds and will exclusively belong to us. Have also urged immediate setting up of Pakistan Red Cross Crescent Organisation but would be willing to proceed forthwith with all assistance on acceptance by you of principles involved. They have already sent relevant papers through Sir Frank R. Messervy and will be sending General Thompson[2] to assist in setting up organisation. Please let me know urgently whether I should accept this offer on your behalf. I have stated that my office will be glad to assist in any way possible.

[RAHIMTOOLA]

[1]Rahimtoola informed Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Refugees that British Red Cross had agreed to treat "one (half of two) hundred thousand pounds as an outright gift with no condition for repayment". See F. 140-GG/1. Not printed.

[2]Maj. Gen. Sir Treffry Owen, British Red Cross Commissioner, for relief work in India and Pakistan, 1947-9.

I.·25

A. M. Moolla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/212-3

PAKISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE,
NATAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
17 November 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We wrote you on 3rd instant[1] advising about the establishment of the above Committee whose officials are:

Chairman	Mr. A. I. Kajee
Jt. Hony. Secretaries	Haji A.M. Moolla, Haji A.S. Kajee
Jt. Hony. Treasurers	Haji M.A. Motala, and Haji M.A.H. Moosa and Mr. A.B. Moosa

The Committee has made reasonably good progress in the collection of funds and in kind, but have much more to do in the completion of which everything possible will be done.

In the meantime the Committee was fortunate enough to purchase approximately 11,000 blankets from a local factory; portion of these blankets are all wool and portion half wool and half cotton. Application has been made for an export licence and we hope to make shipment direct to Karachi, with transhipment *en route*, by the end of this month. As soon as shipment has been effected, cabled advice will be sent to you.

The Committee has also been very fortunate in persuading the local exchange control, to grant us an exchange for 40,000 American dollars, which we desire to use in purchasing goods in the U.S.A. which are most desperately and urgently required for relief purposes, and in this connection we have this day sent you a cable, reading as follows:

> Have secured from exchange control as special gesture 40,000 American dollars for relief purposes. Cable details desperately needed American merchandise. Will arrange shipment direct to Karachi. Shipping from here end November 11,000 woollen blankets.

We are looking forward to your early reply to our cable so that we may begin making purchases in U.S.A. and have them shipped direct to Karachi at the earliest possible date.

We would also like to know, by cable, whether more blankets are required, because it may be possible, within the next 3-4 weeks, to obtain further substantial quantity here, but we would prefer to postpone making further purchases until we receive your cable advice. Please, therefore, be good enough to send us a cable immediately upon receipt of this letter.

We hope you have by now had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Hoosen A. H. Moosa and have received his cheque for Rs. 13,127 in payment of his contribution, details of which we gave you in our letter of 3rd instant.[2]

Many thanks,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. MOOLLA
Hony. Secretary

[1&2]F. 80 (3)-GG/210-1. Not printed.

I. 26

Colin W. Bell to L. Shaffi[1]

F. 80(Vol. I)-GG/137

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA 7,
PENNSYLVANIA,
17 November 1947

Re: P 306-1/351

Dear Mr. Shaffi,

I should like to express my appreciation for the very quick action which you have obtained in connection with our request regarding free transportation of relief goods for the Punjab. It seems to me that action at this speed would form an example for virtually any other Government in the world!

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
COLIN W. BELL
Associate Secretary,
Far East Foreign Service Section

[1]Pakistan Trade Commissioner, New York.

I. 27

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Ghulam Mohammed

Telegram, F. 180-GG/2

SECRET/IMMEDIATE *17 November 1947*

No. C-18

For Finance Minister. Your telegram No. 820, November 11th.[1] Please cable immediately number of blankets required; also number of other items for which actual specifications may be unnecessary.

[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

[1]Not traceable.

I. 28

Minutes of the Ninth meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80(A)-GG/35

18 November 1947

PRESENT

1. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
2. Mr. Yaqub Shah — Hony. Treasurer
3. Mr. Z. A. Khan — Hony. Secretary
4. Mr. Hafeez Ahmad — Joint Secretary
5. Mr. M. Arshad Husain — Publicity Secretary

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. *Consideration of Request from West Punjab Provincial Committee for Sanction of Rs. 270,000 to be Spent on Razais*

The Committee noted that while *dosuti* from Medical Depot, Lahore, purchase of which has been sanctioned by the Committee in their 7th meeting held on 4.11.47 will now be utilised by the West Punjab Provincial Committee for production of *razais* at a total cost of (including the cost of *dosuti*) Rs. 270,000 and that the price of *dosuti,* in the first instance, will be paid by the contractor direct. The Committee, furthermore, approved an expenditure of Rs. 270,000 for this purpose as requested by the West Punjab Committee and directed that the Provincial Committee should be authorised to withdraw this money from their own collections.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. *Proposal for Placing Order for Additional Blankets in U.K.*

The Hony. Secretary informed the Committee that in view of the lower price which has now been negotiated for the purchase of blankets in U.K. through Mr. Yusuf Haroon and on account of the exemption of customs duty the overall landed cost per blanket will now work out to approximately Rs. 4 each instead of Rs. 8 each as was estimated at the time of placing the order. The Committee directed that in view of the saving effected an order for additional 100,000 blankets should be placed immediately through Mr. Yusuf Haroon for import from U.K.

The Hony. Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to a lot of blankets numbering 4676 available with disposals organisation book-valued at Rs. 10 each. After examination of the sample, the Committee directed the Honorary Secretary to negotiate purchase up to a ceiling

price of Rs. 5.

The Committee also examined a sample of blanket produced in jail received from East Bengal priced at Rs. 8-4-0 cash and decided to postpone consideration of purchase till the next meeting. H.E. the Governor of Sind directed that, in the meantime, enquiries should be made from Sind Jail authorities about the capacity and cost of production of blankets in Sind.

I. 29

Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(3)-GG/186-9

ALMANZAR,
LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 November 1947

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Every day in my *namaz,* I pray to the Almighty God to grant my leader perfect health and a long long life and to make Pakistan a most successful and prosperous State. As a humble 2-anna member of the Muslim League of ten years standing and an old sincere worker and fighter for Pakistan, I make an earnest request to you to give orders to West Punjab Cabinet and to Sind and N.W.F.P. Cabinets to impose and pass special emergency laws in their legislatures imposing special taxation on incomes exceeding four thousand rupees monthly. Now is the time when the State can make the very rich people realise their duty towards the fifty lakh of refugees and towards the poor Muslim masses. During these two months of relief work I find that the rich families of Punjab are not doing their duty towards these real sufferers for Pakistan. We need crores of rupees to find employment for these refugees [as] also shelter, clothes and blankets.

Thousands of rich Muslims of Eastern Punjab have become poor and homeless. They cannot beg or live in camps. Hundreds of educated good class Muslim women have come to us seeking employment. We must open new ways in connection with industries, factories etc. for the unemployed as is being done in England and America. We need money for arms. Poor people living in border villages near Lahore are begging for guns and rifles. The talk in the streets today is—what are the rich Muslims sacrificing for the homeless, hungry and unemployed?

The old ideology of rich living and high standards must change.

Please allow us to beg for one piece of gold jewellery from every rich lady for Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.[1] I shall give this to the Deputy Commissioner of the district or the President of the Women's Muslim League Sub-Committee who can start a girls scholarship fund with this money. There is terrible corruption and dishonesty going in connection with rehabilitation of refugees in the Punjab and also in giving shops and restaurants and houses. Please issue a statement about this before you leave Punjab. I wish to assure you of my family's faithful loyalty and service to our beloved leader and to our State.

Yours sincerely,
GETI ARA BASHIR AHMAD

[1]This suggestion was turned down by Jinnah. See Appendix I. 30.

I. 30

M. A. Jinnah to Begum Bashir Ahmad

F. 80(3)-GG/194-5

24 November 1947

Dear Begum Bashir Ahmad,

I have received your letters dated 20th and 21st instant.[1]

Will you please send your suggestions to the Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Council which is dealing with refugee problems in their various aspects. We must now co-ordinate and co-operate with each other; that is the only way in which we will be successful in solving this very serious problem which confronts us.

As regards my allowing you to "beg for one piece of gold jewellery from every rich lady for Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund", I regret I cannot do so on principle. I am opposed to this method of collecting funds, nor can I allow you to undertake this with any authority from me, directly or indirectly, nor can I agree that this should constitute girls scholarship fund. We have got the Central Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and we have got Provincial Committees which include the Governors as Chairmen, the Prime Ministers and other responsible members. If everybody is going to have his own scheme and ideas and collect funds and use them, there will be chaos, and, therefore, I cannot approve of it.

So far as the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund is concerned, it is for your Provincial Committee to do its duty within the principles laid down in the statement[2] appealing for funds, which I would like you to read

carefully. There is a great need just now for complete co-operation and co-ordination; individualism must be suppressed. Co-operative spirit will lead us to success.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Appendix II. 9, Vol. V, 449-50. Also see No. 223, ibid. 223-5.

I. 31

Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80 (A)-GG/37

25 November 1947

PRESENT

1.	Mr. Ghulam Mohammed	Vice-President
2.	Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	
3.	Mr. Fazlur Rehman	
4.	Mr. Yaqub Shah	Hony. Treasurer
5.	Mr. Z. A. Khan	Hony. Secretary
6.	Mr. Hafeez Ahmad	Joint Secretary
7.	Mr. M. Arshad Husain	Publicity Secretary

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. *Consideration of West Punjab Provincial Committee's Request for Donation of Rs. 67,000 per Month for Preparation of Clothing through the Red Cross*

The Committee considered the request of the Provincial Committee who, vide their telegram dated 22.11.47, subsequently requested for a grant of Rs. 168,000 to cover expenses for clothing for the months of September, October, November and December. The Committee approved the grant of Rs. 168,000 as requested by the Provincial Committee and directed that the Provincial Committee should be authorised to withdraw this money from their own collections.

3. *Consideration of a Request from the Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, for a Donation of Rs. 5,000 for Refugee Students*

The Committee approved a grant of Rs. 5,000.

4. *Any Other Business*

a. The Committee by a resolution appointed Mr. S.M. Raza, Deputy Auditor General, as an Assist[ant] Treasurer to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund in an honorary capacity and vested him with all powers

of the Hony. Treasurer, including operation of the account with the Habib Bank jointly with the Vice-President or the Hony. Secretary during the absence of the Hony. Treasurer from Karachi.

b. The Committee directed that the consignment of sulpha drugs received from Messrs Martin & Harris valued at approximately Rs. 2,800 should be sent to the West Punjab Provincial Committee.

c. The Committee directed that all blankets received either as free gifts or against purchases should for the present be sent to the West Punjab Provincial Committee for distribution to refugees.

d. The Committee authorised the Hony. Secretary to negotiate purchase of 236 bales of woollen blankets, containing approximately 33040 blankets, lying at Karachi offered by Cavooshar & Co. Ltd., Delhi, at Rs. 600 per bale ex-godown, Karachi.

e. The Committee directed that any gifts of old and warm clothing which have so far been received should be handed over to the Sind Provincial Committee.

f. The Committee's attention was drawn to a cable received from Pakistan Consul in U.S.A., Mr. Lauri Shaffi, intimating that he is in a position to arrange for large consignments of free donations provided we can arrange for payment of sea freight in dollars. The Committee directed that sufficient dollars should be provided for this purpose in consultation with the Finance Department.

I. 32

Minutes of the Eleventh meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80 (A)-GG/39

2 December 1947

1. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed — Vice-President
2. Sh. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
3. Mr. Fazlur Rahman
4. Mr. Yaqub Shah — Hony. Treasurer
5. Mr. Z. A. Khan — Hony. Secretary
6. Mr. Hafeez Ahmed — Joint Secretary

[*First four paras omitted*]

5. *Consideration of letter dated 24.11.47 from Mr. Yusuf Haroon*[1] *and approval of his action for grant of an increase in price by 3d. each on reconditioned blankets:*

The Committee approved the increase in price.

6. *Any Other Business*:

a. The Committee considered Mr. Yusuf Haroon's cable dated 1st instant offering 100,000 unrepaired and repaired blankets priced at 2d. and 4d. respectively higher than the previous purchase i.e. 4s. 11d. each for unrepaired blankets and 6s. 1d. each for repaired blankets for shipment up to January. The Committee decided to accept this offer and confirmed purchase but stressed that delivery should be expedited.

[*Sub-para (b) omitted*]

c. The Hony. Secretary raised the question of purchase of blankets locally. In view of the extreme urgency of requirements of blankets, it was agreed that efforts should be made to locate as many blankets as possible and each case should be referred to Vice-President and Hony. Treasurer for decision.

d. The Hony. Secretary referred to letter received from Pakistan Consul in New York[2] according [to] which the main charitable societies in U.S.A. will be conducting relief measures through their own agents but have asked for cost of sea transport and insurance for the relief supplies to be borne by the fund in addition to other concessions by way of exemption of customs duty and free transport of goods on railways. ...the Committee felt that before spending any money on sea freight, etc. which was agreed to in principle at the last meeting, the matter should be further investigated....

e. The Vice-President drew Committee's attention to the press report about a donation of £ 100,000 from the British Red Cross to the Pakistan Red Cross and directed that information should be obtained as to how this money is proposed to be utilised by the Red Cross.

f. i. The Committee approved Hony. Secretary's action in issuing instructions regarding transfer of $ 40,000 received from the Central Relief Committee, Natal, to our Consul in New York.[3]

ii. The Committee expressed satisfaction at the decision of the Director General, Railways, allowing free carriage of goods required for the refugees on the certificate of Hony. Secretary.

[1&2]Not traceable.

[3]F. 80(3)-GG/163. Not printed.

I. 33

M. A. Jinnah to Yaqub Shah

F. 80(5)-GG/4

2 December 1947

Dear Mr. Yaqub Shah,

In spite of my having expressed the desire at a meeting of the Relief Fund, and my Secretary's reminder to you, that you should send me a complete balance sheet at least once a week, if not twice, showing the receipts and payments made, you have neglected this. I wish now to put this on record. Please take up this matter immediately and send me a complete account up to the 30th of November, and from the 1st of December you must carry out the directions referred to above.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

I. 34

M. A. Jinnah to Haq Nawaz Mehal

F. 80 (3)-GG/208

3 December 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 17th October 1947 enclosing a Demand Draft for Rs. 30,000.[1] I am passing it on to the Honorary Treasurer, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, who will send you a regular receipt in due course.

2. I am most grateful to the Muslim residents of Hong Kong who have made this generous contribution for the relief of their suffering brethren in Pakistan, and I shall be glad if you will convey my heart-felt thanks and appreciation to them.

3. I am also grateful to you and other members of the Relief Committee for all that you are doing for Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Haq Nawaz Mehal,
P.O.Box No. 269,
Hong Kong

[1]Appendix I. 15.

I. 35

Z. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah and Others

F. 80-GG/144-5

MOST IMMEDIATE

VARIAWA BUILDING,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 December 1947

PURCHASE OF BLANKETS IN UK

At yesterday's meeting of the Central Committee,[1] Mr. Yusuf Haroon's cable dated 1st instant, communicating offer of 100,000 unrepaired and repaired blankets at a price of 2d. and 4d. respectively higher than our previous purchase for shipments weekly up to the end [of] January was considered and it was decided to confirm the purchase. On reconsideration, however, I feel that the latter consignments in second half of January will arrive towards the latter part of February, and after clearance and allowing for the time taken in rail transport to Lahore will not be available to refugees for distribution in West Punjab before the first week or middle of March. By this time the utility of the blankets will be very limited on account of the expected change in the weather conditions, and it is, therefore, suggested that we should confirm order for 50,000 blankets only which can be shipped during the first half of January. The saving on account of reduction in the number of blankets amounting to approximately Rs. 2 lakh can be utilised for production of *razais* of which approximately 25,000 can be produced for the same amount. It will, however, be necessary to contact the West Punjab Government to transfer to us the quota for coarse stocks lying in Bombay, which can be purchased quickly and the *razai* covers produced locally. The actual filling with cotton and finishing can be done by the West Punjab Provincial Committee under their own arrangements.

2. As the proposal to confirm order for purchase of 100,000 blankets was passed at yesterday's meeting, the above note is being circulated to Members for confirmation of the alternative proposal to enable me to contact the West Punjab Government for transfer of cloth quota during my visit to Lahore on Friday. I shall be grateful if the Members will kindly indicate agreement or disagreement to the alternative proposal on this note and return the paper to me for necessary action. I

shall then act in accordance with the majority decision in this case. For the present, I have only confirmed order for 50,000 blankets and on return of this note from the Members, I shall take further action as may be necessary. I shall be grateful if the note is returned to me so as to reach me positively tomorrow afternoon by 3 o'clock.

Z. A. KHAN
Honorary Secretary

[1]Appendix I. 32.

I. 36

Z. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah and Others

F. 80 (Vol. I)-GG/146-7

MOST IMMEDIATE

VARIAWA BUILDING,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
4 December 1947

PURCHASE OF BLANKETS IN UK

Further to my note No. QARF/15 dated the 3rd December[1] submitted to the Hon'ble Members, I had a conversation with Miss Macqueen, Honorary Secretary, West Punjab Provincial Committee, of Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund this morning on the telephone, who stressed the necessity of producing maximum number of *razais* immediately, as otherwise she is afraid that many lives may be lost due to exposure. The winter is very severe in the Punjab during the months of December and January, so that she feels that shipments of blankets from UK leaving about the middle of January will not be of much use, and she has requested me to make an immediate approach to the Members to obtain sanction for more money for producing as many *razais* as possible. The number of *razais* she can produce by the end of this month is roughly 100,000 for which she requires a grant of approximately Rs. 8 lakh. She informed me that she is in a position to purchase the necessary cloth locally. In addition to the *razais* which she is capable of producing in Punjab, she has asked us to make further efforts in Karachi to produce as many covers as we can and in this matter she has promised to procure coarse cloth quota from the West Punjab, now lying in Bombay with the Punjab Government officials.

2. In view of the above development and the immediate need to provide coverings for the refugees, the following suggestions are made for the approval of the Members of the Committee:

a. That no more blankets should be purchased in UK (confirmation for the purchase of 50,000 blankets referred to in my yesterday's note has not yet been transmitted to UK and therefore there is no commitment).
b. That we sanction immediately a grant of Rs. 8 lakh to the West Punjab Provincial Committee to get along with the production of *razais*.
c. That we investigate immediately the local markets with a view to obtaining as many blankets as can possibly be purchased at a reasonable price.
d. In case we are able to persuade the Punjab Government to transfer their quota for coarse cloth, we should get along with the production of as many covers of *razais* as we possibly can.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Z. A. KHAN
Honorary Secretary

[1]Appendix I. 35.

I. 37

Yaqub Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (5)-GG/5

243 STAFF LINE,
KARACHI,
4 December 1947

Your Excellency,

I am extremely sorry that owing to a misunderstanding on my part I failed to carry out the instructions conveyed through Mr. Amin. Soon after he spoke to me that you would like to have a statement twice a week showing the up-to-date position of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, Your Excellency left for Lahore and I thought that it would not be proper on my part to worry you with the affairs of the Relief Fund during your stay at Lahore. However, it seems that this view was wrong and I very much regret that it should have been so.

2. I enclose a statement[1] which shows the detailed position as on 31st October 1947. This statement has been checked by the Honorary Auditors. A similar detailed statement for the period ending 30th November 1947 will not be ready for a little while, that is, until the bank has posted the pass book for November 1947 and the differences between our cash book and the bank pass book have been located and reconciled. It will be submitted as soon as ready. In future such statements will be submitted to you twice a week on Tuesdays and Saturdays. I hope this arrangement will meet with Your Excellency's approval.

I am,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
YAQUB SHAH
Honorary Treasurer

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. I. 37

STATEMENT OF RECONCILIATION UP TO 31 OCTOBER 1947

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Total as per cash book				2399541	0	4
Add:						
1. Amounts received direct by the Bank	50354	5	2			
2. Excess amount credited		1	3			
Total	50354	6	5	50354	6	5
Grand Total				2449895	6	9
Deduct:						
1. Outstanding cheques						
i. of the current month	590672	3	0			
ii. of September 1947	1000	0	0			
2. Cheque returned during						
i. the current month	534601	4	0			
ii. in September 1947	5580	0	0			
3. Amount advised by bank but not included in the Bank Pass Book	15000	0	0			
4. Cheques which could not be cashed by the bank						

but were not received back by the Treasurer	946	0	0			
5. Bank's clearance charges	14	10	6			
6. Amount paid to the Honorary Secretary for contingent expenses	1000	0	0			
7. Amounts sent to Lahore by Telegraphic Transfer	100000	0	0			
Total	1248814	1	6	1248814	1	6
Balance				1201081	5	3
Balance as per Pass Book				1201081	5	3
	Difference			Nil		

YAQUB SHAH
Honorary Treasurer

I. 38

Minutes of an Emergency Meeting of the Central Committee, QARF

F. 80 (A)-GG/42

VARIAWA BUILDING,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
5 December 1947

PRESENT

1. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed — Vice-President
2. Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
3. Mr. Yaqub Shah — Hony. Treasurer
4. Mr. Z. A. Khan — Hony. Secretary

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. *Consideration of a Note No. QARF/15 dated 4.12.47 from the Hony. Secretary regarding production of* razais, *blankets, etc.*:

The Hony. Secretary's note was discussed and the Committee decided as following :

a. That the Committee's decision under para 6(b) of the minutes of

the 11th meeting held on 2nd December to confirm purchase of additional 100,000 blankets should be rescinded that purchase of these blankets should not be made.

b. The Committee approved a grant of Rs. 8 lakh to the West Punjab Provincial Committee for production of approximately 100,000 *razais.*

c. The Committee directed the Hony. Secretary to investigate the local market with a view to purchase [*sic*] as many blankets as possible at a reasonable price.

d. To acquire one million yard of coarse cloth by lifting part of the West Punjab quota now available in Bombay and Ahmedabad. This cloth is to be utilised for production of as many *razai* covers as is possible to produce in Karachi through the agency of Ladies Relief Committee and the Red Cross. The *razai* covers on completion should be sent to the West Punjab Provincial Committee, who will arrange for necessary filling of cotton wool and finishing of *razais.*

e. The Committee approved sanction up to Rs. 5,000 as initial expenditure in connection with production of covers locally, by the Ladies Relief Committee and the Red Cross.

f. The Committee authorised the Hony. Secretary to make all arrangements in connection with the purchase of 1 million yards of coarse cloth for *razais* and to utilise the existing Sind Provincial agency for lifting up quota from Bombay or Ahmedabad.

The Committee noted that interim arrangement will be made to obtain as much coarse cloth as possible on loan from the Sind Provincial quota pending arrival of coarse cloth from Bombay and Ahmedabad so as to start work on production [of] *razais* immediately.

3. *Consideration of a request from the East Bengal Provincial Committee for a grant of Rs. one lakh to be spent on relief work in the cyclone affected area of Chittagong District:*

The Committee approved grant of Rs. one lakh to the East Bengal Provincial Committee, subject to verification from the Quaid-i-Azam, that this amount was promised to East Bengal Premier during his visit to Lahore.

[*Para 4 omitted*]

5. *Any Other Business*

a. The Committee's attention was drawn to an offer received from Pakistan Ministry of Refugees for 15,000 blankets at Rs. 6d. FOB and directed that purchase of these blankets should only be made

provided the shipments can be guaranteed to be made latest by the end of December.

b. The Committee noted contents of a letter dated 27th November[1] from Mr. Azhar, Pakistan Trade Commissioner in Australia, addressed to the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammed enquiring whether he should proceed with purchase of blankets and warm clothings with the donations received from Red Cross and other money collected by him. The Committee directed that the Trade Commissioner should be requested to ship immediately to Karachi maximum number of warm blankets he can purchase with the donations.

[1]Not traceable.

I. 39

Miss Fatima Jinnah to Mrs. Margaret Reinitz

F. 80-GG/207

8 December 1947

Dear Mrs. Reinitz,

I have received your cheque for Rs. 1000 (Rupees one thousand only) for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, and thank you for it. I have forwarded the same to the Hony. Treasurer, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, who will send you an official receipt directly.

I am glad to note that you have also contributed money to the Lady Dufferin Hospital and Kunwary Maryam Hospital, Nawabshah. Please thank your Committee members on my behalf.

Yours sincerely,
FATIMA JINNAH

Mrs. Margaret Reinitz,
Hony. Secretary, Crafts Shop,
Ilaco House, Victoria Road, Karachi

I. 40

S. Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80(8)-GG/10

53 DALHOUSIE ROAD, RAWALPINDI,
27 December 1947

Your Excellency,

I have just returned from Karachi and saw *en route* the pitiable condition of refugees, on platforms and in camps, who need warm clothing badly, as the severities of weather are telling hard upon them.

As per information given to my son S. Rashid Ahmad at Karachi by Mr. Mahmood Ispahani, a very large number of parcels of blankets and warm clothing sent by Nawab Begum of Dacca, President Women Muslim League, Dacca, by the Orient Airways are lying at Karachi and Lahore.

The Orient Airways have not been given any sort of information as to the disposal of these parcels and the warm clothing though handy, is not serving the needy.

I, therefore, take leave to send this information to Your Excellency and request you to very kindly take the matter in hand to have those parcels collected and the blankets and warm clothing distributed to the shivering refugees.[1]

It is getting colder every day and many lives may be lost if the matter is delayed.

With the kindest and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. ABDUL MAJID
Prop.
S. Abdul Majid & Sons

[1]Copy of this letter was forwarded to Secretary, QARF, for necessary action, as per endorsement on the letter.

I. 41

REPRESENTATIVE LIST OF DONATIONS[1]

Sr. No.	*Date*	*Donor*	*Amount*
	October 1947		*in rupees*
1	1	Staff of Finance Department, Hyderabad, Deccan	2, 070
2	2	Muslim Relief Fund, Manchester, UK	25,000
3	3	Muslim Refugees Relief Fund, Nairobi, Kenya	20,000
4	3	District Muslim Community, Estcourt, Natal, South Africa	5,287
5	6	Pretoria & Suburbs Muslim Relief Fund	66, 092
6	6	Nawab of Amb, NWFP	10,050
7	6	1st Battalion, 14th Punjab Regiment, Damdil, Waziristan	6,800
8	7	Hindustani Muslim Anjuman, Rangoon, Burma	4, 870
9	9	Denver Muslim Committee, Johannesburg, South Africa	6,609
10	9	Muslim Community, Lichtenburg, South Africa	6, 609

11	13	Syed Ali Akbar Shah, Alipur Sayyadan	1
12	14	Amod Bava, Petersberg, Transvaal, South Africa	13,896
13	26	Muslim Congregation, Transvaal, South Africa	3,304
	November 1947		
14	3	H.A. Moosa & Brother, Durban, South Africa	13,127
15	4	Muslim Community, Lourenco Marques, Mozambique	41,250
16	8	Prime Minister, Hyderabad, Deccan	10,000
17	10	Nawab Sher Mohammad Tiwana, Mitha Tiwana, Sargodha	10,000 (plus 97 bags of wheat)
18	17	Central Pakistan Relief Committee, Natal, South Africa	11,000 blankets
19	[Undated]	Quetta Municipality, Baluchistan	50,000

[1]For the list of previous donors, see Appendix II. 14, Vol. V, 454-6.

APPENDIX II

COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST AND REFUGEE INFLUX

II.1

AZAD'S 6-POINT PLAN TO RESTORE PEACE[1]

In a statement issued in New Delhi on Monday [29 September], Maulana Azad, Education Minister, outlined a six-point plan to check further deterioration of the communal situation and to restore peace in the country.

He suggested a full and frank admission of the real situation and recognition by the East and West Punjab Governments of their failure in providing protection to the minorities; arrangements for the safe escort of men between East and West Punjab; creation of a sense of security in both areas and concentration on rehabilitation of displaced persons; fresh examination of the question of the division of services done purely on a communal basis; formation of mixed ministries both in East and West Punjab and propaganda by the State and the public against the murder of innocent people.

The following is the text of the statement:

Tragic events in the recent past have darkened most minds so that clear and detached vision has become almost impossible. The average Muslim sees today only the sufferings of Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi, but tends to forget the suffering inflicted upon Sikhs and Hindus by his own co-religionists in West Punjab and the Frontier. Similarly, the average Hindu and Sikh remembers the atrocities in West Punjab and the Frontier, but does not feel to the same extent the sufferings of Muslims in East Punjab or Delhi.[2] This narrowing of sensitiveness is perhaps an inevitable consequence of what has been happening in the country. Only men who can rise above such narrowness and look at things impartially and non-communally are in a position to survey the situation rationally and reach conclusions that may help in solving the terrible impasse.

A calm and dispassionate survey of events is necessary if we are to understand the situation in all its tragic implications. The present phase of the sorry tale began in the great Calcutta killing of August 16, 1946. This was followed by further outrages on the Hindus in Noakhali in East Bengal. The retaliation came in Bihar and some districts of the U.P. and as is inevitable in such cases, the killing in Bihar exceeded by many times of that in Noakhali. The reply to Bihar came in the Frontier and

again, as before, the participants seemed to vie with one another in their unholy competition. Then followed trouble in Rawalpindi District and in each orgy mass frenzy seemed to rise to fresh heights.

All these incidents took place while the fate of India still hung in the balance. We had fought against division of India for seven years, but in order to expedite the settlement of the Indo-British problem, at last agreed to the partition of India. It was hoped that now that a final decision had been taken the orgy of murder and arson would come to an end. In fact, the situation, to some extent, improved in the rest of India.

There was, however, uncertainty about the fate of Lahore in the declaration of June 3. Till the Boundary Commission's report was published, it would not be known whether Lahore would belong to Pakistan or to India. In an attempt to secure Lahore in their own portion, all the three communities participated in large-scale rioting and murder. Hindus threw bombs, Muslims took to arson, and Muslims and Sikhs competed with one another in stabbing. In spite of the happenings in Lahore, the rest of the Punjab remained undisturbed.

When it was decided to divide India into two States, it was obvious that the communal problem had undergone a radical change. Non-Muslims who remained in the Pakistan areas were citizens of Pakistan and it was the duty of the State to give them every possible protection and enable them to enjoy the rights of citizenship. Similarly, Muslims who remained in the Indian Union were Indian subjects with all the rights and obligations which citizenship confers.

If there was any violation of the law and attack by the majority on the minority in any of the States, it was the business of the State concerned to bring the wrong-doers to book. If the nationals of one State had any grievance about the treatment of their co-religionists in the other State, then also it could be remedied only by inter-governmental action between the two States. If the Governments of West and East Punjab had been able to organize their resources in time and given to the minorities in their respective areas the protection to which they were entitled, perhaps the whole story of the recent tragic happenings might have been avoided.

AFTER PARTITION

Unfortunately, however, even after partition had been decided, there started a new movement of organizing *jathas* by non-Muslims in East Punjab to avenge the incidents that had happened in the Frontier and in Rawalpindi District before the division of India. There was an outbreak of mass violence on an unprecedented scale which threatened to

annihilate all the Muslim population there. This served as a signal for a fresh outburst in West Punjab where the Muslims took the law into their own hands and let loose a flood of murder and violence that threatened to engulf all non-Muslims in those territories.

What should have been a matter for State action and joint control by two Governments became in fact a competition in murder by the mobs of the two areas. Minorities throughout the Punjab were threatened with total annihilation. The avenger became in turn the avenged and the cruel law of revenge turned masses of men into worse than animals. The currents of hatred and murder expanded continually and soon almost the whole of the North-Western India from the Frontier to the western border of the U.P. and Delhi were engulfed in them. The tragic happenings in Delhi city itself are a vivid commentary on what has happened elsewhere.

One thing is clear from this brief survey of events. Today, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs are all tarnished with the same evil brush. Whether they flash the sword or seek to hide it behind them, the hands of all the three communities are equally stained with blood. None of them can, therefore, point the finger of scorn at another, for all are equally to blame. Neither can the Government of East nor of West Punjab blame the other for lapse, for both of them have equally failed in discharging their first duty of giving protection of life and property to their own citizens of the minority community.

Mahatma Gandhi has pressed again and again and I will reiterate that the following steps must be taken immediately to check further deterioration of the situation and to save the country:

i. We must fully and frankly admit the real situation. This is the touchstone of all our future plans and actions. Today the hands of all the three communities are stained with blood. Further recrimination and mutual abuse must now stop. Both the Governments of East and West Punjab must also recognize that they have failed in their duty of providing protection and security to the minority communities in their respective areas.

ii. Arrangements have been for the safe escort of men between East and West Punjab in either direction. These will have to be continued and in fact strengthened but simultaneously both the Governments must from now on work for creating an atmosphere in their areas so that the minorities may begin to feel that their life and property is no longer in danger. No mere declaration can bring back confidence to the minorities. Immediate action on both sides alone can create an atmosphere in which the minorities will again feel safe. When such an atmosphere has

been created and minorities can once again think calmly and rationally about their future, then and then alone will be the time to decide whether they will stay in their former homes or seek new dwelling places in other areas. At present the movement of the people is the result of blind panic. Then, if they decide to change their place of abode, it will be an act of rational decision.

DISPLACED PEOPLES

iii. After the restoration of peace and creation of a sense of security in both the areas, those who have already left their homes must be given an opportunity to decide where they want to settle down. Those who want to go back to their original homes must be given every encouragement. Both the Governments must realize that whatever the cost, every effort must be made for rehabilitation of displaced people.

iv. The division of all the services on a purely communal basis was completed in a blind rush. With the restoration of peace, this question must be submitted to fresh examination and joint decision taken by the two Governments.

v. There will be no feeling of security in the minds of the minority till mixed ministries are formed in both West and East Punjab and West and East Bengal. Till this is done, even the officers belonging to the minority community would not be able to discharge their duty fully.

vi. There must be propaganda by the State and the public to make people realize that it is criminal folly to murder innocent people of one place for the offence of criminals of some other place. If non-Muslims have been guilty of murder of Muslims in East Punjab, that is no reason for murder of helpless and innocent Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab or the Frontier. Similarly, Muslims who murder innocent and helpless non-Muslims in West Punjab in retaliation of the murder of innocent Muslims in East Punjab do not, in any way, help the Muslims of India, but only add a fresh link to the vicious chain of murder and counter-murder that threatens to strangle the life of the country.

Only when the majority in an area become conscious of their first duty as citizens and can ensure, to the minority, safety and protection, can there be a question of return of sanity to India and the fulfilment of those aspirations for which millions have struggled

and suffered during so many years.

[1]The *Statesman,* 30 September 1947.

[2]On 2 October, Howard Donovan reported to George Marshall that "feeling against Muslims has run so high in Delhi and so much pressure is being brought on the Government by communal extremists that Mr. Nehru shows great courage in advocating a non-communal policy. The Hindu Mahasabha is openly demanding Mr. Nehru's removal from the Government and advocating establishment of a Hindu State". See *US National Archives,* 845.00/10-247. Not printed.

II. 2

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah[1]

FOA, IU-4/12
[Extract]

SECRET NEW DELHI,
1 October 1947

[Paras 1 & 2 omitted]

3. The special police that was organised in these riots has been responsible for loot and harassment. Wherever they go or are posted, they become a source of mischief and trouble. They rob people with impunity and searches are made when there is no authority for carrying out any search. I am told that Mr. H.M. Patel himself was subjected to search and his driving licence was taken hold of as a result of which some instructions have been issued. It remains to be seen whether any improvement will result from this action.

[Para 4 omitted]

5. I find that the West Punjab Govt. has started sending a daily bulletin of news, but it arrives so late that it ceases to be of any great value. Even so, it is an advantage to have such bulletins. In case any enquiries are made, it would be possible to refer to these bulletins and give some answers.

6. Ch. Khaliquzzaman[2] is here at the moment and has seen Mahatma Gandhi as well as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He will probably be leaving for Karachi tomorrow. He is very emphatically of the view that we should give every support to Mahatma Gandhi and try to enlist the sympathy and cooperation in the problem before us, viz. creation of conditions in which Muslim minorities can live a peaceful life in the Indian Union exactly in the same way as it is our desire that non-Muslims should live in Pakistan. I have myself been of the view,

which I emphasised in Karachi also, that Mahatma Gandhi is, among Indian leaders, the only person who is emphatically in favour of inducing Muslim minorities not to migrate to Pakistan and who is opposed to exchange of population. It is, therefore, necessary to give expression to our appreciation of his attitude as also of the efforts he is making in this direction. We should on our side extend whatever cooperation we can to enable him to make his mission in this respect more effective. I propose to revert to this subject in a separate memorandum which I expect to submit shortly.

[*Para 7 omitted*]

ZAHID HUSAIN
High Commissioner for Pakistan

[1]For previous reports, see Appendix III, Vol. V, 457-527.
[2]Member, AIML Working Committee and MLA, UP.

II. 3

Press Note by Government of West Punjab[1]

[LAHORE,
1 October 1947]

SUPPLY OF 1,500 BAGS OF *ATTA* TO MUSLIM REFUGEES ACROSS BORDER

Foot convoys of Muslim refugees are arriving from East Punjab in Pakistan in a state of extreme exhaustion and under-nourishment. Refugees report that hundreds have dropped dead on the way from sheer starvation, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Refugees, West Punjab.

A considerable percentage of those, who have crossed the border are hovering between life and death. Since food is not being provided or is being provided in insufficient quantities by the East Punjab authorities to Muslim refugees, the West Punjab Government are taking immediate steps to supply 1,500 bags of *atta*, rice and wheat; and 100 maunds of salt to the Muslim refugees across the border.

Arrangements are being made to provide relief on a bigger scale in about five days time, adds the Press Note.—API.

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 2 October 1947.

II. 4

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB—COULD IT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED?[1]

By Sir Malcolm Darling[2]

[*Extract*]

The tragedy of the Punjab could have been foreseen. "If you go, we shall kill each other," said a Sikh peasant to me last December when I was riding across the province. He knew the past—he was 87—and was terrified of the future. He was not alone in his fear. In greater or less degree, it was present all along my route from the Indus to the Jumna. In Hoshiarpur, one of the districts most seriously affected, a Sikh officer on leave prophesied civil war, and a young Sikh merchant in the North said, "Freedom is destruction, and Pakistan is *kabaristan*—a graveyard." In that graveyard now lie unnumbered men, women, and children, and three million more are homeless.

How has this happened? The causes are complex and their roots lie deep in the past; but certain factors are clear. The clearest is the religious division between Hindu and Muslim. In March, 1940, the Muslim League, in a meeting at Lahore, adopted Pakistan as their battle-cry and target. Less than a month later, the late Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, then Premier of the Punjab, said to me in conversation that Pakistan was a new idea to the Muslim peasants of the province and it would now run like wildfire through their heads. Till then, the communal feeling so prominent in the town rarely found expression in the village, and where, as in the Eastern Punjab, Hindu and Muslim cultivated the land side by side, there was often an interchange of civilities at marriage and death. This friendly relationship was still in evidence last autumn, but marked by an underlying tension.... But the Sikhs also had their claims, and they were as determined to prevent the domination of the Muslim as the Muslims were [*sic*] the domination of the Hindu. Though only about four million in a population of 29,000,000 they are a formidable community with a martial ardour and a pride in their past which make them unwilling to bow the knee to anyone but themselves and God, and they never forget that it was from them that we conquered the Punjab. No one who knew them could have supposed they would accept peacefully any settlement which cut their small community in two. Yet this is what the new boundary line did, and on August 16 over one and a half million found themselves suddenly cut off from the rest of their community. To the Sikhs, this was political suicide, and inflamed by what they had suffered in the North,

they rose in their thousands and butchered.

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

For that boundary line we were ultimately responsible, and that raises the question: How far are we responsible for what followed? That, we had to leave India as soon as we decently could, goes without saying, and we might have done that even earlier in the case of the seven provinces with stable Indian Government. But the Punjab was different. It was not a province to be cut in two like the Gordian knot in traditional commando fashion. When I was in Lahore last April, tension was already extreme and the province a smouldering volcano. Time was clearly needed to let passions cool. Instead we roused them to white heat by the Boundary Award. Surely we should have made some attempt to secure the "political arrangements" to which Sir Cyril Radcliffe refers in the last paragraph of his Award, deferring our departure until some sort of stable government could be set up on either side of whatever line was finally adopted....

[1]The *Manchester Guardian*, 3 October 1947.
[2]Retired ICS officer who worked for the BBC 1940-4, and for the Government of India, War Department, 1945-6.

II. 5

Note by H. L. Ismay

IOR, R/3/1/174

[NEW DELHI,]
3 October 1947

The following are the salient features of a very long talk that I had with Pandit Nehru this morning:

OBSERVERS

Mr. Nehru said that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had suggested that the Governments of India and Pakistan should ask UNO or the other Dominions to send observers to watch events in the East and West Punjab. He (Mr. Nehru) himself had not definitely rejected this proposal, but thought there was little or no advantage in it. It would take a long time for UNO to collect representatives, and when they arrive, there would be all sorts of difficulties, such as ignorance of the language and of the country; and, at the end of it all, of what precise use would they be? It was true that they could visit refugee camps and

columns of refugees, but they would not be able to check upon isolated incidents. Thus, although there might be an impression that they were a sort of impartial tribunal, they could not in fact function as such. The same sort of objections applied to observers from the Dominions.

A possible line of approach that had occurred to him (Mr. Nehru) was to have Indian observers, other than Hindu, Sikh or Muslim. It should not be difficult for each Dominion to select, say, half a dozen men of standing, e.g. with High Court experience, and to set them to work in pairs. He had put this proposal to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who had not rejected it, but had suggested that there might be a British observer with each pair. Mr. Nehru doubted the wisdom of this. It was too reminiscent of what had happened in the Boundary Commission, when Hindu and Muslim Judges had disagreed and Sir Cyril Radcliffe had to give the casting vote.

In conclusion, Mr. Nehru made a very interesting point. He said that, in point of fact, he and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan seldom had any difficulty in reaching agreement as to what should be done to meet any particular problem that arose; but their difficulty lay in getting their decisions implemented. This difficulty would clearly apply to any conclusions that might be reached by observers from UNO or elsewhere.

CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES

Mr. Nehru gave me a long and most interesting exposition of his views about the present troubles. To the world, the issues seemed to be exclusively communal, but in point of fact there was a definite political objective behind them. He went on to explain that the Congress movement was not unlike the Labour movement in England, i.e. they were quite prepared to non-co-operate or to go on strike, but they were totally opposed to violence. The Muslim movement was a direct contrast. They believed in direct action and violence, and Muslim National Guards was in effect a fascist militia. Now there were certain Hindu organisations which did not agree with the Congress policy, e.g. the Hindu Mahasabha, the R.S.S.S. [Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh]. There were also the Sikhs.

The Hindu Mahasabha had declared the 15th August as a day of mourning. The R.S.S.S. was composed largely of the lower middle class not unlike the Nazi movement. Their aim was an exclusively Hindu State; and they were fascist in outlook. They had not, before the present troubles, ever embarked on violence.

The Sikhs as a whole were quite ready to listen to Master Tara Singh when he incited them to violence, but not so when he tried to

call them off. There were, in particular, two groups of terrorists; the first about 2,000 to 3,000 strong were well-armed and well-organised; the second, not so well-armed, and not so well-organised. Both had recently got completely out of hand and the only hope of calling them off was through their supreme religious authorities.

The troubles which started on 15th August had played into the hands of both the Hindu organisations mentioned above and of the Sikhs; and they had made hay while the sun shone. The troubles in Delhi, for example, had been started by the Sikh organisation joining hands with the R.S.S.S. and getting the police in their pockets. Had the intelligence system been effective, the movement might have been nipped in the bud, as had a similar movement in the U.P. in early August, but, as it was, things had got completely out of hand.

Mr. Nehru went on to talk about various States. He did not doubt that H.H. of Patiala wished to get complete supremacy of Sikhistan. The Muslims there had been killed in very large numbers. H.H. of Faridkot was a thoroughly bad man. He had expelled all the Muslims from his State and had confiscated their land and made it into Crown property. H.H. of Bharatpur, the only Jat State, and H.H. of Alwar had either killed all the Meos in their States or just turned them adrift. Both of them were engaged in crushing all organisations within their States. Alwar was a paranoiac.

[H. L. ISMAY]

II. 6

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

SECRET

NEW DELHI,
4 October 1947

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. I mentioned a number of points to the Prime Minister[1] and obtained instructions. They are briefly mentioned below:

i. A number of people are coming to deposit money and valuables. I propose to accept them as being on behalf of Pakistan nationals. Action will be taken to transfer them to bank at appropriate intervals. Prime Minister agreed.

ii. Govt. of India have chartered planes for bringing non-Muslim evacuees from West Punjab. They are using these aeroplanes to evacuate private citizens from Delhi which is open to objection. I have made representations to India without any results so far (Mr. Neogy, the Refugee Minister, has since promised to examine the matter and set it right). The Prime Minister said that he would discuss on Sunday when Mr. Neogy would be in Lahore. If India does not place entire capacity at our disposal he would disallow evacuation of non-Muslims by aeroplanes from West Punjab. I have referred this matter to Govt. also but have not received any orders so far.

iii. The family of the Prime Minister was anxious to be evacuated from Karnal where it was being subjected to indignities and serious hardships; searches had been carried out and all arms had been confiscated so that there was only one gun left with the whole family which comprised about 100 members. Last time when the Prime Minister came here, he had spoken to the Prime Minister of India, who had promised to take steps to evacuate the family, but nothing had been done. This time Gen. Rees promised to evacuate the family from Karnal by road to Ambala and fly them from there to Lahore. We hope that the promise will be fulfilled this time.

[*Paras 3 to 5 omitted*]

6. Evacuation of Govt. personnel from other places in India offers even greater difficulties. I have made proposals to Govt. in this behalf and their orders are awaited. I must mention that families are showing continuous tendencies of swelling to gigantic proportions. Some are now said to consist of 40 or 50 members. I have no intention of allowing evacuation at this scale in the name of Pakistan Govt. but the difficulties that shall have to be faced are obvious.

7. Before I left Karachi I sent a note to Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, who had promised to get orders from the Communications Ministry at an early date. The note contains suggestions regarding the space to be made available in planes from Delhi to Karachi. I have not heard anything about it and have sent a telegraphic reminder to Mr. Ghulam Mohammed.

[*Paras 8 to 11 omitted*]

12. I had a long interview with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad yesterday [3 October] and discussed the present situation. He made the following specific suggestions:

i. There should be a joint board for dealing with the communal

situation in Pakistan and India. The board should be in constant session, so that it will constitute an effective machinery for discussing and resolving difficulties that continually arise. It should be assisted by joint supervisors or inspectors who would be continuously touring the affected areas and submitting reports and, if so empowered, giving instructions in accordance with the prescribed policies.

ii. In regard to properties, there should be a definite agreed policy and this policy should be enforced fully and effectively.

iii. The two Govts. should accept in principle that Muslim officers and subordinates will be introduced in East Punjab and Delhi and non-Muslims in West Punjab. Unfortunately the recent arrangement reported to have been reached between Bombay and Sind Governments for the transfer of Muslims from Bombay to Sind and of non-Muslims from Sind to Bombay is directly contrary to it. Effect cannot be given to this principle in the present conditions but action should be taken as soon as conditions become favourable to it.

[*Paras 13 to 15 omitted*]

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan visited Delhi on 1 October to attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council.

II.7

PRIORITY FOR EVACUATION FROM WEST PAKISTAN DEMANDED[1]

There can be No Going Back: Action of Government Criticized: Suggestions Made by Congress Leaders

After a three-day conference, Congress leaders from Western Pakistan—Sind, West Punjab and the N.W.F.P.—have issued a statement embodying six suggestions to the Government of India to expedite the evacuation and rehabilitation of non-Muslims from Western Pakistan.

Top priority, the statement says, should be given to the immediate and safe evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan, including Baluchistan, and adds that the Government of India should mobilize all their resources just as Governments do in war-time.

The statement, after denouncing the tragic happenings of the last few weeks, makes it clear that the whole "attitude and conduct of the

Government and people of Western Pakistan" make it impossible for the minorities to return. "There can be no going back," the statement says.

Affirming that there is no desire to embarrass the members of the Government of India, the statement, however, says that they have not been fully alive to the gravity of the situation and have left much to be desired in not rising equal to the task with which they are confronted.

The Congress leaders who have issued the statement include Dr. Choithram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee; Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, MLA, former Deputy Leader of the Punjab Assembly Congress Party; Mr. Girdhari Lal Puri, Deputy Speaker of the NWFP Legislative Assembly; Dewan Bhanju Ram Gandhi, former Finance Minister, NWFP; Lala Behari Lal Chanana, President of the Punjab Beopar Mandal; Mr. Virendra, MLA, former Secretary of the Punjab Assembly Congress Party; Lala Bhagwan Das, MLA (West Punjab); Mr. Madan Lal Mehta, Parliamentary Secretary, NWFP; Mr. Ram Chandra, President of the Lahore District Congress Committee, and Mr. Yogi Ram Nath, President of the Rawalpindi District Congress Committee.

The following is the text of the statement:

"Words fail to describe the bestial carnage which the minorities in the West Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and to some extent in Sind have witnessed or experienced for some time past, particularly during the last few weeks.

"All through our public life, in many cases spreading over many years, we have consistently worked and suffered for inter-communal unity. But the swift and tragic march of events and their climax in Western Pakistan have forced us to realize that in Western Pakistan life, in any of its sense, has become impossible for the Hindus and the Sikhs. The plain fact is that they are not at all wanted there, and any attempt on their part, under any material or ideological impulse, to return to their hearths and homes, is bound to lead to a repetition of the horrors they have witnessed and experienced.

NO GOING BACK

"We have no hesitation in declaring that the present assurances of safety and security being offered to the minorities by the front-rank leaders of Pakistan are devoid of any reality and are just made to throw dust in the eyes of international opinion. Let it be clearly understood by one and all that the whole attitude and conduct of the Government and people of Western Pakistan make it impossible for the minorities to return to, and resettle in Western Pakistan. There can be no going back.

"But we are not refugees. We confess we detest the very word in its application to us. This systematic description of the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Pakistan has, unfortunately, given birth to ignoble complexes of superiority and inferiority among our brethren in India and among our brethren from Western Pakistan, respectively.

"We won't think we contributed our due share to the long and hard struggle of India's deliverance from bondage just to render ourselves as 'refugees' in India on her emancipation. We feel called upon to assert that whatever demands we make of the Government of India, are made as a matter of right, without bringing in the debasing sentiments of pity, compassion and mercy. Our sufferings are the direct result of the vivisection of India.

FIRMER ACTION URGED

"It is a pity, however, that the Government of India have not been fully alive to the gravity of the situation and have left much to be desired in rising equal to the task with which they are confronted. While we have no desire to embarrass the members of the Government of India, while we fully realize the unprecedentedly gigantic nature of the task before them, and while we appreciate their efforts in this connexion, we feel the time has come when we would be failing in our duty if we do not tell our Government publicly that in the matter of handling the problem of evacuation of the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Pakistan, the Government of India have not acted with the immediacy and efficiency which the task called for.

"The Government of India have not shown much firmness either, particularly in its dealings with the Pakistan Government. While the Pakistan Government are brazen-facedly trampling under their feet the agreements arrived at between the two Dominion Governments relating to the evacuation of minorities, the Government of India appear to be content with making rather imbecile representations and protests and not taking really effective steps to put the Pakistan government in a reasonable frame of mind. We believe, there are many civilized ways open to the Government of India, such as retaliatory steps at Government level, which can make the Pakistan Government behave and respect their agreements in action.

"We would like to make it clear that we do not believe in private retaliation. Nay, we regard it as highly detrimental to the best interests of the country. We feel ashamed of the fact that some of our brethren indulged in private retaliation and took the law in their own hands.

"With all the sincerity and emphasis at our command, we appeal to our Hindu and Sikh brethren to desist forthwith from having any

recourse to private retaliation and give the Government of India ample and untrammeled opportunities to fight the cataclysmic calamity that has befallen us. It is, of course, our privilege and duty to make suggestions to the Government of India, which we believe are urgent and essential.

SIX SUGGESTIONS

"Accordingly, we hereby make the following suggestions to the Government of India in the earnest hope that they will take immediate steps to clothe them in the robes of reality:

i. Top-priority should be accorded to the immediate and safe evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan including Baluchistan. The Government of India should mobilize all their resources for this purpose just as Governments do in war-time.
ii. Evacuation should be with all the belongings of the evacuees, just as in the general practice about evacuees from the East Punjab.
iii. All possible efforts should be made for the recovery of abducted and converted women. No Government should tolerate the dishonour of women.
iv. Conditions in the evacuees' camps are far from satisfactory. Food, medical supplies, etc., should be adequately supplied to the evacuees in the evacuees' camps.
v. The Pakistan Government, or failing them the Government of India, should guarantee the evacuees adequate compensation for the movable and immovable property, which they have left behind. The cheap and frivolous terms at which the Pakistan Government are disposing of and auctioning land, houses and shops belonging to the evacuees have caused bitter resentment among them. Contrast it with the democratic machinery which is operating in Delhi for looking after the property of the Delhi Muslim evacuees. The Government of India should exert their utmost pressure on the Pakistan Government to halt the above-stated practice and compensate the evacuees adequately in this respect.
vi. After completion of evacuation, the Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments should give top priority to the rehabilitation of the evacuees. The task is so gigantic that the country shall have to muster all its strength and resources in a scientifically planned way. We hope that such planning will be devised in consultation with the representatives of the evacuees."—API.

[1]The *Statesman,* 4 October 1947.

II. 8

A Personal Note by H. L. Ismay[1]

US National Archives, 845.00/11-147

TOP SECRET *5 October 1947*

THE INDIAN SITUATION

SECTION I

On my way back to India from England towards the end of last July, I concluded my notes with the following passage:

> I was worried when I was in England at the prevalence of the idea that everything was over bar the shouting. Personally I feel that we are nothing like out of the wood yet. There is so much explosive material lying about and it remains to see whether it can be prevented from going off. I am, for example, extremely worried about the Sikhs. They imagine that they are going to get a far more favorable boundary than, so far as I can judge, the Boundary Commission can possibly award them. All possible precautions have been taken by the despatch to the areas of potential trouble of a joint India-Pakistan force under single command, but even so it may be a very unpleasant business. The truth of the matter is that both sides are in a panic, and people do sillier things when they are frightened than they do under the stress of any other emotion.

2. These views were shared by many people. It is therefore a mistake to imagine that the storm which broke out in August,[2] and which is still raging, was unexpected. It must, however, be frankly admitted that neither its character nor its extent were anticipated by anyone in authority, whether in India, Pakistan or England.

[*Paras 3 to 8 omitted*]

SECTION II

9. On the 5th September the Governor-General and I returned to the Capital. We found the situation already critical in the extreme, and for the next five or six days it got progressively worse. Muslims were being systematically hunted down and butchered. Thousands of them were herded into camps, where the conditions defied description—no food, no water, no sanitary arrangements, not even assured security. The dead lay rotting in the streets, because there was no one to collect and bury them. The hospitals were choked with dying and wounded, and in imminent danger of attack because of the presence of Muslim staff and Muslim patients. Arson and looting were widespread. Food supplies both wholesale and retail were disrupted, the first because

consignments arriving by train could not be unloaded and distributed for lack of labor, the second because all markets and food shops were closed in terror. The Muslim members of the Delhi police had either deserted or were disarmed; the Hindu members had either been subormed [*sic*] or were afraid to do their duty. There was only a handful of troops—and some of these were of doubtful reliability. Appeals for protection poured in from every side—public utility services, hospitals, refugee camps, the *Corps Diplomatique,* and so forth. The telephone system ceased to function for lack of operators, as did the posts and telegraphs. Public transport was suspended because the drivers were terrified to venture on the roads. Administration was hampered by the absence of clerical staffs, who could not get to their offices. Reports of horrors, sometimes true, more often false, inflamed men's passions, and excited their fears. Nowhere was there reason. Delhi was on the verge of chaos.

[Paras 10 & 11 omitted]

SECTION III

12. At this point, it will be convenient to set out the salient features of the position as I left it on the 3rd October.

13. The refugee camps in Delhi—both Muslim and Hindu—are now, comparatively speaking, organized. Food and water supplies are adequate. Medical and sanitary arrangements have been, so far as possible, provided. Cholera outbreaks have been stemmed by inoculation on a vast scale. Loudspeakers have been installed. Shelter of sort[s] has been provided. Voluntary associations, headed by Lady Mountbatten, are doing splendid work, as are individual voluntary workers, including officers and other ranks of the two British battalions stationed in Delhi.

It is the policy to empty these camps as quickly as possible. Those who wish to stay in Delhi will be moved to their homes as soon as their security can be assured. But this is not yet. Those who wish to go to Pakistan will be moved there by train, but it has been necessary to suspend train movement until such time as security can be more positively assured. The wholesale slaughter of refugees, whether in trains or on the march, has been one of the most bestial features of the grizzly Indian drama, and is apt more than anything else to lead to reprisals. To my certain knowledge every effort is being made by the Government of India, and, so far as I know, by the Government of Pakistan also, to put an end to these massacres. There have been no major incidents during the ten days before I left India.

14. The road movement of refugees from East to West Punjab and

vice versa is an indescribable sight—miles and miles of humanity—some organized and with their poor possessions, others straggling and utterly destitute. In the history of the world, have there ever been two simultaneous mass migrations on this scale! Such protection as is possible is provided by troops, but obviously this can only be very limited. There has been a tendency on the part of Pakistan to put a brake on the eastward movement of Sikh columns on the grounds that the westward movement of their own people—particularly through Amritsar—is being unnecessarily slow, and unjustifiably insecure. But generally speaking it is the desire of both Governments to get their own people into their own country as quickly as possible. Once this is done, there will be headaches enough in all conscience, but immense and tempting targets for revenge will at least have been removed.

15. The only bright spot in the last few weeks has been that up to the present the conflagration has been more or less confined to the Punjab and Delhi. The NWFP might easily have gone very wrong, but Mr. Jinnah assured me only three days ago that all was well, and that he was fairly confident that it would so continue.

16. In the United Provinces there are "bubbles" of disturbance, but on the whole things are fairly quiet. This may be due to the strong action taken by the Provincial Government as far back as early August, when they got wind of trouble, and jailed all the leaders before it started.

17. The remainder of the sub-continent has not yet been materially affected, but it is far too early to have any confidence that this state of affairs will continue. The arrival of refugees in any place may at any time light the match, and, with the bulk of Indian troops and resources concentrated in the Punjab and in Delhi, there will not be much of a fire brigade to put out any new fire.

SECTION IV

18. After this brief survey of past events and present conditions, some questions may well be asked. And the first is: "How came the Government of India to be caught napping?" To this, the only answer that I can suggest is that the Indian intelligence organization, like the rest of the administrative machine, had been running down for some time past. At the present moment it is practically non-existent, and this is one of the main reasons for the inability of the Government of India, even at this late stage, to lay hands on the ringleaders who are keeping the pot boiling.

19. It must also be remembered that the Punjab had been under Section 93 for many months before the transfer of power, and that despite the Viceroy's efforts, it had been impossible to get out of it.

Thus, when the time came, neither the East nor the West Punjab had any Government worthy of the name. The malefactors had a great opportunity—and they took it.

20. Then again it may be asked: "What is behind all this anarchy? Is it purely communal? Or, is there also a political objective?" As to this, there is a good deal to be said for the theory which Nehru propounded to me at some length four days ago. He explained that the Congress movement was opposed to violence, and wedded indissolubly to democratic principles. They desired a national, as opposed to a communal, State. On the other hand, there were certain Hindu organizations, notably the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, commonly known as the R.S.S.S., who were bitterly opposed to Congress on all three counts, and were intent on overthrowing the present Government. Nehru thought, quite mistakenly, that I knew all about the Hindu Mahasabha, and dismissed it with the observation that they had declared the 15th August as a day of mourning. But he dilated at some length on the R.S.S.S. This was a movement of comparatively recent origin, and was not as yet very strong in numbers. It was recruited from the lower middle classes, e.g. the junior clerks in Government offices, and had undoubtedly 'penetrated' those offices. Their policy was "India for the Hindus" and "Down with democratic principles". Their leader or leaders were little known. Up to the transfer of power, they had merely held secret meetings and parades, and had taken no active steps against the Government or anyone else. It was, however, fairly certain that they had, in combination with the Sikhs (of whom more later), been directly responsible for organizing the Delhi troubles. They were in fact exploiting and aggravating communal hatreds for political ends—namely the overthrow of the Congress Government. Nehru added that he was determined to lay them by the heels: but if Jinnah is at all correct in his views (see next paragraph), he will have his work cut out.

21. I might here inject Mr. Jinnah's views on the above. According to him, this theory of Mr. Nehru was an ingenious fiction[3] designed to magnify the difficulties, and excuse the impotence of the Government of India, who had one aim and one aim only—the destruction of Pakistan. Nehru was a figurehead—vain, unbalanced, and unpractical: the real and almost absolute power lay with Patel, who was closely mixed up with the R.S.S.S. and would never allow them to be suppressed. I believe Mr. Jinnah to be right.

22. There is such a general idea—which I myself entertain—that the Sikhs are at the root of the trouble, that it is worth recording the views[4] of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Jinnah on this point. According to the former,

the Sikhs were undoubtedly highly organized prior to the transfer of power, but that for the most part they were amenable to the leadership of Master Tara Singh and could be "called off" by him. Not so a couple of terrorist organizations, which numbered about 2-3,000 and were exceedingly well-armed and drilled. They had had considerable help from Sikh rulers, and they had been directly responsible for planning and carrying out the Delhi disturbances. They were still very much in being, and would certainly not listen to Tara Singh or anyone else, except perhaps the Sikh supreme religious authorities.

23. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, has no doubt that the Government of India could, if Patel so minded, suppress the whole Sikh movement in a week, and that until this was done, there was no hope of peace. On the first point I do not agree; on the second I do agree. But things have gone so far, and the Sikhs are now so strong and confident in themselves, that they must be dealt with by a combination of force of arms and diplomacy, and not by the former alone. There must be a carrot as well as the stick.

SECTION V

24. The fires of hatred and revenge will not die down for a generation or more. The best that can be hoped for on a short term view is an uneasy truce, which will almost certainly be disturbed by isolated incidents, riots due to famine and, above all, guerilla warfare on the Punjab boundary. This state of affairs can, however, be brought about only if all or most of the following conditions are fulfilled:

i. The present Government of India, with Nehru at its head, remains in office. Nehru has, since the transfer of power, shown statesmanship of a high order, and moral and physical courage in a marked degree. He has lost a lot of ground recently owing to his non-communal outlook and his readiness to enforce unpopular measures.
ii. The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan continue the practice of frequent meetings, conducted in a cooperative and frank spirit. Liaquat Ali Khan has proved to be the only man in the Pakistan Cabinet who has any degree of statesmanship, and is therefore subject to a good deal of criticism from his own side.
iii. The mass transfer of population is successfully completed without any more major disasters.
iv. Thereafter minorities remaining in both Dominions are decently treated and safeguarded.
v. Both Governments deal effectively with the rehabilitation of their own refugees. Particularly this is the case with the Sikhs, who

have left the 'gardens' of the West Punjab for the smaller and less fertile areas of the East Punjab. If they are not contented in their new homes, they will turn either Delhi-wards or Lahore-wards—more probably the latter. In that event it would be the Greek guerilla game over again with India, backed by the Sikh States, playing Russia's part.

vi. The armed forces of both Dominions obey the orders of their respective Governments.

vii. The disturbances do not spread to those parts of India which are still unaffected.

25. The only alternative to a truce is ultimate chaos and anarchy throughout the North, and possibly throughout the whole of the Sub-Continent.

[1]A copy of this Note was sent by the American Embassy, London, to Robert A. Lovett of the US Department of State, on 1 November 1947. See *US National Archives, 845.00/11-147*. Not printed.

[2]See No. 225, para 3(2), Vol. V, 226-7.

[3]Also see No. 18, para 2.

[4]See ibid., para 6.

II. 9

EXCHANGE OF PROPERTY URGED BY AKALI LEADER[1]

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, in a press conference in New Delhi on Sunday, urged an exchange of houses and land between Muslims in the adjoining parts of the U. P. and Delhi and non-Muslims in West Pakistan to solve the shortage of land and houses available in India to rehabilitate non-Muslim refugees.

Calculating that Sikhs and Hindus in West Pakistan would vacate about two-and-a-half million acres of land more than that vacated by Muslims in East Punjab, Master Tara Singh said: "Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru are trying to retain Muslims in Delhi and the country round it. They are doing so without fully studying the circumstances. If the Muslims stay and retain possession of land in the U. P. adjacent to the Punjab and Delhi, half of the Hindus and Sikhs who have been turned out of West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the NWFP will perish for want of land to earn their livelihood.

GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

"An immediate declaration by the Government of India that the Sikhs and the Hindus will be provided with immovable property of equal value which they lost in West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the

NWFP will go a long way to ease the situation. Otherwise, it may not be possible to prevent the chaos which is facing us. To make up the deficiency of land on which to rehabilitate Sikhs and Hindus, the Muslims of the adjoining parts of the U. P. and Delhi must vacate their lands and go to Pakistan where extra land of Sikhs and Hindus is lying vacant for them.

"What I have said of cultivable land holds good in the case of urban property also. The Hindus and Sikhs must get as much house property as they vacate in West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the NWFP. The house property vacated by the Muslims in East Punjab being less, the deficiency has to be made good in the adjoining parts of the U. P. and Delhi.

JUST AND EQUITABLE

"It is for the Government to obtain exact figures and ask the Muslims of Delhi and those parts of the U.P. which adjoin the Punjab to peacefully vacate land and house property for Hindus and Sikhs and go to Pakistan to take possession of the extra land and house property which has been vacated there. This is perfectly just and equitable and will be conducive to the quick settling down of populations.

"But if the Government fails to take quick decisions or quick execution of them, some of the people may resort to illegal means of earning their livelihood.

"All that the leaders should do is to make this transfer of population peaceful."

Master Tara Singh wanted protection of *gurdwaras* in West Punjab and definite provision for free pilgrimage to them. Replying to questions, he said that there was no foundation for rumours that Sikhs were trying to establish a separate State of their own.—API.

[1]The *Statesman*, 6 October 1947.

II. 10

L. Grafftey-Smith to Arthur Henderson

Telegram, PRO, DO 142/24

IMMEDIATE/SECRET
No. 111

KARACHI,
7 October 1947

My telegram No. 104.[1] Report from Lahore dated 30th September indicates some improvement in administrative situation since arrival

of Pakistan Prime Minister there.[2] My deputy in Lahore spoke very (omission) to Liaquat Ali Khan 29th September about indiscipline on lower levels of administration and found him determined to act firmly to restore good order. The Prime Minister remained doubtful whether the Government of India would face up to the Sikh menace and feared danger of complete collapse in East Punjab. He admitted that he did not feel justified in letting all Sikhs go from West Punjab until he found satisfactory guarantee that Muslims from East Punjab could be extricated. He paid generous tribute to help given in the present difficult times by the British in West Punjab and said that their British officers in particular had done far more than their duty.

2. Flood disaster has created serious (omission). River Ravi has burst its banks and large areas of Lahore are under water including petrol stores and power-house with consequent failure of petrol and electricity supplies. Effect of floods on refugees must be terrible. Whole of Ferozepur area is under water and road and rail cut. Deaths from cold, starvation and disease among 150,000 Muslim refugees who have reached Wagah just inside Western Punjab boundary are at the rate of 600 a day. Condition of other hundreds of thousands along the Grand Trunk Road with communications completely cut by flooding of Beas River must be tragic. Heavy casualties among refugees also reported from flooding of Bein River.

3. In one serious attack on Sikhs since last report about 115 were killed and 45 wounded. 150 Muslims were killed and 20 wounded in attack on Muslim convoy through Amritsar.

4. A British Brigadier who witnessed Muslim evacuation from Kasauli in Simla Hills has reported considerable obstruction put in their way by Patiala forces—e.g. prolonged searches on lines mentioned in my telegram under reference.

[1]Not traceable.

[2]Liaquat Ali Khan arrived in Lahore on 20 September and made his headquarters there "till such time as conditions became more settled in the Punjab." See the *Pakistan Times*, 23 September 1947.

II. 11

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

SECRET

NEW DELHI,
7 October 1947

On the 5th instant, I went and called on Mr. Justice Ismail[1] whom I had not met since my return from Karachi. He has given me a note expressing his views regarding the steps that should be taken to meet the situation that has arisen in the country. He is in touch with U.P. and is definitely of the view that unless something is done immediately and without further delay, the position of the Muslims in the U.P. would become hopeless. He has given his suggestions which I am passing on separately to Government. He told me of the incident that occurred in the Imperial Hotel on the night between 7th-8th September 1947 as a result of which all Muslim employees of the Hotel have been eliminated, including *taxiwalas, tangawalas, dhobis,* etc.

2. We have been considering the details of the organisation that should be set up for helping the Pakistan Govt. servants in leaving India for Pakistan. We have worked out the details of an organisation but it remains to be seen whether it will work. I am considerably worried by the general attitude of Govt. employees. Very few of them are willing to do any work and nearly everyone of them has only one ambition, viz to get a passage to Pakistan where he believes he will be completely free from all worries and difficulties. I have, therefore, asked the Govt. to give me disciplinary powers which will make it possible for me to maintain control and some semblance of discipline. At present, Govt. servants do not owe any allegiance to this office and have little sense of realities to appreciate that without such allegiance there is nothing that can be achieved except disorder and chaos.

3. It is quite clear to me now that we shall not get justice or fairplay from the Govt. of India in the matter of filling the aeroplanes which they are running to the West Punjab for bringing non-Muslim evacuees. I have done whatever I could. I made representations to India as well as to Govt. at Karachi. I have also informed the Prime Minister of the position to enable him to discuss the matter at the meetings with Indian Ministers. There is absolutely no change in the position and India is continuing to fill the planes with its own nominees who are private citizens migrating from India to Pakistan. The Chief

Commissioner has now been authorised to make nominations and he has reserved 50% of seats for his own nominees and my representations have so far had no effect whatever. I am afraid there is nothing more that I can do and I have to accept the position as it is. The only way to make the Govt. of India see the absurdity of their position is for Pakistan Govt. to tell them that they shall not allow these aeroplanes to be used for evacuation from West Punjab unless their accommodation from India to Pakistan is placed at the disposal of Pakistan Govt. acting through the High Commissioner.

[*Para 4 omitted*]

5. It will be recalled that at one time I had requested the Chief Commissioner to give some protection to *Dawn* to enable it to start publication. It was my view that if *Dawn* came out again, it would play an important role in helping the Govt. in its task of restoring peaceful conditions in Delhi and elsewhere. No action was taken by the Chief Commissioner or the Govt. An attempt at arson was made but the fire was quickly brought under control. Thereafter, Mr. Mahmood Hasan, the General Manager, applied to the Deputy Commissioner asking that Govt. should take over custody of the property of *Dawn*. The Deputy Commissioner passed favourable orders but immediately thereafter there was a more determined effort at arson which led to serious damage. Mr. Chopra, Special Magistrate, inspected the property and made a report advising against the taking over by Govt. This advice has been accepted by the Deputy Commissioner. Another attempt is being made by Mr. Mahmood Hasan to persuade the Govt. to take over custody, but whether Govt. will accept his application is open to doubt. He will then have no alternative but to leave the property and go away. He has been looking after *Dawn* and its interests at great personal risk but he cannot continue to do so indefinitely.

6. It is quite clear that India is determined to send all refugees to Pakistan. This decision was brought home to me yesterday during the course of discussion with Mr. H.M. Patel. He said that special trains would probably be resumed after a week when the refugees would be transferred to Pakistan. I told him that this could not be done without the specific approval of Pakistan Govt. which had not been given so far. I asked him to take note of this objection on my part which he agreed to do. I have sent a telegram[2] about it to Govt. in view of the importance of the matter. I have also received a letter from one Capt. Rizvi who appears to be a refugee from Bharatpur saying that he has arranged a special train from Agra to Hyderabad Sind with the help of the Collector, Agra. There is a notice in the press to the effect that those

Hindus who want to occupy the houses vacated by Muslims of Najafgarh should apply to the Custodian of Evacuee Property. Najafgarh is a town about 18 miles in [*sic* for off] Delhi and had a population of about 2,000-3,000 Muslims. All indications point to the determination of the Govt. of India to send away Musalmans to Pakistan with or without the consent of Pakistan Govt. Govt. [of India] are aware of the determined attitude of the Hindu public in this matter. They hold the view that Pakistan having been established, there is no place for Muslims in India and they must all clear out. This attitude now is supported by quite a large number of even the Ministers of the Govt. Unless therefore there is an understanding between the two Govts. at a high level, the demoralisation that has set in will progress rapidly further. The Muslims in the western districts of U.P. have been very seriously demoralised by the events of Delhi and the neighbouring districts of Dehra Dun, Meerut, Bullandshahr and Agra. I receive letters from various towns asking that immediate arrangements be made for evacuating Muslim population to Pakistan. I need not make any mention of the position of Pakistan in view of its attitude being either unknown or being unfavourable towards evacuation of Muslims from India.

7. It is perhaps known to Govt. that there are only about 2,000 students this year in the Muslim University against the normal figure of about 5,000-6,000. Of these 2,000, many are leaving whenever opportunities arise. I have been receiving requests from individual members of the staff asking for help in evacuating them from Aligarh to Pakistan. I have been advising everyone to stick to his post and not to become a party to demoralising the staff and the students. If, however, the number of students is further reduced and becomes hopelessly small, it would become impossible to persuade members of the staff to stay on and to stick to their posts of duty.

8. I am very anxious to have some indication of the policy of Govt. in regard to business and industrial establishments left in Pakistan by non-Muslims. Some effort is being made by Govt. here to prevent unauthorised and unlawful possession of similar establishments left by Muslims, but unless there is a clear statement of a common policy by both Governments, it would be impossible to expect even a semblance of fairplay. Already a number of godowns in Sadar Bazar have been forcibly occupied by non-Muslims. This happened on receipt of news from Lahore regarding sale of shops for ridiculously low prices.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]See Enclosures 1 and 2 to No. 224, Vol. II, 437. For subsequent developments see Appendix II. 18, para 5.

[2]Not traceable.

II. 12

Terence Shone to Arthur Henderson

Telegram, PRO, DO 142/24

IMMEDIATE/SECRET
No. 938

NEW DELHI,
7 October 1947

Reference my telegram No. 931[1] October 6th. Communal disturbances.

PUNJAB

Information given by military spokesman at Press conference on 6th October and in East Punjab Government's press communique of same date. Floods are subsiding throughout East Punjab and movement of refugees has been resumed on large scale. Trains have to run again between Jullundur and Lahore carrying refugees in both directions. It is hoped to send nearly 10 thousand Muslims a day by train to Lahore. Two trains carrying Muslim refugees passed through Amritsar safely on 5th October. Reports of returning confidence among people of both communities have been received from some areas of East Punjab—Gurgaon, Ferozepore, where non-Muslims are helping to get food for Muslim refugees and some villages in Ludhiana District where members of two communities are reported to be living peacefully together. Following further detailed information was given:

Gurgaon District: Mob of nearly 4 thousand armed men who had collected on outskirts of Rewari was dispersed by military unit and another mob was dispersed two miles away. Number of casualties inflicted is not yet known. Bomb explosion also occurred in vicinity on October 3rd. Arrests have been made.

Hissar District: Clash took place between armed mobs of two communities and troops were compelled to fire. 20 Hindus were killed and about 70 injured. Four policemen also wounded.

Ferozepore: Shops have opened again and city is returning to normal. Some looters have been shot and much looted property recovered.

Ambala (Rupar): Armed mob of nearly two thousand was dispersed by troops.

Numerous complaints of atrocities perpetrated by Muslim refugees and Pakistan Army on non-Muslims have been reported. In Amritsar District troops escorting Muslim refugees are accused of murdering, kidnapping and looting non-Muslims on their way. Raids by border Muslims assisted by Pakistan troops continued. In Gurdaspur District, Muslim troops escorting lorries of Muslim refugees shot dead two Sikhs. They

were engaged by Indian troops which resulted in heavy exchange of fire. (From East Punjab Government's communique).

[1]Not traceable.

II. 13

Richard D. Gatewood to George Marshall

Telegram, US National Archives, 845 F. 00/10-847

CONFIDENTIAL AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL, LAHORE,
No. A-2 *8 October 1947*

Mian Iftikharuddin, Refugee Minister, made following points in interview yesterday with me and Miss Margaret Bourke-White, *Life* Correspondent:

1. About 6,000,000 Muslim refugees are expected to enter Pakistan from East Punjab, with approximately 4,000,000 leaving the province for India; 2,500,000 Muslims have already arrived and a little over 1,000,000 non-Muslims have left. These figures are based on the assumption that there will be no Muslims left in the East Punjab, a policy which, the Minister said, appears to be the avowed decision of the East Punjab Government; the West Punjab Government, despite reassurances given to the minorities, is assuming that they will wish to migrate. The calculations have been made on the basis of the 1941 Census, with the addition of one per cent per year for normal increase in population.

2. The West Punjab Government are accumulating stastistics of those killed, wounded, lost, dead on the journey, and abducted. These will not be ready for about three months, but it is the Minister's estimate that at least 500,000 Muslims have lost their lives. He referred to his recent statements to the press that 250,000 Muslims in Patiala and 50,000 in Nabha could not "be accounted for" as officials in those States, which he has just visited, simply told him that these numbers of Muslims were no longer within their territory and a careful check of refugees entering Malirkotla State, Bahawalpur, and the West Punjab showing that no such quantities of refugees from Nabha and Patiala had arrived or were in transit. Accordingly, he is of the opinion that almost all of these Muslims are dead.

3. Non-Muslim landowners in the West Punjab have left behind approximately 2.25 million acres. This will have to be resettled and controlled by the West Punjab Government until claims for [*sic* for by]

the landowners on both sides have been settled. It is estimated that the amount of land vacated will accommodate about 2.25 million people at the average rate of 6 acres per family, each family averaging 6 persons. This is only one-half the normal holdings per family in the West Punjab, where a family usually worked 12 acres. Holdings in the East Punjab are, on the average, considerably smaller and no figures are available here as to the amount of land vacated by Muslims in that province. It is clear, however, that there will not be enough land in the West Punjab to accommodate all the Muslim refugees, even though the Provincial Government is making the same allotment (6 acres per family) to every possible refugee, without regard to his previous holdings. Claims are being registered and the interests of landlords, whose property was worked by the tenant farmers, will be disregarded until these claims have been settled i.e., the Government will administer all affected land and will not attempt, at this time, to allot equivalent amounts to persons who have owned property in the East Punjab. It will be recalled that two of the largest landholders in the East Punjab are the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and the Prime Minister of the West Punjab, the Khan of Mamdot.

4. There are now approximately 26 refugee camps in the West Punjab, most of them merely concentration points for Muslims needing rest and medical attention before the refugees are moved further away from the border; only 4 of the camps are for non-Muslims. The Minister declined to give any figures of the number officially resettled on the land at present, but did say that official resettlement had begun, that many refugees had continued travelling into the interior without official sanction, and that they had actually settled on vacated lands from which they would have to be removed, to conform to official resettlement plans. He admitted that this was a most serious problem, involving danger to public order, but was hopeful that it could be solved. He estimated at least 200,000 squatters would have to be redistributed.

5. The Minister was unable to give any general figures as to the cost, in food or money, of refugee work throughout the province. He explained that the Government was doing everything they could, regardless of cost, and were using up their food reserves. He said he anticipated a loan might be obtained from the Pakistan Government, which was itself undergoing financial difficulties, as soon as British or American financial aid could be made available. He estimated that, in both East and West Punjab, the labor of some 5,000,000 people during one entire crop season had been completely wasted and that there was real danger of starvation during the coming winter. He explained that

the recent floods had created impossible conditions for wheat planting in the areas affected (especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Ferozepore and Lahore) and that what was left of the rice and cotton crops would only be harvested with great difficulty.

6. He refused to reply to a question Miss Bourke-White put to him several times as to the future of landowners (*zamindars*) whose properties were worked by tenant farmers. He had previously told the local press that industries would be kept running by the local Government and would eventually be redistributed equitably among refugee mill and factory owners, but he was unwilling to expand on this theme. It is most likely that Muslim League leaders, probably including the Prime Minister of Pakistan (who has been in Lahore for the last ten days), told him to drop the subject of State control of properties until a definite policy could be formulated in Karachi. If this is so, it indicates an acute awareness of how difficult it might be to obtain financial assistance from the United States at a time when the American public is critical of the socialized society emerging in Great Britain. It is nevertheless obvious that the Provincial Government is necessarily becoming so involved in the redistribution of lands and urban assets that it will for many months and probably years maintain centralized control over property of all kinds belonging to those non-Muslims who have left the province. Furthermore, social barriers amongst refugees have naturally been completely eliminated; a poor [person] who had a few hundred rupees on hand when he was forced to leave his village is actually better off than the rich man who was unable to draw money from the bank in his flight to Pakistan. In the general misery, previous distinctions among the rich and poor have given way to mutual cooperation and no Government can ignore the far-reaching implications of this situation. It may thus be assumed that necessity will force the West Punjab Government, which wishes to serve the best interests of the refugees, to become even more paternalistic and socialised than was intended by the Muslim League program of 1944, mentioned in my first telegram[1] (sent through the Embassy at New Delhi on August 22, 1947).

GATEWOOD

[1]Not traceable.

II. 14

M. Ikramullah to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, FOA, IU.4/47

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 470

KARACHI,
8 October 1947

Pakistan Government and people continue to be anxious over tense situation of Muslims at Qadian of which reports continue spread alarm. This was discussed on Sunday [5 October] evening at Residency Lahore between General Cariappa and Brigadier Mohite of Indian Army and Brigadier Stevens, Moss and Grigson for Pakistan, together with leading members Ahmadiyya Community. Latter emphasized that problem was to evacuate rapidly ten thousand or so Muslim refugees who had crowded into Qadian for safety and were unprovided [*sic*] food East Punjab Government. We were informed that actual Qadianis however desired remain loyal citizens Indian Union and claimed full rights as such including protection against imminent danger attacks by surrounding Sikhs who virtually were beleaguering Qadian. Qadianis however considered unsafe their women and children remain Qadian. Men determined stay on in Qadian till bitter end even if your Government cannot save their lives. Danger emphasized by deplorable attacks 4th-5th October at Batala on our convoys by Sikhs who appear unaffected your Deputy Prime Minister's speech Amritsar[1] and Patiala's appeal.[2] We need hardly say that any massacre at Qadian would shock world's conscience. We urge you do all possible secure immediate action by General Cariappa in light of Sunday's discussion. Kindly telegraph present position.

[M. IKRAMULLAH]

[1&2]Not traceable.

II. 15

Howard Donovan to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/10-947
[*Extract*]

NEW DELHI,
No. 253 *9 October 1947*

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose[1] the text of a press despatch dealing with a press conference held at Amritsar on October 6 by Major-General B. S. Chimni, Commander of the Military Evacuation Organization. There has been a great deal of criticism of the Government of India's handling of the evacuation of refugees from the Punjab. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was very critical of the Government on this subject in his conversation with me on October 8, while some days ago Pandit Kunzru, head of the Servants of India Society, published a statement severely criticizing the civil and military authorities with respect to their handling of the evacuation problem. An American physician connected with a missionary organization informed me yesterday that the Hindu and Sikh refugees coming out of West Punjab were in much better condition and much better organized than were the Muslim refugees proceeding from East Punjab to West Punjab. He said that the Hindu and Sikh refugees were taking with them all their effects. Their convoys were in general well-organized and forethought was displayed in their arrangements regarding food and so forth. On the other hand, the Muslim refugee columns which he saw were mainly city-dwellers driven from their homes and they were not able to take care of themselves to the same degree as the Hindu and Sikh families who composed the greater part of the Hindu and Sikh refugee columns. He said that at least 5,000 Muslims were drowned in the River Ravi floods.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Respectfully yours,
HOWARD DONOVAN

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix II. 15

GREAT DIFFICULTIES OF EVACUATION[1]

Government Decisions not Implemented

AMRITSAR, Oct. 6: Maj-Gen. B.S. Chimni, Commander of the Mili-

tary Evacuation Organization, at a press conference today before relinquishing charge of his command, said that in one month, up to October 4, they had, despite several difficulties and obstacles, evacuated 757,037 non-Muslims from West Punjab, of whom only 1,027 had been evacuated by air, 350,000 by rail, 121,010 by motor transport and 285,000 on foot.

He disclosed that there were nearly 300,000 more refugees on their way and there would still be 2,000,000 awaiting evacuation from West Punjab, of whom nearly 600,000 were stranded in various pockets. Out of 1,400,000 in non-pocket areas, 700,000 were from urban areas and the rest from villages.

He said that as against the non-Muslims evacuated so far, 310,000 Muslim refugees had been evacuated from East Punjab by rail, 106,000 by motor transport and 455,000 on foot, while 150,000 were on their way.

LACK OF FOOD

He said that the weather and floods, lack of food supplies and the prevalence of disease had seriously affected evacuation. Referring to the proposal to move his headquarters to Pakistan, Gen. Chimni said that this would create fresh difficulties as they would not be able to keep in close contact with the public and would not be in a position to send out food and medical aid.

He pointed out that if there had not been so many hold-ups, many of the non-Muslim refugees would have been in the Indian Dominion and saved from exposure to the vagaries of the weather. He regretted that several difficulties had been caused by the fact that Government decisions had not been implemented, either because those in charge had not the mind to do so or were disinclined to obey orders.

MORE VEHICLES NEEDED

If he had received about 1,500 vehicles and more troops, he said he would have expedited the job and saved the major portion of the crops. He felt that refugees should be settled in their new homes by October 15, otherwise there would be no sowings for the next harvest, no seed and, consequently no food for next year. He also referred to organizational difficulties and emphasized that, personally, he felt strongly that the evacuation organization should be directly under the charge of the Refugee Ministry, apart from matters of Army discipline. He deplored the incidents that were taking place and urged the people not to jeopardize the lives of thousands of people stranded in West Punjab. He deprecated the idea of attacks on Muslim refugees.

He referred to a remark made by Sardar Patel and said that brave

people should not resort to cruelty.

He said that he had 240 Government trucks and 400 civilian vehicles at his disposal of which 170 were off the road. As they would not send empty vehicles into Pakistan, there was the added delay of loading Muslim refugees in East Punjab. He regretted that there was no workshop organization attached to his Command and in several cases motor spares were not easily available, which accounted for the number of unserviceable transport.

CONVOYS SEARCHED

He said that when a huge foot convoy from the Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] areas had been held up at Balloki for days, he supplied food, whereas actually it was the business of Pakistan to do so. Contrary to an agreement between the two Dominions, he added, searches of non-Muslim convoys continued in Pakistan. He said there were no searches of outgoing Muslims in East Punjab. Long delays were caused by searches and refugees were held up at several checkposts in Pakistan territory.

He said that only two complaints of favouritism or corruption against evacuation staff had been reported and these were being inquired into.—API.

[1]The *Statesman,* 8 October 1947.

II. 16

Jawaharlal Nehru to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, IU.4/47

PRIMIN 141

NEW DELHI,
12 October 1947

Your telegram No 470 dated 9th [8th] October.[1] Qadian. This place was visited personally by General Thimmayya Commander East Punjab Area accompanied by Brigadier Nazir Ahmad and Iftikhar Khan. There is tension due to exaggerated account of attacks on two convoys. The casualties in those attacks were about fifty and the military took action and inflicted casualties on attackers. There are no complaints against military unit posted at Qadian and there have been no incidents for the last four days. General Thimmayya is making arrangements for safe evacuation of those who want to leave.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]See *FOA,* IU.4/47.

II. 17

Terence Shone to P. J. Noel Baker

PRO, DO 142/24

IMMEDIATE/TOP SECRET
No. 978

NEW DELHI,
13 October 1947

Reference my telegram No. 926.[1] Communal Disturbances. Summary and appreciation of situation for period 4th October to 11th October.

EAST PUNJAB

A. Northern Area of East Punjab Including Punjab Sikh States

1. The floods are subsiding and communications have been partially restored. Movement of refugees has started again both by road and rail. Only one bad incident (an attack on refugees in Gurdaspur District) has been reported during the week. Governor of East Punjab in a report to Cabinet Emergency Committee on 10th October said that for the first time he considered the corner had definitely been turned, and that the visit recently paid by Sardar Patel had had a very great effect. Lady Mountbatten who has just returned form a visit to refugee camps in this area mentioned that reports received by her confirmed this view. Governor also stated that ordinary administrative machinery had begun functioning again throughout this area. Collective fines have been imposed in connection with September attacks on railway trains. A systematic drive for recovery of looted property had started; from one Police Sub-Inspector's house, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakh worth of property has been recovered.

2. The refugees, however, continue to be hardly [*sic*] hit by the floods. Exposure and shortage of food have made them weak and prone both to sickness and death. Lady Mountbatten in her report to Cabinet Committee spoke of two excellent camps she had visited in Jullundur and Ludhiana but said that in Amritsar City and District problem had not been gripped really satisfactorily. Little or no preparations had been made to receive refugees coming from West Punjab; and there were no facilities whatsoever in the "trek encampment" in cattle market at Amritsar which, at times, had contained up to 80,000 Muslim refugees. "Corpses and stagnant water were lying around. There were no feeding or sanitary arrangements". Medical supplies were also short in the city. She spoke of another convoy of refugees, moving from Jullundur, a large number of whom were in such low state of health that they might die on the road in large numbers if not

adequately provided with food. In brief she considered it possible that refugee planning in East Punjab had got a bit behind hand. She had also talked to a number of people in hospitals who had been wounded as a result of attack on refugee columns, etc. in West Punjab. They had been practically unanimous that police and military, not civilian population, had been responsible for these attacks. Non-Muslim refugees had also complained to her they had not been able to obtain water *en route*. Police and military had made it impossible for them to get near wells.

B. Southern Area of East Punjab

A number of incidents, mainly attacks by armed bands of Sikhs on Muslim refugee columns and camps have occurred over a wide area during last week. In the worst incident, over 200 refugees and 50 raiders were killed. Military escort fired 1,800 rounds. Governor of East Punjab is uneasy about general situation here and considers that main problem is early evacuation of one million Muslims still left in this area.

[1]Not traceable.

II. 18

Note by J.S.H. Shattock

PRO, DO 142/420

SECRET

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM,
6 ALBUQUERQUE ROAD, NEW DELHI,
14 October 1947

COMMUNAL SITUATION IN AMBALA AND PATIALA

I had a long talk with a very senior British military officer from the Ambala sub-area of the East Punjab, who has been there during the last two months. He was perhaps more bitter than anyone else I have spoken to about recent events. Words were just not bad enough for the Sikhs whom he said had indulged in a frightful massacre over the whole area. No Muslim life was safe. The discipline of the Indian Army had disappeared overnight which showed that all what we (the British) had apparently built up over 100 years was even less than skin-deep. You could now never find one impartial Indian officer or sepoy in a thousand. Now that most of the Muslims had been mopped up or concentrated into refugee camps, the turn of the Hindus to take

it from the Sikhs had already started and there were even cases of Sikhs looting Sikhs. One Hindu had recently said to my informant, "We shall look forward to the day when the Muslims invade East Punjab". As regards the Delhi disturbances, the opinion of the Sikhs in the Ambala area is that the Delhi Sikhs must be a pretty poor lot in not being able to have captured Delhi in September. But they add "It won't be long before we have Delhi".

2. As regards Patiala, he said that the massacre of Muslims by Sikh villagers, Patiala police and Patiala State Forces had been appalling. I told him that I had heard it quoted that about 200,000 Muslims had been murdered in the State. He said he thought this was no exaggeration. He had had a number of conferences in recent weeks with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala who, at the beginning of the disturbances, had told him that the tide of events would just not be stemmed. "Blood", the Maharajah said, "will just have to flow". Now His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala is doing his best to control his people. He (my informant) said he had sent an impartial Indian officer into the State to report on the situation there. This officer had a Sikh escort with him in his truck and as they were travelling through the countryside, they came across a Sikh ex-sepoy who was formerly in the same Indian Army Unit as themselves. They asked how he was getting on. "Fine", he replied, "we are getting the most excellent *shikar*. If we don't kill 700 Muslims a day, we think it is a poor bag".

[Para 3 omitted]

J. S. H. SHATTOCK

II. 19

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

SECRET
Report No. 16

NEW DELHI,
15 October 1947

The general situation in Delhi remains practically unchanged, but there is no diminution in the panic among the Muslims. The Government of India are running trains every day carrying refugees from the camps here to Pakistan.[1] I have not received any information so far either from Lahore or Karachi whether these trains have arrived there safely. Presumably they are not distinguished from other refugee trains

or convoys and the people who go from here are mixed up with other countless refugees from the East Punjab. I was anxious to know whether these trains were passing through safely in order to decide whether Government servants may now be encouraged to use them. The information given to me here is that they have passed safely so far and there has been no attempt to attack them. I have, therefore, decided to encourage our employees to use these trains, subject to certain detailed arrangements being made to our satisfaction. We are examining the matter and hope to complete our arrangements within a day or two.

2. Mir Zamin Ali Nizami came to see me yesterday and told me that as the trains start from Nizamuddin, which is close to Humayun's Tomb, the population of Nizamuddin also has taken advantage of them and nearly half the town is empty. He fears that within the next week or so, the whole of Nizamuddin will have been emptied and very likely Sikhs and other refugees from outside Delhi will begin to occupy it. He himself asked for facilities for evacuating himself and his family. I had an interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru this morning and represented to him the necessity of providing protection on an adequate scale for Nizamuddin in order to give some measure of confidence to its population. He has taken note of it, though I am not sure what action will be taken.

3. I have also received information that a train is being run from Saharanpur [in U.P.] to-day for refugees. It is clearly the intention of the Government of India to run trains from all points where refugee camps have formed themselves. Saharanpur will be intended to serve Dehra Dun as well as Saharanpur where there was a report of serious trouble on the 12th with many casualties. It is realised that the panic among the West U.P. Musalmans is very great and is extending now to Central U.P. I might mention here that Lucknow is being evacuated and some families have asked for facilities for evacuation from Lucknow, for instance, the family of Mr. Wasim is asking for such facilities. This would be a blow to Lucknow and would lead to serious demoralisation. The fact is that all Hindus and Sikhs have made up their mind that Muslims should have no place in India. If all non-Muslims are evacuated from Pakistan as they will shortly be, this feeling among the non-Muslims will grow still stronger. It is unfortunate that Muslim League organisation still exists for whole of India inclusive of Pakistan and so the Muslims of India are supposed to owe allegiance to an organisation which has its President and General Secretary in Pakistan as Governor-General and Prime Minister. The same applies to the Congress, but the Congress Government has decided to evacuate all non-Muslims from Pakistan at least from West-

ern Pakistan, and no allegiance can, therefore, be expected from them towards Pakistan. In Delhi as well as in other places, attempts are being made by officers to bring pressure on the Muslims to repudiate the Two-nation Theory, condemn Pakistan and its leaders and to join in anti-Pakistan slogans. I have received reports of several such meetings in which Muslims have delivered speeches condemning Pakistan and its leaders and asking the Muslims to declare their undivided loyalty and allegiance to the Indian Union. At one such meeting at least, of which I have received report, when the Muslim speakers asked the Hindus whether now that the Muslims have declared their allegiance to the Indian Union and condemned Pakistan in unmistakable terms they would let them live in India. The reply was an emphatic "no". I have also received report of a meeting in Jhansi which was held under the chairmanship of the District Magistrate for promoting amity and friendliness between the two communities. One of the Hindu leaders spoke and after usual condemnation of Pakistan and its leaders and the Two-nation theory, he said that the Muslims were converts and they should now come back to the Hindu fold. If they do not agree to come back, they should clear out of India and migrate to Pakistan. When the Muslim leaders asked the District Magistrate if this was the purpose of the meeting, he declared his helplessness and said that he was a mere servant of the nation and could not prevent people from expressing whatever they felt.

4. I received a report from a very reliable source of an attack on a train which left Delhi about 12 o'clock during the day for Bhopal. It was attacked by a big mob at Faridabad and had a number of casualties. This news was given by a person who was hearing a telephone conversation between the Inspector-General of Police and some Railway officer. The news of attack on the trains continue to come from various sources and railway journeys remain as hazardous as before. If the casualties are less, it is due to much reduced travelling by Muslims.

5. I understand that the Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal moved for the transfer of the Headquarters of the Tribunal from Delhi to Bombay on the ground that Muslims cannot live and work peacefully in Delhi and there is no prospect of the Tribunal performing its duties without undesirable influence from outside, comments and criticism. The Prime Minister of India did not accept this position and said that the Muslims should be able to work in perfect peace and under full protection, but he would not mind if the Tribunal decide to work in a place like Poona [now called Pune]. The objection to Bombay was on the ground of accommodation. This question has been referred now to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. It appears that Mr. H.M. Patel dis-

cussed this matter with Mr. Mohamad Ali in Karachi and it was agreed that the first set of issues should be tackled by the Tribunal in Delhi; thereafter, the Tribunal should move to Karachi and work there for a month or so and then moving to Delhi, if necessary. I feel that the first set of issues will be the most vital from the point of view of Pakistan and it is extremely necessary that Pakistan Government should be able to lead and present its case fully, which would naturally be possible only in Karachi. The conditions remain very unfavourable for Muslims in Delhi and for some time to come I see no possibility of any Muslims working in peace here. We agreed to Delhi when no one was in a position to forecast what has actually happened. But, in view of the unfortunate developments that have actually occurred, India should raise no objection to transfer the headquarters to Karachi where it is possible for all to work in peace. After six weeks if the conditions in Delhi become normal, the Tribunal might return to Delhi to continue its work, going to Karachi again, if necessary.

6. I should explain the position as I see it in respect of Delhi. As a result of military action and of the strenuous efforts made day after day by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the more violent forms of aggression have subsided. It has been reported in the papers that shops in Sadar Bazar have opened and you can see Hindus and Muslims going about and doing their business. As regards Sadar Bazar, the position is that Sikhs and Hindus had started taking unlawful possession of godowns and shops full of stocks and there was then quite natural fear that the rightful owners will be deprived of their properties. Simultaneously, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met the merchants and businessmen of Sadar Bazar and exhorted them to open their shops and resume their business. This advice was accepted by them. I feel that most of these businessmen will try to dispose of their properties and move away from Delhi.

7. As regards other localities, the ring round the various *Mohallas* of the Muslims is being gradually and steadily tightened. Houses round the Muslim *Mohallas* are being allotted to Sikh refugees who then make the life of their neighbouring Muslims unpleasant. They then fly in fear or move into interior portions of the *Mohalla* which enables the ring to be narrowed further. This process is silent but effective. While to the outside world, conditions appear peaceful and normal, the process of the elimination of Muslim[s] continues without much change.

8. One can now see Delhi being taken possession of by Sikhs. Quite a large number of shops in Connaught Place and Connaught Circus have been taken over by Sikhs who seem to be in evidence throughout New Delhi and Delhi. In actual fact, one can hear of grumblings on the

part of Hindus, but they are not very audible yet. The other classes of Hindus are becoming a little nervous but the Hindu is not yet prepared to take a definite attitude against the Sikh who, according to the Hindu, has been his protector and who is expected to defend him in the future against the onslaughts of the Pakistanis.

9. I may mention that all the important shrines in Delhi have gone out of the hands of Muslims except Nizamuddin. The shrines of Syed Hasan Rasoolnuma, Chiragh Delhi, Qutab, etc., are no longer in Muslims' hands. I do not see that there is any use making any representation at this stage. I made some representations in the past, but they produced little result. I should however like to know the position of Sikh shrines in the Punjab and if Government can supply me with any information it will be very useful.

10. I had an interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru this morning and he complained against the searches being carried out at Karachi of the non-Muslims going by steamers to Okha. He gave me a copy of the telegram received from Indian High Commissioner in Karachi saying that while searches by customs are normal, those by local police are very vigorous. I might say that there are no searches of the refugees going from Delhi, but there are reports of searches in the U.P. as also in Rajputana and I am bringing this to the notice of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If the agreement made between the two Prime Ministers that no searches will be made is carried out by us, it would be possible to bring pressure on the Government of India to honour the agreement on this side.

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]See Appendix II. 23.

II. 20

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

SECRET
Report No. 17

NEW DELHI,
17 October 1947

[*Paras 1 & 2 omitted*]

3. From the reports that I get from Pakistan now it appears that the situation is very largely under control though incidents continue to occur. On this side also, the situation appears to be under control, but there are very strong under-currents with very clear and positive

direction. I am not aware whether similar under-currents are in evidence in Pakistan also. The district officers and the Hindu population in general continue to exercise pressure for evicting Musalmans from their houses. The explanation, whenever they are forced to give any, is that houses are required by refugees from the West Punjab. For instance, to-day a number of retired army officers looking very strong, determined and experienced came to see me from Rohtak and told me how pressure is being put on them to leave their houses and move out of Rohtak. They wanted to know what policy they should adopt. I, of course, advised them to resist all pressure up to the last, but it is obvious that the limit will be reached very soon. Recently the Ministers of the East Punjab Govt. met there and these people had an interview with the Prime Minister and told him that they had no desire to leave Rohtak. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava[1] said that the Govt. did not wish to force them to go but when they came out and met Mr. Lahri[2], they asked him the same question; he said whatever the Prime Minister might say, they have got to go and could not stay on in Rohtak. The Deputy Commissioner has told the same thing and the population is continually pressing them in the same direction. I propose to make a representation to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru based on the information given to me by these people.

4. The point which I wish to emphasise is that it is absolutely essential to suppress those unruly elements in Pakistan who are reaping the fruits of disorder and are trying their utmost to retain and enjoy them. I know definitely that there are such elements in the Frontier, as also perhaps in the Punjab. Some of the people who work with the Muslim League are now becoming the enemies of law and order. They become a source of trouble to the Govt. and unless they are curbed, they will become a serious danger. The Ministers probably find it very difficult to take effective action against them for they necessarily have their eye on the elections. This is certainly the most potent source of weakness in administration. We have to think out some means whereby this weakness should be eliminated in order to give vigour and purpose to the administrative machinery. Democracy should not mean the mortgaging of the country to the unruly elements of the population. It ceases to be true democracy unless it actually works in the interest of the general population.

5. The Hyderabad Delegation is here at the moment and I have had some talks with them on the general situation in the country. They are quite definite that the entire Muslim population in the Indian Union is at the moment in very serious danger of elimination by destruction, conversion or eviction. They think that the general assurances given

by the Pakistan Ministers regarding protection to the minorities have ceased to carry conviction at least in the Union of India. These general statements must be supported by action. They definitely think, and I agree with them, that the minorities will not feel any confidence until their true representatives are included in the cabinets, as also in the services. Whatever the Indian Union and its various Governments might do, it is incumbent on Pakistan to take the initiative in the interest of the 45 million Muslim population on this side. Pakistan must make super-human efforts to retain the minorities by giving these complete confidence. They suggest the immediate inclusion of non-Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet in the Centre as well as in the Provinces. This should be followed immediately by the appointment of non-Muslims to some important positions and if regular officers of the services are not available, they should appoint men from public life. This would be a measure which would immediately give confidence to the minorities and the Union Govt. will also be forced to act likewise in provinces where so far no Muslim has been included in the administration. While putting this point of view I am reminded of a suggestion made to me by Mr. Justice Ismail, who has gone to Gorakhpur for a month. The immediate cause of his departure from Delhi was a notice served on him by management of the Imperial Hotel to vacate his room. He recommended to me the name of Mr. H. Shivdasani, the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara. He was very strongly anti-Congress and Sir Francis Mudie held a very high opinion of his ability as an administrator. The Congress hated him and when it came into power, it placed him on leave which was given him compulsorily. After the 15th August, they suspended him and issued a charge-sheet against him of a most frivolous character. He is the type of officer who would be most useful to Pakistan. He is a man of very strong character, very able administrator and having vast experience behind him. His father was Judicial Commissioner in Sind and the family is widely known and respected in the province. Mr. Justice Ismail thinks that his appointment will give very great satisfaction throughout Sind. On this point, the people of Sind alone would be able to give a reliable view.

[*Paras 6 to 10 omitted*]

ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Prime Minister, East Punjab.
[2]Choudhri Lahri Singh, Minister, East Punjab.

II. 21

Zahid Husain to Liaquat Ali Khan

FOA, IU-4/12

NEW DELHI,
17 October 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

I am sending separately for your perusal a letter[1] received from one Mr. Kaul of Gwalior. I had myself been thinking of making a move in this matter, but I was between two minds. It appeared to me that the matter was so obvious that it was hardly necessary for me to take the initiative. As, however, a suggestion has been received now from a Hindu gentleman, I wish to add my own weight to the arguments that have been advanced by him. The situation in India is very explosive and I need not dilate upon this subject. The forces of lawlessness are hardly in check. The slightest spark at this juncture is likely to set the whole house on fire. *Dusehra* and the *Baqr' Id* are coming almost at the same time and this fact enhances a thousand-fold the explosive possibilities of an already dangerous situation.

2. It is probable that a move at this juncture by us by way of recommendation to the Muslims in India as also in Pakistan would be regarded as a confession of weakness in the face of pressure continually exercised by the non-Muslims against the Muslims in the Indian Union. It is, however, a question of choosing suitable language for our purpose. We have first to weigh the consequences which are likely to flow from false sense of pride at this most critical moment of Hindu-Muslim relations in this sub-continent. It is very likely that Muslims will not resort to cow sacrifice on a large scale. They will be prevented from doing so by various causes such as their deteriorating economic position almost throughout the Union, their most uncomfortable position resulting from a feeling of uncertainty about the future and in many parts of India as a result of continued lawless activities of non-Muslims against them. It is, however, certain that in many places people will resort to cow sacrifice while in others some hotheads will be disposed to show their contempt of the other community. Even a few instances of cow sacrifice will prove very costly to the Muslims and the consequences will be at least in some localities disastrous.

3. I am of the view that while we cannot abandon our religious right to sacrifice a cow, we should make a gesture to the Hindu com-

munity at this most critical moment of Hindu-Muslim relations. It is our sincere desire to establish our relations with the Hindus on a footing of friendliness and cooperation in all spheres of life. As a gesture of our friendliness, we should decide to give up cow sacrifice this year in the hope that this will constitute a contribution towards the solution of the difficulties with which both India and Pakistan are faced. It is extremely difficult to say whether this gesture will be appreciated by the Hindu community but I am quite sure in my mind that it is a gesture which the Muslims must make in the interest of themselves and the country. Whether we should adopt the same attitude next year or in subsequent years would be a matter which we will decide in the light of future developments. I am quite certain, however, that if the Hindu community appreciates this gesture and our decision does act to lessen the acerbity of feelings between the two communities, we should ultimately give up this cherished right of ours altogether by our own free will.

4. My own view is that the Muslims should make this gesture both in Pakistan and India acting independently at least outwardly. In India, however, the initiative should come from the leaders of Indian Muslims and a start can be made by Ch. Khaliquzzaman, who is leader of the Muslims in the Constituent Assembly. In Pakistan, the suggestion should come from Quaid-i-Azam, who can, while making his appeal to his people, express his approval of the move made by leaders of Indian Muslims.

5. Our own stake is very great and the hostages we have given to India are very valuable. We should not be deterred from taking right action by any feeling of pride or prestige. There are innumerable lives in the balance and any feeling of pride at this moment if it results in the sacrifice of Muslim blood is, if I may respectfully say so, almost criminal. I most earnestly suggest that we should make an immediate move in this matter. I am sure that Ch. Khaliquzzaman must be considering this matter already and if it is brought to his notice that we are of the same mind, he will probably be able to act with greater confidence.

Yours sincerely,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Not traceable.

II. 22

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, FOA, IU-4/5

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 600

KARACHI,
18 October 1947

Would like to invite your attention to sensational and highly coloured statements appearing in some Indian papers. As a specimen please see report given under caption "Sind Hindus facing annihilation" in the *Hindustan Times* dated 30th September,[1] which is full of false allegations and misrepresentations.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Enclosure. Also see Appendix II. 26.

Enclosure to Appendix II. 22
Sind Hindus Facing Annihilation[1]

Jodhpur, Sept. 29—Refugees from Sind have been pouring into Jodhpur for the past three weeks in very large numbers. According to the latest estimates at least 40,000 refugees from all over the province are lying stranded on and around the Hyderabad station.

Mr. Jethanand Raghumal, a member of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, who has just arrived from Sind, has described the condition of Hindus in Sind as revolting. If they are not evacuated soon, a majority of them may be faced with an unfortunate choice of death or Islam.

Men, women and children coming from Sind are being subjected to brutal indignities by the overzealous Pakistan officials who are vying with one another in stripping them of all their valuables. There have been many instances where the babies have been even deprived of their cradles and feeding bottles. The properties of Hindus are at the mercy of Muslims who are only waiting for an opportunity to help themselves with it.

[1]The *Hindustan Times*, 30 September 1947.

II. 23

Zahid Husain to S. Dutt

FOA, IU-4/12

NEW DELHI,
No. PC/130 *22 October 1947*

Sir,

I am directed by my Govt. to lodge a strong protest against the continued running of refugee trains from Delhi to West Punjab.[1]

2. In the beginning of this month, I was informed by Mr. H. M. Patel, Deputy Chairman of the Delhi Emergency Committee, that refugee trains would begin to be run from Delhi. I protested against this unilateral decision of the Govt. of India. I made it clear that the agreement reached between the two Dominions in regard to the exchange of population applied only to the East and West Punjab. I asked Mr. Patel to take note of my objection which he agreed to do. Since then a telegram[2] has been received from the Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed to the Prime Minister of India protesting against the provision of refugee trains. The trains, however, continue to run despite this protest and action has not been taken to obtain the agreement of the Govt. of Pakistan.

3. I take this opportunity of pointing out that the evacuation of Muslims by refugee trains is not restricted to the camps alone. Facilities are being provided in the city and Muslims are being persuaded to leave their homes even from those areas which have so far been intact. I have been informed on several occasions that the transport situation in Delhi is very acute and my request for help in this regard has not been acceded to on the ground that transport is strictly limited and is now very seriously overstrained. I have, however, myself seen large number of buses plying between the city and the Nizamuddin Railway Station bringing Muslims from the city. They come to Nizamuddin Railway Station from all parts of the city without any hindrance. There are several bodies at work in the city engaged on persuading the Muslims and bringing them to the Railway Station for boarding the trains. Obviously facilities have been provided to these bodies to do this work, for otherwise it would have been impossible for them either to tour in the *mohallas* or to provide transport. As a consequence of such direct encouragement to the Muslims of Delhi to leave their houses, which is in fact combined with threats and intimidation by Sikhs and other refugees from the West Punjab as also lower police

officials, there is a great scare in the Muslim *mohallas* and Muslims are trying in large numbers to leave the city. I am inundated with deputations from various categories of Delhi residents asking me for some help or other in finding them accommodation on the refugee trains. Yesterday I had a deputation representing electricians and other technicians saying that they have been promised help by an officer of the Chief Commissioner working in the Control Room and they would be able to get accommodation in the refugee train. They stated that their number was about 3,000.

4. The steps that are being taken to provide encouragement as well as facilities to the Muslims here to vacate the city in which they have lived for generations are contrary to the policy adumbrated by Govt. of India from time to time. Actually a movement had started among the inmates of the camps to return to their homes and if this movement had been encouraged and full assistance had been given to Muslims to return to their homes and to repair the houses that have been damaged and to assist them in finding occupations, the majority of refugees would have returned to the city which they had left and from where they are very reluctant to go. It appears to me that in consequence of the provision of refugee trains the efforts made to persuade the Muslims to stay in the city have been frustrated. Actually the number of trains that have so far been run must have already taken more people than were living in the camps. The evacuation has proceeded at the rate of about 16,000 per day starting on the 7th of October though on some days only one train was run. In the Fort Camp, people have been threatened with dire consequences in case they do not take advantage of the refugee trains to clear out of Delhi. They have been threatened with stoppage of ration and the removal of protective guards.

5. I am directed to lodge a strong protest against the method used for persuading as well as forcing the Muslims to leave Delhi. I request that the refugee trains should be stopped and the Muslims persuaded to return to their homes which I am sure they will be very happy to do if they are assured of protection for their lives, honour and property. The famous village of Nizamuddin which contains the sacred shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin, next in importance to Ajmer, has been very largely evacuated by Muslims owing to the provision of trains from Hazrat Nizamuddin Railway Station. It seems to me that quite a large number of Muslims can be persuaded to go and take residence in this village, provided they are assured of peaceful life. I have to express the hope that the Govt. of India will take suitable action in conformity with their declared policy of creating conditions which will enable the Muslims to live a peaceful life as loyal citizens of India in Delhi as well

as elsewhere in the Indian Dominion.[3]

I have, etc.,
ZAHID HUSAIN

[1]Appendix II. 19.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Also see II. 28.

II. 24

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, FOA, IU-4/5

No. 367/PRIMIN 195

NEW DELHI,
22 October 1947

Entirely agree with you that everything possible must be done to prevent clashes during *Dushehra* and *'Id* celeberations.[1] Special precautions are being taken.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]See Appendix II. 21, para 1.

II. 25

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

SECRET
Report No. 18

NEW DELHI,
22 October 1947

The Prime Minister's telegram protesting against the unilateral decision of India Govt. to run refugee trains from Delhi arrived here on the 18th.[1] These trains were started on the 7th/8th. I made a protest[2] immediately [when] I came to know of the intentions of the Govt. of India to run these trains. I also sent a telegram to Karachi informing the Foreign Office of the programme of India. I went to Karachi on the 8th and mentioned this matter to the Refugee Ministry as well as Foreign Ministry. I had at that time decided that the Govt. servants should not take advantage of these trains and should wait. When I returned on the 12th instant I found that India was running two trains a day clearing the refugees at the rate of 16,000 per day. As I saw no

means of stopping the trains and as I found the Govt. servants very restless I allowed them to go after making some arrangements with the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, under whose control the trains were running. The arrangements broke down completely and in fact the Chief Commissioner never had any arrangements to be able to honour his undertakings. On the arrival of the Prime Minister's telegram protesting against the running of these trains I expected that action would be taken to stop them, but this has not been done. At a meeting held to-day with the External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Ministry I protested against the running of these trains, but without any result. In actual fact, official pressure is being exercised to persuade people to leave their homes and go to the Nizamuddin Railway Station from which place the trains are started. There are large releases from the camps for these trains in addition to which fairly large number of people are sent from the city. The day before yesterday according to programme two trains were to run, but owing to shortage of military personnel for escort the second train was not run. The people who had come from the camps and the city were therefore left at the station. They had no food and only 3 taps of water and some protection was arranged at our instance. Yesterday with further releases from the camps and arrival of people from the city, the whole Railway Station became one mass of anxious and frightened looking men, women and children. Two trains were run yesterday and the entire crowd boarded the trains.

2. Last night the Pakistan Radio gave the news that two trains run from Delhi on the 17th and 18th were looted by their own escorts. The passengers were deprived of their cash, jewellery, watches etc. This news was published in the Urdu papers this morning and created a very serious situation. One of the consequences of this was that no train was run to-day and the people who had come from the camps and the city remained there not knowing where to go and what to do. My house was crowded with large number of people, some enquiring as to what they should do, others abusing us for what had happened and they all believed that the trains had been run under our authority and we were responsible for what had happened. There were some people who abused the leaders of Pakistan and the Pakistan State. They became hysterical and there was serious danger of disorder. We were able to save the situation with very great difficulty, but if such scenes occur again, I shall have to seek the assistance of police which will be most unfortunate and which I am most anxious to avoid. We could not satisfy them as we had received no official information

regarding the incidents reported by Pakistan Radio. We got into touch with the Chief Secretary, West Punjab Govt., but he pleaded ignorance, and said that according to the Magistrate who was present at the station when the train arrived, the news was correct, but he thought it lacked verification. I contacted Mr. Neogy early morning and asked him for confirmation. He sent an immediate telegram and in the evening I was informed that according to the Chief Secretary, West Punjab Govt., the report given by the Pakistan Radio was incorrect.

[*Rest of the para omitted*]

3. Yesterday Mr. Neogy told me that they have been thinking of schemes for maintaining the Muslim population of Delhi and their intention was to preserve the Muslim character of Muslim *mohallas*. This they propose to achieve by transferring the Hindus and Sikhs who had taken quarters in these *mohallas*. In other *mohallas* such as Karol Bagh and Sabzimandi, which have been evacuated by the Muslims, it is proposed to have separate sections for Muslims and Hindus so that each should be a compact area for itself. I told him that this sounded very well, but with the progress that was being made with evacuation and the encouragement that was being given to it in the city by intimidation and direct inducements even the Muslim *mohallas* would become shortly vacant. Mr. Neogy took note of my observation, but found himself unable to agree with me.

4. To-day the Humayun's Tomb Camp is reported to be almost vacant. There is just a small number of people there while the Fort Camp now has about 30,000 persons. Govt. expect that this would also be liquidated within the next 2 or 3 days. Obviously the object of India Govt. has been to remove from public gaze the ugly sites of Humayun's Tomb and Fort Camps as also to evacuate as large a portion of Muslim population of Delhi as possible in the course of that process. They have almost attained their object and I must admit that this is partly due to the lack of communication between me and the Foreign Office as also to the inability of the Foreign Office to act on the first intimation that I gave of the intention of the Govt. of India to run these trains.

5. It is perhaps realised by the Foreign Office and I need not emphasise that we have at present no contact with press. The few statements that we have given so far have not received any publicity. Recently some misunderstanding arose regarding our methods and actions in the minds of the Editors of Urdu papers also. I, therefore, called them to-day to tea and explained to them what we have been doing, our difficulties and our methods. After I had given the explana-

tion I asked them whether they had any questions to ask or criticism to make. They had none and were fully satisfied. I am not, however, myself satisfied with the way we are going on and with what we have achieved so far. It is time that we begin organising a publicity branch here, but a branch of this kind here would not serve its purpose fully until arrangements were made to feed it from the Centre. We must receive guiding notes from the various Ministries. The Branch here would have to keep an eye on the trend of criticism of Pakistan and the news published about our activities. Where any news has to be contradicted, we must be able to get information from the Centre quickly within 2 or 3 days. We should be able to supply material to the Press on various subjects mostly at the present moment relating to refugees and the action we are taking on our side to restore normal conditions. The need of framing a proper scheme for a publicity and press branch here is urgent.

6. With the damage that has been done to this house and its furniture during this crisis Mr. Ambedkar appears to have changed his mind and no longer wants it. It is therefore likely that I shall be permitted to retain its occupation indefinitely. I have now moved the Govt. of India for allotment of a suitable building for my office and the Commonwealth Relations Ministry has promised to do whatever it can. The question is one of protection and the Govt. of India feel that if they give an office at some distance from my house, the problem of protection would become very difficult. While on this subject I should very much like to know what diplomatic privileges I exercise in regard to the entertainment of armed guards and supply of uniforms and arms to them. Can I keep armed guards on my own strength or must they be borne on the strength of some police or army establishment? I have 2 gunmen belonging to the Delhi police establishment but they declared their intention to go to Pakistan and have therefore been relieved and discharged. The Superintendent of Police has sent me 2 Muslim policemen in replacement and they are now doing duties of gunmen. It is however necessary that we should have our own staff. The points that arise in my mind are: whether we can keep guards and supply arms to them, whether they can go out of the house and travel freely with me with their arms or with other officers of my office? Can I keep arms in my house without licences or whether all arms must be registered with the local authority and licences obtained for them!

7. I had a meeting with the External Affairs & Commonwealth Relations Ministry on the subject of evacuation of Pakistan Govt. servants from India. In this meeting, Secretaries, Refugee Ministry and Commonwealth Relations, and a Member of the Railway Board were

present. Throughout the discussion it appeared that they were prepared to agree to the requests made by us provided similar facilities were given to non-Muslims in the West Punjab. For instance when I asked for special trains for Govt. servants they said they would be prepared to provide them provided special trains were run for India Govt. servants from various points in West Punjab. I promised to make representation to my Govt. on this point. I am submitting a report on this, but it is quite obvious to me that very little will be achieved unless we are able to show that India Govt. servants are being given all possible facilities on our side such as transport from their houses to the aerodrome or railway stations, right to obtain rations from Railway grain-shops, facility of getting rations at controlled rates (which is rather surprising as every citizen is entitled to it) etc. I am sure Govt. will be prepared to assure the Govt. of India that they would be very willing to give all possible facilities to India Govt. staff.

[*Paras 8 to 11 omitted*]

12. A number of non-Muslim businessmen and industrialists who have come here from Lahore have approached me and asked me whether they could be assured of protection in Lahore so that they might be able to return and reopen their business. One of them has collected about a hundred or more businessmen who are ready to go to Lahore immediately and reopen their businesses. I think that nothing will give greater confidence to the non-Muslims than to see their businessmen reopening their shops in Lahore. We ought to encourage these businessmen and give them every assistance that is possible. They will have to be told what steps have been taken by West Punjab Govt. to restore normal and peaceful conditions and to suppress those elements which have been thriving on disorder and bloodshed. I am inclined to think that if businessmen in fair numbers return to Lahore and open their businesses, it will pave the way for the return of full confidence which we all desire. I am sending a telegram to the Prime Minister at Lahore on this subject.

[ZAHID HUSAIN]

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Appendix II. 23.

II. 26

Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, FOA, IU-4/5

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 376/PRIMIN 205

NEW DELHI,
23 October 1947

Your telegram No. 600 dated 18th.[1] I have more than once asked the press in India to observe moderation in comment and accuracy and objectivity in reporting communal disorders and I can say that they have cooperated though occasionally lapses have occurred. I have drawn your attention in my telegram Primin 160 dated October 15th[2] to the astonishing and sensational stories which are appearing day-to-day in Pakistan press. I regret to say that since then I have seen no improvement and Pakistan papers continue to put stories which are grossly exaggerated or untrue and undignified which is quite venomous. I have previously mentioned the *Zamindar, Ehsan* and *Nawa-i-Waqt, Insaf* of Karachi and *SH* (group omitted *Shahbaz?*), *Insaf* and *Aghaz* of Lahore.

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]Appendix II. 22.
[2]Not traceable.

II. 27

Mohamad Ali to Zahid Husain

Telegram, FOA, IU-4/5

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 658

KARACHI,
24 October 1947

Information from reliable sources has been received that certain elements in Delhi are planning a second attack on the Muslims in Delhi shortly after Mr. Gandhi leaves the place. According to our report, the day has already been chosen namely one week after Mr. Gandhi's departure. The Cabinet desires you to see Pandit Nehru and mention to him the information we have received so that he is warned in advance and can take precautionary measures. Would you kindly let me know Pandit Nehru's reactions.

[MOHAMAD ALI]

II. 28

S. Dutt to Zahid Husain

FOA, IU-4/12

NEW DELHI,
28 October 1947

Sir,

I am writing this in reply to your letter No. PC/130 dated the 22nd October 1947[1] regarding the running of refugee trains from Delhi to West Punjab.

2. On this subject there has been telegraphic correspondence between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, and I enclose for your information copies of the telegrams sent to the Pakistan Prime Minister on 18-10-47, 21-10-47 and 24-10-47.[2]

3. You complain that there are several bodies at work in the city "engaged in persuading Muslims and bringing them to the railway station for boarding the trains". I am to point out that this information is not correct. On the contrary, there have been many individuals and organisations which, at the instance of Government, have been engaged in persuading inmates of refugee camps to go back to the city, and as a result of the work done by them and of the steps taken by Government to restore peace in the city, large numbers of Muslims have left the camps and gone back into the city. Those who have gone to Pakistan are persons who are anxious to do so. Even now there are numbers of such Muslims in Delhi who are anxious to go to Pakistan because they consider they have excellent prospects there on account of the migration of non-Muslims from cities in West Punjab. We are at present being pressed by them for train facilities to enable them to go to Pakistan.

4. Your statement that "buses are coming to Nizamuddin Railway Station from all parts of the city" is wholly contrary to facts. No transport has been provided from any point in the city outside the refugee camps.

5. You allege that in Fort Camp people have been threatened with dire consequences in case they do not take advantage of the refugee trains to clear out of Delhi. The Camp Commandant and his Deputies, two of whom are Muslims and one a Christian, are indignant that such an accusation, which has no foundation in fact, should have been made.

6. The Delhi Emergency Committee did a fine job of work in look-

ing after such a large number of refugees and it is a poor reward for the efforts that they have made that accusations of this sort should be made.

I have, etc.,
S. DUTT
Secretary to the Govt. of India

[1]Appendix II. 23.
[2]Not traceable.

II. 29

Liaquat Ali Khan to Jawaharlal Nehru

Telegram, FOA, IU-4/5

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE
No. 366-G

KARACHI,
28 October 1947

Your telegram No. 376/Primin 205 dated October 23rd.[1]

I whole-heartedly agree that press both in India and Pakistan should be persuaded to observe accuracy and objectivity in reporting communal disorders and to use moderation in comment. Despite difficulties we have succeeded very considerably. Punjab Government went to the length of stopping publication of *Zamindar* for a fortnight. One of our difficulties is that tone of Indian press (group corrupt) is extremely *vitriolic*.[2] They continue to indulge not only in gross exaggeration but also in pure fabrication. For example *Tribune* recently gave in full page streamer headlines the imaginary story of one lakh fifty thousand non-Muslim refugees living on boiled leaves in *Lyallpur*[2] [now Faisalabad] and dying at the rate of fifty a day of hunger and thirst. What is worse, Indian papers are continuing their hymn of hate against State of Pakistan, and in bold headlines even make foul and mean attacks on his [*sic* for its] Governor-General, describing him as a *Nazi* and demanding his trial. It is difficult for me to mention all names as there are few Indian papers which do not write in this venomous vein but Delhi and East Punjab papers, including *Tej, Milap, Vir Bharat, Haqiqat, Rehnuma,* are worst offenders. Despite this, our press barring occasional lapses has acted with considerable restraint. We shall continue our efforts to improve tone of our press but I strongly feel that further improvement of any appreciable scale can only be possible if tone of Indian press improves.

[LIAQUAT ALI KHAN]

[1]Appendix II. 26.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

II. 30

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

CONFIDENTIAL
Report No. 19

NEW DELHI,
2 November 1947

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. During this period I received a telegram from the Ministry of the Interior asking for a report regarding the rumours of damage caused to the mausoleum of Hazrat Khawaja Bakhtiar Kaki. I have mentioned this in one or two of my previous reports which presumably have not been seen by the Ministry of the Interior. I have visited this mausoleum as well as that of Hazrat Rasoolnuma as also several others. As I have said before, with the exception of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, nearly all shrines have been desecrated and seriously damaged. The grave of Hazrat Khawaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki along with the buildings and other graves has been the worst sufferers. The damages are extensive and almost beyond repair. There is not a single Muslim left in Mehrauli. All houses in which the guardians of the tombs used to live are deserted and you cannot see a single Muslim in the town. In their mad frenzy and hatred the crowd not only damaged the *Taweez* of the grave of Khawaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, but smashed it into bits. In regard to the extent of damage, the shrine of Hazrat Rasoolnuma comes second. A very large number of mosques in the city and the suburbs have been damaged, desecrated and in several cases occupied for unlawful and sacrilegious purposes. The Sunni Majlis-i-Auqaf has recently sent a list of 32 mosques which have suffered this fate and has stated that information regarding other mosques is still being collected. We have taken several occasions to bring these cases of hooliganism and desecration to the notice of Govt., but have not so far been favoured with any replies or comments. I should personally like to know how the shrines of Hindus and Sikhs have fared in West Punjab. It will be useful to have some reliable information on this important subject. For purposes of publicity also, this material would be of very great value. In this connection, I should myself like to have some information regarding the destruction, if any, caused at Qadian. I have seen conflicting statements regarding Qadian and Mr. Neogy himself told me some time ago that when he visited

Qadian he did not find evidence of much damage. Accounts have however appeared in other quarters saying that considerable damage and destruction has been caused.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. I am informed that our Prime Minister has been told by India that no more refugee trains would be run from Delhi. I greatly doubt their sincerity. Trains are now being run from Meerut and Saharanpur. I also heard of a train from Ghaziabad, but later motor transport was provided from Ghaziabad to Meerut. When representations are made we are told that these trains are intended for refugees who came from the East Punjab and not for residents of the U.P. It is true that some refugees from East Punjab also got into these trains, but the majority of the people who travel are local residents of these areas. A state of panic now has been engendered in these areas by a sort of a subdued reign of terror of which very little news leaks out in the press. Searches are being carried out on a large scale and it is always the Muslims who are found to be in possession of arms, ammunitions, other weapons etc. Even the highest persons are not immune from insulting and oppressive treatment, which frequently extends to arrests and detention under the U.P. Public Safety Ordinance. This is producing a most disturbing effect on the morale of the U.P. Muslims who also wish to migrate to Pakistan. Had communications been open and had there been no danger of attacks *en route,* we would have witnessed unending stream of migrants from the U.P. towards Pakistan as also from other areas in India. Incidentally I might draw attention to the absurdity of the position of India in regard to the migration of their citizens. When it is a question of migration to Pakistan they say that all who wish to go should be permitted to go ostensibly because this would be in accordance with the democratic principle. In respect of Hyderabad, however, they have placed restrictions on Muslims going from the Indian Union into that State. Railway tickets are not issued and road transport is not permitted. This would presumably be justified by Govt. in the interest of Hyderabad and would again be in accordance with the principle of democracy.

5. The refugee camp in Humayun's Tomb was left without [*sic* for with] about 4,000 people when the Purana Qila Camp was closed on the 26th October. Some of these people have gone to U.P. but they have been replaced by refugees from the city and outside. When I visited the camp on 2.11.1947, I was approached by a number of refugees who almost mobbed me and asked for a special train for Pakistan. They said that the majority of the refugees there had come

from Gurgaon and some of them during the last few days. It is therefore certain that India will on some pretext or other run more special trains for refugees. There is a concentration of refugees at a village near Mehrauli and it is very probable that after the I.L.O. conference India will transfer these refugees to the Humayun's Tomb Camp.

6. We have been told by [Indian] Govt. that they would be only too happy to give us a train for Govt. servants whenever we want it. We have been postponing it for several reasons, the most important of which is the possibility of attacks *en route*. The refugee trains have passed safely on the whole, but there is danger that if a train goes with Govt. servants alone, it might be a special object of attention. I was also compelled to attach some importance to these dangers in view of the Jassar incident in West Punjab. We have however decided now to run a special train on Wednesday for about 6,000-7,000 persons. According to the identity cards issued, there must be about 10,000 or 12,000 or even more Govt. servants and their families in the city, who have to be evacuated from their houses before they board the train.

7. It will be recalled that when I was in Karachi, it was decided to establish a transfer organisation in Delhi. Orders have arrived and a press note also was published from Karachi, but the organisation is not yet in sight. In the meantime, I am receiving distress calls from all places and I am not in a position to give any help. Col. Noor Ahmed arrived yesterday to take up the post of Pakistan Transport Officer, Delhi, and is now being put into picture. Conditions in which our Govt. servants are living are becoming increasingly unpleasant and difficult if not agonising in the extreme and unfortunately we have not been able to do much for them. We really ought to have Liaison Officers in all important places to keep contacts with our officials, maintain their morale, act as a link between them and the local authorities and generally to help them in their difficulties. I am , however, conscious of the difficulties that would arise in finding suitable officers. The delay that has occurred in establishing an organisation here, even after taking a firm decision, is a clear proof that suitable officers will not be available speedily to act as Liaison Officers. There would also be difficulty in arranging transport and escort for these Liaison Officers. The present position is that without a proper organisation here, we are not even in a position to press the Govt. of India and their officers in regard to the various points which need attention. I have drawn the attention of Mr. Z. H. Khan, Secretary, Ministry for Communications, to the necessity of translating our decisions into action without further delay.

8. I have seen the report of Mr. Johnson, the Transport Officer, who

is at present working in Bombay and who was here for a few days in Delhi. The report he has given regarding Delhi is inaccurate in certain important respects, but as a whole it gives a good description of the happenings and the position here. I am pleased to learn from his report that India officers in Bombay are inclined to be helpful and cooperative. From all accounts that I have been given by impartial minded persons, Delhi officialdom carries the palm in respect of hatred for Pakistan and Muslims generally. People coming from Calcutta talk very despairingly of Delhi as compared with the state of affairs in Bengal. In Delhi indeed the measure of the loyalty of a person towards Congress and Indian Constitution is the measure of his hatred for Pakistan and Muslims generally. The more hatred you are able to show for Pakistan, the more credit you get for being a loyal Indian citizen.

9. While on this subject I should mention why I have considered it most dangerous that I should travel and visit cities in India. The Muslims of India are inclined to look up to the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India for support, guidance and advice. The Muslim University, Aligarh, expected a message from me because they said that they treat me as a sort of guardian of their interests in India. I felt very doubtful of the propriety of my taking interest openly in the affairs of the Muslim minority or to establish contacts with its leading members. The progress of events since then has proved that my policy was justified. The Hindu majority in India and the Sikhs are so full of hatred for us that with or without pretext they describe the Muslims as disloyal citizens of the Indian Union and then oppress them in all conceivable manner. Searches are carried out, people are persecuted on flimsy charges, they are tortured by the police, insulting restrictions are placed on their movements and they are told that in view of their disloyalty they cannot be tolerated in India at all. Visits of prominent persons of Delhi to my place are sometimes followed by unpleasant consequences. Such people are told that there is no place for them now in the Indian Union and they should clear out of Delhi and proceed to Pakistan as early as possible. It has been suggested to me several times that I should go to such places as Lucknow, Patna, Allahabad, etc., in order to meet Govt. servants stranded there to give them courage and to guide them as far as possible. I feel that my visits will produce most unpleasant results in most cases for distinguished Muslims. In case the Govt. consider the policy hitherto adopted by me to be incorrect, I should like to know. I have not written on this subject so far because of the difficulty of maintaining secrecy, but it is time that I get instructions on matters of this kind for my guidance.

[*Paras 10 to 16 omitted*]

17. I am afraid that panic is spreading to Aligarh and is affecting the University. Recently there have been widespread searches of a meticulous nature by cordoning off Muslim areas one by one with the help of police and troops.... I understand that Mr. Qamruddin, Lecturer, who has been arrested, had a talk with Mr. A. M. Khawaja, who had been to Delhi where he had interviews with Sardar Patel as well as with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. According to Mr. Qamruddin, Mr. Khawaja said that he had asked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whether any harm would come to Aligarh. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Govt. of U. P. are trying their best to ensure that the University comes to no harm on any account. Action has been taken to stop the influx of all refugees from the West Punjab into Aligarh. He thought, however, that the Hindus in the areas round about Aligarh are so determined against the University that at any time an attack might develop which the Govt. might find it impossible to meet. If this happens, the consequences can easily be visualised. This has been given to me on good authority, but even so I am not quite sure that I can believe it fully. I am writing to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and asking him to give us an assurance that adequate arrangements have been made at Aligarh to ensure that if any attacks are made on the University by the villagers round about Aligarh, they are met by sufficient protective forces and no damage is caused to the University personnel and property. The University is however in very serious danger as a result of the panic started by certain prominent people fleeing from Aligarh. If something is not done very soon, the University will disappear through sheer cowardice and panic. I have suggested to Dr. Zakir Hussain to take a deputation to Aligarh under the leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He has promised to explore the possibilities of this suggestion.

ZAHID HUSAIN

II. 31

Zahid Husain to M. Ikramullah

FOA, IU-4/12

CONFIDENTIAL
Report No. 20

NEW DELHI,
5 November 1947

In this Report I wish to deal with the situation in regard to the evacuation of Govt. servants from India.

2. When I was in Karachi between 8th and 12th October, it was decided to establish a transfer organisation with a Secretary to High Commissioner at the top. It was intended that the Secretary would have two Transfer Officers under him, one at Delhi and the other at Bombay. This organisation has since materialised to the extent that Col. Noor Khan has recently taken over charge as Transfer Officer, Delhi. Beyond this nothing appears to have so far happened.

3. With the passage of time and with the general conditions in the country showing rapid deterioration the transfer of our Govt. servants is being very seriously complicated as a result of the general desire of Muslims in this part of the country—a desire which is daily becoming more and more ardent and urgent—to move to Pakistan. People living at a distance from Delhi are perhaps led to think that the conditions here are peaceful and Muslims must therefore be able to live if not a normal life at least a sub-normal life. This is far from being true. Muslims are not able to engage in any occupation. They cannot move about in the city and outside with the result that their means have been dwindling down and they have been forced to sell their valuables, properties for a song. Their only hope now is that they will be able to go to Pakistan where they will be able to make a new start of their life. They are deluding themselves with a prospect which is difficult of realisation. The conditions are far from being peaceful or normal. Incidents continue to happen. Pressure is being constantly applied on the *Mohallas* of Muslims so that they are slowly but very certainly diminishing in size. People by some means or other find their way into the Humayun's Tomb Camp from where they hope to find seats some day in the refugee trains. This is indeed their last hope. The desire for move out of Delhi towards Pakistan is so deep that no amount of propaganda or persuasion will check or suppress it. There are several organisations now working to persuade the Muslims not to leave the city but they acknowledge that they have failed completely in their mission. If means of communications had been open, Delhi would have been completely emptied of Muslims by this time. If there are still any Muslims in Delhi, the Hindus and Sikhs are themselves to be thanked for it.

4. The transfer of Govt. servants is a problem which is now mixed with the flight of the Muslim citizens of Delhi towards Pakistan. When the refugee trains started on the 8th October, we protested against them, but later on when we found that our protests were unavailing, we asked for some facilities for the Govt. servants also who had till then not taken advantage of them. The Chief Commissioner who is responsible for the refugee movements from Delhi promised to make

all possible arrangements to give priorities to Govt. servants and to see that they alone get on to the platform and board the trains. When the time came, the flood of refugees was so formidable that the arrangements which the Chief Commissioner had made proved to be completely useless. In fact, he had made very unsatisfactory arrangements. With the rush that I saw at the railway station, no satisfactory arrangement could really have been made except with a large military force. The Govt. of India had no desire to make adequate arrangements. I might mention that I had been assured by the various officers of the Govt. of India long before these refugee trains were started that adequate arrangements would be made both at the camps and at the railway platforms to ensure that Govt. servants were given priority. I now doubt whether they had any real intention of doing so. This was the first serious difficulty we came across in ensuring that Govt. servants were transferred from Delhi as early as possible. Quite a large number of Govt. servants and their families did actually take advantage of the refugee trains, but there is still a very large number left in Delhi at least according to the identity cards issued by our officers.

5. In my opinion our arrangement for the issue of identity cards, which are the authorities granted by us to our servants for transfer from Delhi to Pakistan, has completely broken down. Despite the fact that quite a large number has already gone by refugee trains there are still about 15,000 men, women and children who are said to be waiting [for] transport. I cannot myself believe that all these people represent genuine Govt. servants and their genuine families. I am sure that the following irregularities have occurred:

i. In spite of the precautions that have been taken every Govt. servant included a large number of dependanfs in his list and it has not been possible for our staff to observe the instructions even to a reasonable extent.

ii. I am sure that a large number of people who are not Govt. servants have been able to get identity cards, either by impersonation or by one Govt. servant obtaining more than one identity card.

6. The desire for leaving Delhi is so urgent and irresistable that no precautions taken by us with the little staff that we have at our disposal would have been effective.

7. We have asked for two double-headed trains from the Govt. of India which they are unable to provide. They have promised to provide two ordinary trains for the present to be run on Saturday and Monday next, i.e. on the 8th and 10th November. The news that trains would be run has gone abroad and the whole city is filled with excite-

ment. I apprehend that Govt. servants and their families will have to struggle with private citizens for the limited accommodation in the trains. It may be assumed that not more than 50% of the total passengers in the train would be Govt. servants and their families holding identity cards. The identity cards being themselves of a very diluted character no more than 25% of the total passengers would really be genuine Govt. servants and the genuine families. The result thus would be that we would be evacuating a very large part of local Muslim population. We are thus making our own contribution towards completing the great tragedy of Delhi. I wonder if there is any alternative.

8. I have been seriously thinking whether this further disaster to the Muslims of Delhi can be prevented by any means. The Govt. of India, I am sure, will take full advantage of these trains for shoving in as many private citizens as possible so that for us the problem of getting Govt. servants away from Delhi should remain. I see no solution except to stop the trains altogether, but is the stoppage of the trains a solution at all?

I went to the Humayun's Tomb Camp two days ago. Nearly the whole population gathered together and cried for special trains to take them to Pakistan. When they approach their Commandant and his officers, they are told to refer to the Pakistan High Commissioner. Most of the inmates now say that they belong to East Punjab and not to Delhi. Their pressure on the Govt. of India and on me is growing and untoward incidents might happen at any time. My house is invariably besieged every day by the inmates of the camp and other outsiders from the city, all asking for facilities for passage to Pakistan. Ugly situations arise fairly frequently but I hate to ask for police assistance. They give one plea or another for leaving Delhi and going to Pakistan. They have been connected with the Muslim League activities in the past and are threatened to be the victim of Congress vendetta. They have been connected with the National Guards and are therefore being harassed by the Police and the Magistracy. They are good technicians and mechanics and have no occupation available to them in Delhi now and they feel that they could give valuable service to Pakistan. They are connected with the Govt. servants who have already moved to Pakistan and they must therefore move from Delhi for they have no male members to look after them. There are hundred and one reasons why a person should leave Delhi and most of them are good and sufficient. *Dawn* has not issued since disturbances and the Central Muslim League's Office is in the possession of Sikhs against which we have made repre-

sentation to the Govt. of India under the instructions of Govt. I do not think there would be any outcome of this representation. All educational institutions are closed, most of them having been looted. There is no prospect of their reopening. There is a proposal to use the Anglo-Arabic College building at the Ajmeri Gate as a hospital and there is no one claiming it on behalf of the Muslim community. It is certain that the building would be used for one or other purpose before long. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu building is in possession of non-Muslims though the Library is safe. The middle class which provides leadership and confidence for the rest of the population has almost disappeared. The common people cannot therefore stay for if they do, they can live only as *harijans* unless they agree to be converted. A large number of villages round about have been converted while others have been destroyed while still others have been evacuated. The Delhi Province will have no Muslims after a little while. Most of the shrines are deserted, some of the more important ones have been desecrated, damaged and violated. There is some Muslim population in Nizamuddin, but it is waiting for trains to run and for its chance to go.

[*Para 9 omitted*]

10. It is for the Govt. to decide what attitude we should adopt to avert the great disaster which is overtaking the Muslims of Delhi and U.P. With panic extending to new areas, the transfer operations that are proceeding would also become very seriously complicated. People would begin to move in large numbers to Bombay and be stranded there. I do not share the optimistic picture given by Mr. Johnson of the conditions in Bombay, though I cannot give a positive view since I have not been able to make any visit to that place. The evacuation of Govt. servants we are undertaking threatens to cause the evacuation of all Muslims from Delhi directly as a result of the inclusion of private citizens of Delhi in the list of families of Govt. servants and indirectly as a result of Muslim compact areas thinning out and becoming unsafe for the rest of the population. The position should be clearly appreciated so that later on when we assess the consequences of our own actions, there should be no regrets that we were not able to foresee them.

ZAHID HUSAIN

II. 32

Jawaharlal Nehru to Zahid Husain

FOA, IU-4/12

No. PM/170

NEW DELHI,
6 November 1947

Dear Mr. Zahid Husain,

I have your letter of the 5th November.[1] I am sorry I have been unable to see you during the past few days owing to my indisposition.

There are all manner of rumours floating about in Delhi and elsewhere. I do not think there is much truth in them, but, in any event, obviously we have to take every precaution. As a matter of fact, so far as I know, there is no question of Mahatma Gandhi leaving Delhi in the near future.[2]

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Also see Appendix II. 27.

II. 33

A. Sheikhzadeh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/168

AVENUE PAHLAWI, CHARRAH GUMROK,
TEHRAN,
20 November 1947

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General, Pakistan,
Karachi

Most honourable respected Sir,

I take the opportunity to enclose herewith a few copies of the special issue of the daily *Najat*, Tehran, of the 6th November 1947,[1] which have been distributed throughout Iran without any charge.

All the articles contained therein are about Pakistan and have been written by the undersigned to give some idea of the recent bloodshed and butchering in East Punjab and Kashmir by the Sikhs and Hindus, to our Irani brothers to win their sympathies as they are much interested in their sister state of Islam affairs.

On going through this, your honourable Sir will find that every care has been given to write the details of the exact happenings and therefore this issue has proved a very good propaganda against the Sikhs and Hindus and specially the Government of India. The immediate effect had been that the local merchants are making arrangements to boycott the Hindu and Sikh merchants in Tehran who are having leading businesses, specially in motor spare parts.

I expect to write some more articles in the near future and will carry on keeping your honourable Sir in touch so that you should be in know of the propaganda which the local Pakistanians [*sic*] are making here.

The arrangements have been made for *Fatehkhawani* to be held at the Jam'ia Mosque of Tehran on 21st November 47 at 10 a.m. All the high Iran Government officials, the Diplomatic Representatives of all Islamic States at Tehran and citizens of Tehran have been invited for attend[ing] the same. The card distributed in this connection is attached herewith[2] for your information and record.

Please acknowledge receipt.[3]

With due respects,

Yours very affectionately,
A. SHEIKHZADEH
Dr.

[1&2]Not traceable.

[3]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 24 December 1947. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/167. Not printed.

APPENDIX III

CORRESPONDENCE ON SUHRAWARDY'S PEACE INITIATIVE

III. 1

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847[1]

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA, [DAVIS ROAD,]
LAHORE,
21 September 1947

Respected Bapuji,

I am leaving for Karachi tomorrow with Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib.

I am glad to find that they, particularly Sir Ghulam Mohammed, agree with your views. I am hopeful of success.

I shall write later a full report of my first impressions. For the time being I would request that action be taken *at once*[2] on the lines indicated below. I have adequate reasons for my recommendations as I may detail later.

1. The Pakistan Special should not travel at night, particularly through Patiala territory. It was attacked again yesterday at about 3 a.m. and many persons killed. It was sent out from Delhi and has arrived here with corpses. The General[3] has insisted *time and again* that the Special should *not* be sent at night, and yet this was done *and he was not even informed.*

2. There were 60 guards on the train—the guards are practically useless. The train is brought to a halt by threatening the driver, or by derailment, the marauders rush in, the refugees rush out, there is a mix up; the guards usually in a compartment at the end of a train cannot fire, and the killers do their work. The following is suggested as an *immediate remedy,* but G.H.Q. or Sardar Baldev Singh must be moved—or better still Panditji and the Supreme Commander. The guards, instead of being placed in a compartment, should be placed on flats, one section in the front and the other section in the rear of the train. These flats should be provided with platform swivels—each platform swivelling out in such a manner that one platform covers one side of the train, and the other the other side of the train. This is a simple procedure, and has been used in war before—and I am sure that it will not be difficult to fix up such flats. If Major General

Thimayya, who, I believe, is in charge of the Indian Union troops operating in East Punjab, is asked to do the job I am sure he can do it.

3. There are not sufficient troops to guard the Muslim pockets in East Punjab (Ambala Division). Those that are available are utilised to guard the camps, and some even on convoy duty. More troops, *not Sikhs*, are necessary.

4. Muslims in East Punjab must not be disarmed. Where Government cannot protect them, they should be left with something to protect themselves. Indeed fairness and justice require that they should be given arms. They are too few to attack and they should be allowed to defend themselves. Disarming of Muslims by Government is always a prelude to an attack on them by the marauders. The Sikhs and Hindus in West Punjab are *not* being disarmed. Sikhs crossing over from West Punjab have been found fully provided with spears, swords and fire-arms, Sten-guns and Bren-guns.

The general view is that nobody can stop the trek.

Yours affectionately,
[H.S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]US National Archives documents, included in this Appendix, are mostly from a file given by Suhrawardy to Charles Thompson. See Appendix III. 23.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3]Probably a reference to the General Officer Commanding, Lahore Area.

III. 2

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIS ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 September 1947

Respected Mahatmaji,

Here is another tale of woe.

It is now clear that the Sikh States have been as bad, if not worse, than East Punjab. At the same time the Army of the Indian Union may not enter State territory except in the pursuit of criminals caught in the act. Hence they can do what they like without fear or let or hindrance. And they have done what they could.

In Patiala there were 4.5 lakh Muslims—I have met here some gentlemen from there—chiefly the late Home & Development Minister, a very loyal subject of His Highness. They report that all the

Muslims in the city have been killed and their houses burnt down (except three at the time of the news); and that conditions in the *mofussil* are equally bad. The Military inform me that the Sikhs from the Patiala State issue regularly and kill the Muslims in the pockets. The chances are that the Muslims in Patiala State have been decimated almost to a man or a child; the women have been taken up. News has come here of two pockets: (1) Bahadurgarh Fort, where the State itself reports that it has brought in 18,000 out of 24,000 in the vicinity, and (2) Bussi Pathana near Sirhind Junction Station with about 30,000. These Muslim gentlemen state that the Peace Mission may go there first, as who is there who wants to leave his hearth and home and the Sikhs be induced to live with the Muslims here. Alas! what hope there is of taming the tiger which is surfeiting itself with flesh, throbbing human blood. But could nothing be done (a) to stop the slaughter (b) to ascertain what is taking place there and in other States, e.g. Faridkot, Nabha, Kapurthala. These States are now within the Indian Union—and has this Union no responsibility for their proper conduct?

Yours respectfully,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

PS. There seems to be no chance of evacuating the pockets in the Hates [*sic*] and in Ambala Division early. It would be some consolation to know that these unfortunate remnants are being safely guarded until they are evacuated.

III. 3

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
21 September 1947

I have so much to write to you that in the absence of a stenographer my head is reeling, and I am bound to forget.

Both (Sir) Ghulam Mohammed and Liaquat Ali Khan agree with my draft. It now remains to promote a conference (after I have seen the Quaid-i-Azam) with him and Mountbatten, Nehru and Liaquat Ali, Baldev Singh, Tara Singh and Kartar Singh, Patel and yourself (Ghulam Mohammed thinks I should be there too) to draft the terms of contrition and future conduct. But will it help? I am glad to find that the two

agree with the "contrition", no interchange of population (except for the Punjab where it has taken place, and no power on earth can stop it—I shall write later about it, as I think Hindus and Muslims can get together, the Sikhs appear to be impossible), and a determined effort to get back the refugees (except for the Punjab Sikhs).

But what I wanted to write about was a dastardly attack on a Pakistan Special from Delhi at 7 p. m. on the 20th. What can we do to stop this? Can't you make a fervent appeal for this, as this is bound to have repercussions. I have seen the Military authorities of the West and the East, and you have to believe their version.

1. There are no attacks on West Punjab refugees bound for East Punjab. Attacks such as they were, ceased long ago, and were strongly dealt with, and there are no Punjab Muslim States, like the Sikh States.

2. The refugees are systematically attacked by Sikh *jathas* in East Punjab.

3. As regards sporadic attacks, those in West Punjab are scarce, in a minor key and by unorganised mobs, they are also lessening; in the East Punjab the attacks on pockets are well-organised by Sikh *jathas* who are armed with guns, Sten and Bren.

Sir Ghulam Mohammed who is really very sober and objective told me, with a seriousness and a belief which carries conviction, that his impressions not only from military reports, but also from his estimate of destruction as observable from the air, is that the proportion of loss of life is 10 Muslims to one non-Muslim. Is this not enough revenge? How long is the decimation to continue? The *jathas* mostly issue out of Patiala State, and yet the Indian Union can do nothing to control Patiala.

The details regarding the refugee trains and Pakistan Specials are as follows:

Refugee trains that are sent from either side under control of the mixed guards are seldom attacked. There seems to be some kind of tacit reciprocity, but trains sent out by the East Punjab Government without arrangements with the Movement Control and without mixed guards have been attacked and also Pakistan Specials have been attacked. Incidents of refugee trains sent without the knowledge of the Movement Control and without intimation to the West Punjab Government are: (1) from Sirhind in Patiala State about five days ago, (2) a train from Delhi with Meos and (3) a train from Kapurthala. The answer, therefore, is that no refugee trains should be sent out by the East Punjab Government or the Indian Union or the States without the knowledge of the Movement Control, without mixed armed guards

and without intimation to the West Punjab Government.

Now we come to Pakistan Specials. Four have been sent out from Delhi and the fate is the following: on the 20th (I have referred to this in one of my previous letters)[1] the train was attacked at about 3 a.m. between Sirhind and Ludhiana in the area passing through Patiala State. This train was attacked in three places. The casualties so far as we are informed are 9 corpses, which were taken out in Jullundur, 8 dead were taken out in Lahore and about 24 to 30 wounded. The train arrived in Lahore at 10 p.m. As regards the second train, which was attacked at 7 p.m. on the 20th of September, it appears that it was held up at Dhilwan in Kapurthala State, when it crossed the River Beas and arrived at Beas Station on the other side. It is presumed that the Station Staff informed the local people as the train was met by an armed *jatha* of Sikhs. It is not known what action the armed guard took as the armed guards were detained at Attari near the West Punjab border, and we have not yet been able to get information regarding the military action they took. The casualties recovered at Harbanspura Station were: dead 30 men, 29 women, 62 children—all under the age of 8 and mostly of the age of 2, 3 and 4, who were found cut up, injured 106 of all categories. There was a Military Special behind it, which was not allowed to pass Dhilwan Station while the murder was taking place at Beas Station at a distance of 1.5 miles. There was also another Troops Special behind it and an officer of this Special informed that he saw as many as 250 bodies lying on both sides of the track. This Special brought in 45 dead and 121 injured.

Now what is going to be the result of this. The Muslims in Harbanspura are so much agitated that heaven knows what will happen. Military and Police have been sent there. There is a Hindu refugee train bound for East Punjab and one can only hope that this will be allowed to pass in safely. The Pakistan Special contained officers of the Pakistan Government with their families and children being evacuated from Delhi as well as some refugees. These attacks on refugee trains is the last word in cowardice and dastardliness. The 3rd Special had Muslim armed guards and was not attacked.

With regard to the 4th Special, the report is that it was at Beas Station at 3 p.m. Its fate is not yet known.

Yours respectfully,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Appendix III. 1.

III. 4

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
21 September 1947

Respected Mahatmaji,

I have been trying to arrive at some kind of connected ideas on what is taking place in the Punjab. I can obviously give you the version that I have heard here in Lahore.

About the 2nd of March 1947 Malik Khizar Hayat Khan tendered resignation. The Sikhs thought it necessary to create an agitation here so as to prevent the formation of a Muslim League Ministry. Intercepted telephone conversations proved that they were making preparations for a first class riot and were determined to act in such a manner that some Sikhs and Hindus should be killed. On the night of the 3rd and 4th, there were huge public meetings of Hindus and Sikhs in which inflammatory speeches were made and which were attended by Tara Singh and all the Hindu and Sikh Ministers and by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava,[1] who made the most inflammatory speech of all. On the 4th there was a clash between the procession of Sikhs and Hindus, which was headed by these Ministers, and the Police. The Police fired and then these Ministers went and resigned from the Care-taker Government. After that, clashes took place on the 5th, 6th and 7th. News travelled and the incidents which we all know took place in Rawalpindi, a place in Jhelum District and Campbellpore (now Attock). Things thereafter quietened down but the Sikhs continued to arm themselves and the Sikh States, Patiala, Kapurthala, Faridkot and Nabha helped them. There were continued clashes in Amritsar and some minor clashes in Lahore and then we come to the 8th of August, when the Sikhs attacked the Muslims in Amritsar and one could see that organised attacks were taking place. On the 9th of August the entire Muslim Police were disarmed in Amritsar and five Muslim Police Officers were shot dead in the Police Lines by the order of the Amritsar Superintendent of Police. This was against the decision of the Partition Committee. No option had been given to the Police to opt out from one side or the other, but they were given liberty to apply to be transferred and their applications to be subsequently considered. It was understood that for at least six months they would stay where

they were on both sides: The Inspector General of Police West Punjab and the Inspector General of Police [East] Punjab went to Amritsar and had the arms restored to the Muslim Police, but no sooner had they left than they were disarmed again. These arms were distributed to the I.N.A. people. It is strongly suspected here that the East Punjab Government or its Hindu and Sikh Ministers or the authorities in action were deliberately carrying out a plan for decimating the Muslims and the plan was as follows: as a first step the Muslim Police were disarmed. Even licensed arms were taken away from the Muslim citizens. Then the Muslim Police was gathered in the Lines and ordered to move out to West Punjab. Then the curfew was put on and nobody was allowed to move out. Then Muslims' houses were set on fire by the Sikh and Hindu *jathas*. It is definitely asserted that the arson was done by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. Then when the Muslims came out of their burning houses, they were shot down by the Police and the Military. This is what happened in Amritsar and in practically all the towns one after the other and also in the rural areas.

At a conference in Ambala, where Panditji and the others were present, the matter of the disarming of the Amritsar Police was definitely brought to the fore and the answer given was that they had been disarmed because the authorities had been reliably informed that the Muslim Police intended to desert with their arms. Obviously they had no evidence for it seems that the information was similar to what was recently asserted by Panditji at the Governor-Generals' Conference three days back, namely that 50,000 Pathans had been gathered on the East Punjab frontier. This procedure of disarming the Police was adopted in fact in all the towns such as Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Ferozepore, Jullundur, etc. and the villages. Can it be asserted that the Muslim Police wanted to run away from each of these places in rotation as the attacks took place. This is now being done in the Ambala Division and the Muslims rightly feel that the same procedure will be repeated there as well. Now I am informed that although massacre of Muslims has taken place to some extent in the Ambala Division, still they are staying there and there is a chance of their remaining safe if they are not disarmed and if the Muslim Police there are not disarmed. If they are disarmed and massacred then the exodus will start from there as well and it should be our business to see that there is no exodus from that area. I think that this exodus can be avoided in as much as that the Sikhs there number only 5 percent. If the Muslims are not disarmed, if the arms which they have had taken away from them are restored to them and if the Muslim Police are not disarmed; surely I am right in my view that arms should not be taken away from those

who are being oppressed. There is no case whatsoever of Muslims of the Ambala Division being on the warpath or having attacked non-Muslims. So what justification would there be for taking away arms from them. At the last conference Liaquat Ali Khan asked Sardar Patel if he would guarantee the security of Muslims in the pockets in Ambala Division. Sardar Patel said he could not do so. That being the case, I think it is extremely unfair that the Muslim citizens and Muslim Police should be disarmed in that area.

It may surprise you to know that in Rawalpindi, Hindus and Sikhs are moving about comfortably and they are as many as 25 to 30 thousand in the district. In Lahore itself, I found that there has been arson within the city, but where the authorities have been able to take precautions they have done so and in the principal streets I found the Hindus' shops all under Police seals and absolutely safe. This is not so in Amritsar, where all Muslims' shops are alleged to have been looted and burnt. I have been trying to assess the possibilities of refugees returning and I can specially speak of the Muslims' mind at this stage. It appears that most of the non-Muslim agriculturists in West Punjab were Sikhs; the Hindus were generally traders and professional men. The Muslims feel that they would be able to get back and to live on terms of good fellowship with them, but in view of the terrible atrocities committed by the Sikhs in the East Punjab, which have found a minor echo in the West Punjab, there is very little chance of Sikhs and Muslims living happily together on this side. The West Punjab authorities declare that the attacks on Sikhs here have not been on any scale comparable to the attacks on Muslims in the East Punjab and they prove it by the fact that the Sikhs are marching out of place fully equipped where they have not been attacked showing that they are deliberately leaving the West Punjab with all their belongings and armed to the teeth. One of their convoys was searched at the frontier and all kinds of guns were recovered from them. In Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] there have been no incidents worth the name, excepting in Jaranwala Tehsil. The Sikhs in Lyallpur and Montgomery [now Sahiwal] were sitting comfortably when Giani Kartar Singh went there and asked them to leave. Their orderly formation and evacuation is in direct contrast to the miserable Muslims coming from East Punjab with their convoys laden with pitiful belongings. I was horrified also to learn that children have arrived in these convoys with their hands chopped off by the Sikhs and women not merely practically but absolutely naked. The Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, a man by the name of Sunder Singh Midha, a Hindu, who was formerly a Deputy Commissioner in West Punjab and opted out for East Punjab has

stated before responsible authorities that he has no power in Jullundur and the whole place is run by a committee of Sikhs. I fear that so far as Jullundur is concerned, no Muslims can possibly stay there, but as far as Ambala is concerned there are some districts such as Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and Ambala where Muslims have not yet evacuated and where they can stay if they are not disarmed and better still if the pockets are guarded. As regards Gurgaon, it appears that 2.5 lakhs of Meos were living in the States of Alwar and Bahratpur and in the district of Gurgaon. The States declared that they are prepared to receive back the Meos, but the Meos feel that the Army and the Police went against them at the instance of the Rulers and they can hardly now trust the guarantee of the Rulers. The feeling exists, whether justified or unjustified, could not something be done to make the Rulers realise that if they do not carry out their obligations, the Indian Government will look on their conduct with disfavour, by which I mean that rulers might be deposed as used to be done in the days of the Crown in India. In any event it is felt that Meo refugees ought not to be sent to Pakistan and they should be kept there until the problem of their return to the States and Gurgaon District is solved.

While on the question of States, may I give my own views regarding the constitutional position? It appears that the States' officials and the Police of the four Sikh States that I have referred to above are deliberately helping the Sikh *jathas*. Some of us happen to know His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and His Highness the Raja of Faridkot and I myself do not believe that their Highnesses countenance this. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have sufficient control over their own officials, but surely they ought not to take up the position that the troops of the Government of India should not be allowed to enter their territory. Since they themselves cannot allow observers or representatives of the Government of India and in view of the oppression on the Muslims, representatives and observers of the Government of Pakistan to help, assist, advise or observe [*sic*]. If these States were independent and Muslims or Pakistanis were murdered in their areas, it would be a cause for negotiation, demarches or war, but as they are under the Indian Union, the Pakistan Government can do nothing; and if the Indian Union declares that it also will do nothing but only exert moral pressure, the position becomes hopeless.

Hon'ble Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Minister for Refugees, [Punjab,] saw the train (Pakistan Special No. 2) with the dead bodies of men, women and children. His description was too pathetic for words. The Muslims who met the train were weeping hysterically when they saw the dead bodies of the little children. I dread the counter-action. Mamdot has

done whatever he could to save the Hindu refugees but at some time or other they will have to pass through Pakistan territory and then the counter and counter-counter reaction and so on.

Further information regarding the trains is as follows:

The first train was attacked at 3 a.m. on the 20th, second train about 7 p.m. at Beas, previously on that day it had also been attacked at Sirhind in Patiala State. The third train had Muslim guards and it came through entirely safe. This shows the liaison between the railway staff and the killers. The fourth train is coming through and the latest report is that five dead bodies were taken out of it at Attari.

I have had a talk with the Ministers here regarding Ambala Division. They say it is wrong to consider that nothing would take place in the Ambala Division. Massacres are going on there. This was confirmed by the Military. Pakistan has not been able to send any Military there to guard the camps and Sardar Patel has refused to guard the pockets, but is disarming Muslims at the same time. Massacres are taking place and refugees have begun to arrive. Hence Ambala Division has also deteriorated and is deteriorating. There is no chance whatever of removing refugees by convoys within the next month and a half as Jullundur has got to be evacuated first. Hence it is anticipated that by that time three to four lakhs of people will probably be killed. Unfortunately, there is no Military report, which I believe is called "Sitrep" from the Ambala Division. This should be started. If Patiala was independent, the Pakistan Government could have made some reciprocal agreement with it, but it not being independent it has to depend on the Indian Union Government and when the Indian Union Government said it can only bring moral pressure over Patiala and other Sikh States what hope is there of getting anything done. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru guaranteed safe passage of the Pakistan Specials with refugee officers from Delhi but look at the result. Almost all the attacks are from the Patiala State. A deputation of Muslims waited on H.H. the Maharaja the day before he left for Delhi. He told them that everything would be all right and they would be safe but the very next day they were put to fire and sword and yet it is a case of moral pressure.

I do not know what steps are being taken to evacuate refugees from the Patiala State and the other States. Nobody seems to know and yet if these refugees are kept there they are bound to be murdered as the attacks of the Sikh *jathas* appear all to come from the Patiala State. I wonder if you could help in a particular case. You may remember that when we were in Calcutta news was brought to us that one Malik Ghulam Hussain who was a Congressman but who was known to us

as one of the finest social service workers within our knowledge, a clean, honest, God-fearing man was reported to have been killed near Ludhiana. I met his sons today and they informed me that he is lying perilously wounded in the house of one Sh. Ghulam Kabir Vakil, actually on the Grand Trunk Road near Rajpura Station in Patiala State. There are also a number of Muslims there who have been given shelter. Their only chance is if they can be evacuated early. Could not Panditji help in this as a special case but then of course there are many special cases and I have already given to you two other places where refugees have collected together in Patiala State.

It seems that the contagion has spread and Muslims have been attacked in Dehra Dun. I liked Pandit Pant's statement.[2] One can only hope that he will keep up the morale of his officers.

I met some Muslim ladies here and they think that as many as 25,000 to 30,000 Muslim women and girls have been abducted by the Sikhs. They say, has not the time come for them to get out and search for girls in the presence of the Pakistan and Hindustan troops. They are prepared to take the risk of being murdered in this beneficent task.

Oh Yes! I have forgotten to tell you the method of attack adopted by the Sikhs. They surround a Muslim village on three sides and then raise alarm, fire shots and start burning houses. They surround them on three sides and leave one side open and when Muslims and their families and children run out they are met by gunners in front and by a special group of young men who separate the women. These women and girls are abducted and taken away and the men shot dead. There are undoubtedly some Hindu and Sikh women with Muslims although not anything on a comparable scale. On very close cross-examination regarding the estimate the most that I could get was that the maximum number was about 25,000 and these ladies are prepared to make every effort to search out the women and return them to Sikhs if they in their turn will return the Muslim women.

You will see from my appreciation that East Punjab is still in flames; that refugees, Pakistan Specials as well as convoys are still being attacked as well as villages and pockets, particularly in the Ambala Division. West Punjab is really quiet and the attacks that are taking place are stray cases. Instances have taken place in Qila Sheikhupura but not as stated in the papers. The day that I left I found under the title "S.O.S. from the Indian Union" in the *Hindustan Standard* details of incidents alleged to have taken place in Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang and Sheikhupura. I put it to the Ministers here and they said that the incidents as reported were just packs of falsehood. Incidents have taken place which are condemnable but not on the scale or in the

manner reported. I asked them why did they not deny such stories and they informed me that there is no means of communication and that they did not even get the daily mail, news and papers. There is also one other factor which keeps the Sikhs and Hindus and their concentrations in comparative safety. The Pakistan Army is manned by European officers and they look to it pretty well that the army behaves itself. This is not the case with the Hindustan Army where most of the personnel are Sikhs themselves and the officers are Sikhs. Hence when the killing has practically stopped in West Punjab, it is still going on in East Punjab. It is not a case of black-out in the West Punjab of incidents but it is really a fact that these incidents are not taking place there, although God knows what might happen after the attack on the second Pakistan Special. Further, it is equally a fact that Sikhs have been attempting to arm themselves from March and are being helped by the Sikh States, Army and the Police. The Muslims are unprepared and the result is bound to be, as I have stated.

I tackled Liaquat Ali Sahib regarding Bahawalpur. He says that the Bahawalpur State has not yet acceded to Pakistan and that the Muslim refugees particularly the Meos have been halted outside Bahawalpur State and are not being allowed to enter it. On hearing of attacks on Hindus in Bahawalpur State he has brought as much pressure as he could possibly bring to bear on the State with the result that the town is safe for the Hindus and the conditions in the *mofussil* are definitely getting better.

There have been some Frontier cases but they have been dealt with by the Army in the Frontier with an iron hand. This I have from the best authority.

I have seen the statement of Master Tara Singh in today's *Statesman*. It bears out my view that the Sikh will try his level best to exploit the Hindu and will use him as a lever all along either in fight or in peace. It is not that the Muslim desires to divide the Sikh and Hindu but it is clear that his own sentiments towards the Sikhs widely differ from his sentiments towards the Hindus. I find that Tara Singh has given an estimate of the casualties which will tend to drive the Sikhs to further frenzy and lead to further murders in the name of retaliation. He says that the casualties in the West Punjab "are well over one lakh which might have risen to two lakhs by now" and in East Punjab "about a lakh" which is absolutely against the true facts of the case, and then this wretched man goes on to say that the East Punjab and Central Government are devoting more attention to the safe evacuation of the

Muslims, although these unfortunate people are being constantly attacked by the Sikh *jathas*.

Yours sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Premier, East Punjab.
[2]Not traceable.

III. 5

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.000/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL [LAHORE, *21 September 1947*]

I am supplementing my last note with thoughts that have afflicted me the whole night.

1. The Muslims are alarmed at what they consider the unjustified withdrawal of the Sikhs from Lyallpur at this stage when things were brought under control and there was a likelihood of settling down. This has been done most wantonly by Kartar Singh. There is a Deputy Commissioner there Mr. Hameed, who has dealt with the Muslims so severely, and has looked after the Sikhs so well, that he was known as Sikh-*parwar* and still this action. When Sampuran Singh, the Dy. High Commissioner, was asked when the Sikhs will stop killing, he said that this depends on Kartar Singh. I have this on the highest authority here, and have taken his permission to quote this. It is a pity that the Government of India cannot take strong action against the Sikhs.

2. The Muslims are further alarmed because they are being disarmed in the Ambala Division, as they were disarmed in the Jullundur and Lahore Divisions before the massacres. They think that this is a prelude to similar incidents, and as a matter of fact the attacks are increasing progressively there, but the news is blacked out. They are just waiting to be massacred, as they are neither being guarded, nor are their arms being returned to them (reason tells us that they should be given arms where Government fails to protect them), nor are they being evacuated, and there does not appear to be any near possibility of organising a large scale exodus. May God have mercy on their souls, and the soul of the Government that is condemning them to slaughter.

3. Please try and induce Jawaharlal to accept the UNO observers. Apart from the arguments I have already placed before you, not the least being that this will be such a sure guarantee of good behaviour that the war will cease as soon as it is announced, and everyone will be on his best behaviour, the conduct of the Sikh States can only be curbed by such a process. The Government of India have declared its helplessness to intervene, the States consider it an act of war if the soldiers of the Indian Union treaded on its [*sic*] territory—I am even told that they arrest Indian Union soldiers—they will not allow observers or liaison officers and no restraint of any kind, and the carnage will only cease with the total extinction or elimination of Muslims within their territory. The international observers are the only answer.

4. The more I think of Tara Singh's statement[1] the more poisonous I find it. His most unfair assessment of casualties is bound to incite the Sikhs to further deeds of valour against defenceless and disarmed Muslims. Can nothing be done to curb him and bring him to his senses? It would be a different story if the Indian army had a few more Punjabi Muslims and they could guard the camps and pockets and trains—not a word do I find in his statement of peace or stoppage of slaughter.

5. After Tara Singh's statement I doubt if you could even bring them round to subscribing to a joint statement of contrition and peace.

6. I fear that Punjab has to be wiped out from any scheme of return or re-settlement. There is no hope of Muslims ever trusting Sikhs or vice versa. The interchange of population has taken place and is taking place in an increased tempo, and those in pockets are only anxious to get out. I wonder to what extent the views of Mr. Fazle Haq, ex-Home and Development Minister of Patiala State, that Muslims are only too anxious to go back to their ancestral homes, is entertained by the vast majority.

7. I have been greatly worried about the women. I have had a further talk on the subject, trying to get to the bottom of it. It seems that the Sikhs started the rape and abduction of women as they attacked town after town (after disarming the Muslims and the Muslim police) and village after village. The Muslims therefore feel that the only hope of getting back their women is to keep some as hostages here. The Muslims have been warned not to molest them in any way; they are being well looked after and treated with honour. There is no question of conversion or forcible marriage or interchange of families as was alleged for the border areas. This is some consolation. I do hope that when the killings cease, some machinery will be set up by which the exchange will be effected peacefully, irrespective of numbers.

8. The names of the three officers who fired against marauders in self-defence and whose guns have been taken away and whose womenfolk kidnapped are Moh[amma]d. Anwar, a sub-judge in Hissar, Moh[amma]d Ashraf and Moulvi Jalaluddin Qureshi Vakeel.

9. I was glad to find that the Muslim leaders here all want peace and are anxious to do anything to win it. Feroz Khan Noon says that he is prepared to serve in accordance with your instructions.

10. We must see that the Punjab poison does not spread. It seems to have gone up to Dehra Dun. What can we do about it? Must there not be a central headquarters under your guidance from which missions of peace can be organised for the whole of India? Bengal has offered to send personnel if wanted.

11. The news from C.P. is alarming. The Muslims are being disarmed. Rawoof Shah and a deputation waited on the authorities. The authorities put forward the fantastic excuse that 96% Hindus are alarmed that the 4% may attack them. Further excuse is trouble in Hyderabad.

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]The *Statesman,* 21 September 1947.

III. 6

H. S. Suhrawardy to Louis Mountbatten

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA,
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE,
21 September 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Since my arrival here in Lahore I have been looking around and tried to gather as much information as possible and assess conditions. I have written some letters[1] to Gandhiji, copies of some of which I am sending to you also for your perusal. I must state that the Government here are really trying to do their best and the Muslims have not got out of hand and the military are keeping them in check. Unfortunately, this is not so in the East Punjab and particularly in the Ambala Division. The evacuation from Jullundur is in the hands of Maj.-Gen. Thimayya who is doing his best but who is handicapped for want of troops. If there are any surplus troops at hand may I request that they

be sent to the Ambala Division. Actually the Hindu refugees here are not being attacked and are fairly safe. Comparing the needs of humanity your troops are needed more in the Ambala Division than here.

I would like to emphasise that something should be done regarding the Patiala State. All the attacks are taking place between Sirhind and Ludhiana within the territories of that State and is it at all proper that the Government of the Indian Union should declare itself helpless and its inability to guard the communications (which is within the province of the Indian Union) or to exert pressure on the State on the ground of "foreign policy" as it brings Indian Union into conflict with the Pakistan Government.

I now see that the charge that incidents in West Punjab are blacked out and those in East Punjab are published is without foundation. You cannot point out a single place in the West Punjab where conditions are similar to the conditions in the Ambala Division.

Also the Sikhs and Hindus here are not being deprived of licensed and even unlicensed weapons as is being done in the Indian Union before being attacked by the Sikhs helped by the Police and the Military. I really absolutely fail to understand the justice of this disarming of a community that is being attacked.

A case has been brought to my notice when Muslim Officers returning by train were attacked but they returned the fire in self-defence and perhaps you will be shocked to hear that these three men have been arrested and their guns taken away and they have been taken up presumably charged for murder. Their women have been kidnapped.

I am with you in your remarks regarding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He has really risen to the occasion and has proved that he is truly a great man. May he remain with us long to guide the Indian Union and give it a soul.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Appendix III. 1 to 5.

III. 7

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

ON PLANE,
LAHORE TO KARACHI,
22 September 1947

I am afraid I have tired you with so many letters written at random and as the occasion arose that I think it advisable to tire you once again with a recapitulation of requests for action.

1. The Pakistan Specials should not be sent out without the knowledge of Movement Controls or at night, or without the knowledge of the Area Commander. In view of the immunity from attacks by Sikhs when the guards are Muslim, these Specials should have Muslim guards and not mixed guards. These guards instead of being in compartment should be placed on flats with platforms on swivels.

2. Muslims in East Punjab and now chiefly in Ambala Division must not be disarmed; those who have been disarmed should have their arms returned to them.

3. Muslim police in East Punjab must not be disarmed or sent back to West Punjab.

4. Something should be done to evacuate the Muslims from the Sikh States. Such refugee trains should be guarded as in No. 1.

5. The communications through Sikh States must be the responsibility of the Indian Union and must be guarded by Indian Union troops. The Sikh States must conform; the Indian Union cannot plead helplessness.

6. Pockets in Ambala Division must be guarded, as well as camps until such time as convoys are organised. More military should be sent for the purpose.

7. There should be a leaven in the cadre of officers, police and military, of Muslims and Hindus in East and West Punjab.

8. Action must be taken against Sikh marauders in Ambala Division. Madrasi troops in the absence of Muslim troops must be sent there.

9. Attempts must be made not to evacuate but to settle the Meos in Alwar, Bharatpur and Gurgaon and sufficient security measures provided.

10. Steps should be taken to return the women from both sides.

11. Activities of Tara Singh and Kartar Singh must be curbed, and

their provocative and inflammatory speeches not published.

12. All stories of atrocities and incidents in the East and West Punjab should not be published.

13. All papers must start on a peace propaganda and a stoppage to lawlessness and disorder—to put it mildly. The press should be asked to do so.

14. The radio talks should not be inflammatory—they should emphasize return to peace and sanity.

15. Jawaharlal Nehru should accept the international observers.

16. Some central peace organisation under your guidance should be set up—to stop the rot spreading.

17. Something must be done to curb the Sikh intransigence. This helplessness on the part of the Indian Union Govt. is not understandable. How can these excursions of Sikhs in Patiala territory be condoned? There would be some satisfaction if His Highness of Patiala undertook to punish the marauders; but they are not being chased or punished. When a convoy from Faridkot was coming out it was attacked and 400 men, women and children were killed outright. The problem of Sikhs is the greatest problem and needs a thorough examination.

On the peace front:

a. There should be a joint conference at the highest level.
b. A statement of contrition and guarantee for the future reciprocal [*sic*].
c. A call to refugees to return.
d. I think in this we should call upon non-officials to respond.

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

III. 8

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
8 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of placing below some suggestions which may help to improve the condition of the Muslim minorities in the Indian Union and to rescue them from the dangers which encircle them. There is little doubt that the tension between Sikhs, Hindus and

Muslims has assumed serious proportions, and the statements and the counter-statements issuing from the two Dominions help in increasing the tension. People begin to imagine that there is serious want of cooperation and the gulf between the two is widening to such an extent that it may lead to an ultimate conflict between the two Dominions. The refugees and their woes and miseries have added further to the problem. The mind of the majorities is getting hostile towards the minorities, and unless something is done to change the psychology there may be a general conflagration which can well destroy the Muslim minority in the Indian Union. The suggestions which I am making are nothing such which are new to you, but if you could see your way to adopt them and reiterate them, where they have already been adopted, it will, I submit with respect, help in easing the situation.

2. I presume to make the following suggestions:

a. A declaration of cooperation and mutual assistance between the two Dominions.
b. A declaration that it is the policy of both the Dominions that peoples of all the communities should live together.
c. That both the Dominions desire peace and unity amongst the various communities.
d. That it is not the intention of either of the Dominions to go to war and that both the Dominions renounce war for all time as a method of settling disputes.
e. That both deprecate the issue of provocative statements and aspersions against each other.
f. That both the Dominions are determined to put down disorders and lawlessness with a firm hand.
g. That both the Dominions are determined to see that the officials act impartially and action shall be taken against those who fail in their duty.
h. A declaration of guarantee to minorities of protection of life, property, etc.
i. The Dominions should call upon the press to cooperate and not issue the statements calculated to excite communal hatred and bitterness.
j. Representatives of both the Dominions (who may be called Peace Commissioners with diplomatic privileges) will be stationed in various parts of the Dominions and will do all they can to promote peace and harmony between the communities, acquaint themselves with the difficulties and complaints of the majority and minority communities, keep themselves informed of incidents and remove all causes of suspicion and mistrust. They

shall be assured safety of their persons and facilities to move wheresoever they deem it necessary to proceed for the discharge of their duties.

k. In the services, there should be a mixture of Hindu and Muslim officers and steps should be taken for this purpose.
l. Representatives of minorities should be included in the Ministries.
m. A statement which will admit, however vaguely, that the Governments have not been able to give that protection to the people which it is the duty of Governments to ensure, extending sympathy to the sufferers with the further declaration that both Dominions disapprove of migration or transfer of population.
n. A statement condemning acts of barbarities, forcible conversions and kidnapping.
o. A call to the public to cooperate with Government in restoring peace. I feel that the old scheme of preserving law and order depending upon the prestige of the Government will not work at this stage and we can only succeed if the public of the third State [*sic*] are prepared to cooperate and to safeguard the interests of the minorities and assume responsibility for looking after their interests.
p. There should be a joint policy regarding States, otherwise this would give an excuse to the Indian Union not to take action against the States on the ground that the Pakistan Government has not declared whether it will interfere with the States in their internal administration.
q. The houses and properties of refugees are being dealt with in different manners in the two Dominions. There should be a common policy.
r. The contacts between two Dominions should be more frequent at a high level with the Premiers, Ministers as well as Governors, Premiers and Ministers of East Punjab and West Punjab.

3. These suggestions have been embodied to some extent in the form of declarations which have been drafted by me, and I am taking the liberty of sending the draft to you to clarify the above points.[1]

Yours,
[H.S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 8
Draft Declaration proposed by H. S. Suhrawardy

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

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We hereby solemnly and sincerely declare that it is the aim of the Dominions of India and Pakistan to promote peace and friendship between the Dominions and its inhabitants and to cooperate for the well-being of each other and to assist each other in every possible way so that the prosperity of each may be promoted and the relationship of the two Dominions be based on neighbourliness and mutual reliance.

2. We further declare that we consider peace and unity amongst the various communities within the two dominions essential for the preservation of independence and for reaping the full fruit thereof; that all the communities together go to make a nation, that they have to live with each other as one family within each State, pledging unstinted and unswerving loyalty to the State in which they live.

3. It is our considered opinion that separate communal and theocratic States are undesirable and in course of time are bound to lead to a perpetual conflict; that disunity and disorder amongst the peoples make economic progress impossible and is bound to impoverish the Dominions to such an extent that they will not be able to improve the lot of the common man. The Dominions are likely, under these circumstances, to lose their independence and will stand eternally disgraced in the eyes of the world.

4. We further declare that we renounce war for all time as the method of settling disputes between us. We deprecate the issue of provocative statements and aspersions attacking the bona fides of each other and containing charges and counter-charges which only tend to embitter feelings and give an incorrect impression that the relationship between the two Dominions are strained and may at some future time lead to an armed conflict.

5. We further solemnly declare that it shall be our endeavour to put down disorder and lawlessness with a firm hand. We demand impartiality and a high sense of duty from the officials of both the Dominions and shall take the strongest measures against officers and other Government personnel who do not perform their duties with absolute impartiality and without fear or favour.

6. We hereby guarantee to the minorities within our Dominions fullest protection of life, property, culture, religion, language and customs and declare that there shall be no discrimination between the

communities by virtue of their caste, creed or religion, that we shall deal with all the peoples within our Dominions equally and justly.

7. We call upon the people of the Dominions to shed any tendency towards militancy or violence, to rid themselves of mutual hatred and distrust, to live in friendliness with their neighbours, and for the majority to assume responsibility for protecting the minorities and their rights.

8. We hereby call upon the press to cooperate with us in stressing the need for peace and unity, cooperation and trust, and cease to publish stories and accounts—factual or otherwise—of incidents that may tend to excite communal hatred and bitterness. Only such accounts of incidents should be printed as have had the imprimatur of a Joint Board set up by the Dominion Governments.

9. In order to ensure cooperation between two Dominions as well as to minimise occasions for misunderstanding we have decided to set up joint committees of representatives of the two Dominions, which will be stationed in various important places in the country and whose duty it will be to promote peace and harmony between the communities, acquaint themselves with the difficulties and complaints of the majority and minority communities, keep themselves informed of incidents and remove all causes of suspicion and mistrust, not only between the peoples but also between the two Dominions. These representatives will be given diplomatic privileges and assured the safety of their person by the Dominion or State in which they happen to discharge their duties.

10. In order to obviate misunderstandings and to enable us to take joint and quick decisions, and to cooperate on all matters which may promote our mutual welfare, we have decided to maintain constant contact with each other, and for this purpose the Ministers of the Dominions as well as of the Provinces of the Dominions shall meet together as often as possible and shall visit any part of any Dominion as they may deem advisable.

11. For the purpose of instilling confidence in the minorities we have decided to ensure that the services are not exclusively manned by the personnel of one community but that we have therein an adequate mixture of all communities. This shall, as soon as possible, be made applicable to all the branches of the service including the Police and the Army.

12. We also desire, in order to give further confidence to the minorities and to recognise their right to participate in the administration, that the Ministries should include representatives of the more important minorities.

13. The events that have occurred in both the Dominions have been a stain on civilisation. We greatly regret that we have not been able to afford that protection to the people, which it is the duty of all governments to ensure, and we extend our deepest sympathies to those who have suffered. It is not easy for people who have been victims of atrocities or have lost their near and dear ones, whose lives have been scared and dislocated, to forgive and forget, but we have to urge upon them to do so, as any other alternative will lead to a continuance of untold miseries on innocent and unoffending persons who desire to live in friendship and amity with each other. We assert that there is no other alternative and we must not allow lawlessness to spread further and invade new territories. We must now proceed to establish a brighter future for the peoples of the two Dominions. For those who have had to leave their homes, it shall be our endeavour to re-settle them in their original homes and to protect them fully; but where such re-settlement is not desired then to rehabilitate them in new surroundings. We strongly disapprove of migrations from one part of the country to the other or of transfer of population as being detrimental to the future welfare of the two Dominions.

14. We strongly condemn the acts of brutality which have been perpetrated by various sections of the people against each other and in particular we condemn forcible conversion and abduction of women. We consider that forcible conversion is no conversion at all and is not sanctioned by any religion. We call upon all persons forcibly converted to go back to the religion which they professed, and the people around them to see that they are in no way molested, but are allowed the fullest liberty to practice their religion, consonant with the common law of the land and good manners. We declare that we shall take the strongest action against those who put any impediments in this way. We consider it shameful and cowardly to attack defenceless women and desire that all women abducted should be returned to the members of their community as soon as possible.

15. For the better attainment of peace, unity and harmony and toleration among the peoples of our Dominions, and for putting down disorder and lawlessness and ensure impartial and just administration, we consider it not only highly desirable but necessary to enlist the cooperation of the public.[1] We urge upon them to form Peace Committees in all cities and villages which would be composed of such members of all communities as feel the urge to secure peace and harmony and are ready to make sacrifices in this cause. Such Committees should be set up as early as possible and will form a meeting ground whereby constant contact [and] mutual confidence may be restored,

cooperation ensured and the forces of lawlessness and disorder effectively checked. Each of these Committees should have under their control a number of peace volunteers who will prevent miscreants from creating mischief and carry on constant propaganda in favour of peace and goodwill and toleration and brotherliness. Such peace volunteers should be drawn from members of all communities pledged to work with each other in amity and discipline. We trust that the members of the public will respond to our request, give us their cooperation and lay the foundations of peaceful and progressive States that will find an honoured place in the comity of nations.

[1]An appeal to the citizens of Pakistan seeking their cooperation in maintenance of law and order as also in protection of minorities had earlier been made by Liaquat Ali Khan. See Annex.

Annex to Enclosure to Appendix III. 8

INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT SUICIDAL FOR BOTH DOMINIONS[1]

Law & order essential for reconstruction:

Liaquat Ali's warning to peace breakers

"Those who have the slightest political sense know that any conflict between India and Pakistan is suicidal for both. You can be sure, therefore, that peace is just as important for India as it is for us and that those who disturb the peace across the border are stabbing their own country in the back. This is as plain as daylight to everyone who knows the barest elements of the situation. If we forget or ignore this truth, we shall be stabbing Pakistan in the back," said Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Premier, Pakistan, in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan at 8.30 p.m. on Tuesday [7 October].

Appealing to the citizens of Pakistan, he said: "We have a great deal to do that is of the utmost importance to us. We in the Government are firmly resolved to put down all disorder with a firm hand. Please help us in this, the greatest of all national duties today."

The whole world knows it is not we who did greater wrong but I still consider it a disgrace for Pakistan that in certain parts the majority has failed in their duty to protect the minorities, he added.

The following is the full text of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's broadcast:

Only 54 days have passed since Pakistan came into being. In the history of nations and states, 54 days are but a moment. Yet it was the will of God that in this short span of time, Pakistan should face calamities and tribulations which might well have daunted many a state, more seasoned and mature. When a few days ago, the Quaid-i-Azam

broadcast to you from Lahore, we were confronted mainly with the upheaval in the Punjab. Today, we see Delhi and its environs added to the long and dreary list of towns and villages where murderer has been at work and where life has been made impossible for the followers of Islam.

PAKISTAN STANDS UNDAUNTED

In these 54 days, the enemies of Pakistan have indulged [in] their black hatred to the full. But Pakistan stands undaunted. Their foul deeds have bred for us a host of problems, each of them of gigantic proportions but the people of Pakistan stand firm in their resolve to face all calamities with faith and courage.

Can we say, however, that in these dark days, none of us in Pakistan raised his hand in revenge and retaliation? We cannot, alas, say this truthfully. Undoubtedly some among us fouled their hearts with the desire to retaliate. Perhaps there are still some among us who, following the dictates of their promptings or giving ear to the promptings of others, nurse evil feelings in their bosom. If there are any such, it is to them that I address these words.

My countrymen, we neither desired nor expected these bloody events to follow the attainment of Pakistan. The decision to divide the country was, after all, in the nature of a settlement which all parties had agreed to honour. We wished to render unto others what we wished them to render unto us, the right of a nation to live a life of peace, prosperity and self-respect. To achieve this peace, for ourselves and for others, we even acquiesced in decisions and awards which we strongly felt to be less than just and less than fair. We ardently wished, on the achievement of Pakistan, to put all bitterness and bickering behind us and apply ourselves, peacefully, to the task of building up our State and to work for the welfare of our people.

WE SHALL NOT FAIL

Was it not in the interest of a newly-born State that it should have peace within and peace without in order to grow to its full manhood? Or does anyone think we were so foolish as to want disorders and upheavals? Who among us could dare that hundreds of thousands of our Muslim brethren beyond our borders should lose their homes, their property, many of them their lives, and be driven out of the land where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries to flee into wilderness in mortal terror?

We neither desired, nor intended, nor expected this horrible future for millions of human beings. But those who resented Pakistan and grudged its peace and prosperity did not hesitate to poison our life-blood.

Let them know that we shall face our calamities with undiminished courage. Pakistan has bent all its powers to this end and geared its entire administration to the task of overcoming the worst obstacles that may be put in our path. And, by the grace of God, we shall not fail.

Today, I am more certain than before that, if we do not lose our faith in ourselves and cast all fear from our minds, this troubled phase of our national life will soon pass. We have to turn to our future without losing a single day or a single minute. For, Pakistan is not a shooting star that shines for a brief moment. Pakistan will not die. It is a matter of the greatest urgency, therefore, that we should soon get out of our present troubles and start to build.

TO BUILD WE MUST HAVE PEACE

In order to build, we must have peace. Therefore, those who talk to you of war and conflict are not your friends. Beware of them and stop counting your gains and your losses in the gamble of death and destruction. Turn your faces to the future. Those who whisper revenge and retaliation to you, seek to lead your energies to waste and ruin.

We have a great deal to do that is of the utmost importance to us. We in the Government are firmly resolved to put down all disorders with a firm hand. Please help us in this, the greatest of all national duties today. Those who have the slightest political sense know that any conflict between the two Dominions is suicidal for both. You can be sure, therefore, that peace is just as important for India as it is for us, and that those who disturb the peace across the border are stabbing their own country in the back. This is as plain as daylight to everyone who knows the barest elements of the situation. If we forget or ignore this truth, we shall be stabbing Pakistan in the back.

Also please remember that we have on many occasions taken the pledge before our conscience and before the world that Pakistan shall conduct itself according to the principles of tolerance, justice and fairplay. Please look into your hearts and ask yourselves whether, solely tried, you have not forgotten the lesson that God and His Prophet [peace be upon him] taught the whole of mankind, whether your own calamities and suffering have not made you callous to the sufferings of others. I am putting this in particular to my fellow-Muslims.

The whole world knows that it is not we who did the greater wrong. But that is no great consolation to me. I still consider it a disgrace to Pakistan that, in certain parts of West Punjab, the majority should have failed in their duty to protect the minorities. Nor is the name of the Frontier Province, or for that matter of Baluchistan and Sind, entirely unsullied, even though the ugly incidents in these parts

were comparatively minor.

How dare I compare, you will explain, these lamentable but comparatively minor incidents with the bestiality and revolting brutality that was let loose upon large tracts in India?

This argument, I am afraid, will not help us, for retaliation is to be condemned under all circumstances. I appeal to you, therefore, to desist from it. I say so because, if you did not desist, you would be exposing fellow-Muslims in the other Dominion to yet greater peril. To talk in terms of expediency in these days would be disgrace to our moral sense. I urge you to show tolerance, forbearance and to protect the weak and the less numerous, because this is why we sought freedom. Did we not always intend to build Pakistan, not on violence and aggression, but on the love of humanity and fairplay? Should we then trample these principles under foot because others are doing likewise? I know that those among you who are not guilty and have been embittered by their sufferings, will find my words unpalatable, but I beg of you to control yourselves and to be quite sure that, if we do not purge our hearts of all feelings of revenge and violence, Pakistan will not be the great country that we dream of.

DANGEROUSLY DISTURBED AREAS

To uphold and maintain the honour of Pakistan we, as a Government, will not hesitate to take the strongest measures, as indeed we are doing, that none shall suffer in our territory at the hands of the peace- breaker. The Government of West Punjab has decided to declare all districts to be "dangerously disturbed areas," not because there is any deterioration in the situation, but because we are anxious that peace should return in the shortest possible time and people of all communities should be able to go about their lawful business without the slightest fear of nervousness. Such a declaration will strengthen the forces of law and order and will enable the Government to impose collective fines on troublesome groups. I know fully of your desire that, in the application of these stern measures, none, no matter how highly placed, should be unduly favoured or lightly punished if he is guilty. I give you my assurance and say it most emphatically that, whoever thwarts the peaceful progress of our country, will receive due punishment, irrespective of his social position, his official connexions or his status in political life. Pakistan means nothing if it does not mean that all are equal before the law.

But it is the duty of all of us to see that we devote the least possible amount of energy to battling with disorder. For we, all of us, need all the energy for rehabilitating our evacuees and, after this great task is

finished, for building the noble edifice of our great State. If there are any among the nationals of Pakistan who are trying to create divisions and difficulties, they are Pakistan's greatest enemies, whether they know it or not.

LET US PLEDGE AFRESH

Let us, then, pledge ourselves afresh to service—a pledge in which the high and the low alike should join, a pledge to protect the honour and happiness of the minorities as our own. Our greatest need at the moment is for men and women, not thousands but hundreds of thousand of men and women, who without the least thought of gain or profit, reward or remuneration, favour or concession, should come forward to serve not you or me, but the nation which is you and me and everyone else also, respect the law, keep the peace themselves and lead others in the path of peace and thus raise themselves to the stature which will bring glory to them and to Pakistan.

One word more, we are not oblivious of the dangers that may lie ahead for Pakistan, nor unmindful or ignorant of the forces which may seek its destruction. I have said so more than once and I say so again today. Further than this I cannot speak on this subject except to tell you that we are not idle. God be with us all. *Pakistan Zindabad.*—API.

[1]The *Pakistan Times,* 9 October 1947.

III. 9

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

[NEW DELHI,]
10 October 1947

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mahatmaji,

In view of certain statements regarding Bahawalpur as being as much of a criminal as Patiala, heard in your room, I took particular care to find out what was Bahawalpur's case on the point. I met the Prime Minister[1] and have gathered the facts set out below, and he challenges any one to disprove them:

1. There were incidents at Bahawalnagar. They took place after Muslim refugees arrived with women with their breasts cut off, children stabbed, men with their eyes hanging out, 3% of the men wounded with .303 bullets (i.e. shot up by the Indian Army). The local Muslims

went out of hand and killed between 350 and 400 people and since then there have been no incidents.

2. Incident at Hasilpur. Hindus had been asked to take shelter in the *Mandi;* instead they went out of the *Mandi* to the village. There was a fracas with the Pathans (I regret I forget the details). Casualties were 251 Hindus.

3. In Bahawalpur itself there were assaults. The Police and Military fired and killed 24 Muslims who were assaulting Hindus. 113 Hindus were killed.

4. There were stray cases in some of the villages; all have been brought under control.

5. Total of all the above cases will be below 1,000 casualties.

6. Hindus were one lakh in number; 20,000 have left. (It may be recalled that the charge is that two lakhs of Hindus have been killed). Sikhs were 46,000. They all left before the disturbances under orders from somewhere. They went with their belongings, their cattle, and even cut grain.

The State paid the expenses of evacuation and the cost of special trains. There was not one incident; not one man was molested (remember Patiala); they have sent wires to the State from Delhi thanking the State for the protection and the arrangements.

7. The Mahasabha there is sending wires to Panditji for evacuating the rest of the Hindus (80,000) who however do not want to go. The Prime Minister is prepared to let them go if they want to go, but they have no trains. He will guarantee their protection, if Jawaharlal sends special trains, but no troops.

8. 2,000 Muslims have been arrested; there were some abductions; all women were returned in two days, safe and sound.

9. 22,000 Muslims started from Hissar, 8,000 arrived, many were killed when passing through Bikanir.

10. There have been 20 raids from Bikanir by people armed with automatic weapons such as are in the possession of the army.

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.

III. 10

Note by Terence Shone

PRO, DO 142/420

6, ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
10 October 1947

[RECORD OF A MEETING WITH H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan always assumed that Suhrawardy would become Prime Minister of Eastern Pakistan.

Nazimuddin's success was a complete shock to the Pakistan Ministers and to Suhrawardy.[1]

On the 26th August, Suhrawardy received a message from Mr. Jinnah asking him to become Ambassador-at-Large for the Governor-General of Pakistan with the idea of telling the world about Pakistan. No other appointment could be offered to Suhrawardy as in anticipation of his success as Leader of Eastern Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah had filled his Cabinet, also the posts of Ambassador to the United States and the High Commissionerships in London and Delhi. *Suhrawardy would have preferred to fill the Delhi post where he felt that he could do most good for his fellow Muslims.*

While flattered with the offer which had been made to him, Suhrawardy felt that it was his duty to stay at Calcutta where he feared that his fellow Muslims would be massacred. *His peace campaign with Gandhi saved the situation.*[2]

When he went to Karachi towards the end of September, the question of his appointment to the Pakistan Central Government was raised.

From various quarters it was suggested that he should succeed Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister.

In his view, no Government composed of present members of Pakistan Government could hope to succeed.

Suhrawardy referred to Liaquat Ali Khan as a lazy man of small intellect and little imagination. He knew for certain that on two occasions Liaquat Ali Khan had wrongly advised Mr. Jinnah. Firstly, he had persuaded Mr. Jinnah that Pakistan must have a Muslim as Governor-General and not Lord Mountbatten. Secondly, when Mr. Jinnah had reluctantly accepted this advice, Liaquat Ali Khan had then persuaded Mr. Jinnah to become Governor-General. Mr. Jinnah had accepted and had therefore become a party to two fundamental errors.[3]

In Mr. Suhrawardy's view Mr. Jinnah should have remained as President of the Muslim League and the power behind the throne as an elder statesman on the same lines as Gandhi.

[1]Sidelined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Underlined in the original.
[3]Marginally noted as: "I have not previously heard these decisions of Mr. Jinnah attributed to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's advice".

III. 11

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 October 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Shaheed Sahib has reported to me your reaction to my endorsement on the suggestions drafted by him. I am sorry to learn about it. In any case I endorse them subject [to] as follows:

In paragraph 2(4) of his letter dated the 8th October[1] to you, I would add—"and will submit to a tribunal of permanent arbitration selected from Indians alone (i.e. from the members of the two Dominions)."

In paragraph 2(8) or in any other suitable place, I would like the following idea to be brought out—"Each State will induce the refugees to return and occupy their respective homes."

I find that this idea to some extent is brought out in paragraph 13 of the proposed declaration.[2] It should be emphasized, and steps taken to implement it. In my opinion some such agreement as suggested by Shaheed Sahib should precede any move for hearty cooperation between the two States. What is wanted, no doubt, is like mind like word and like action between the two.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]Appendix III. 8.
[2]Ibid.

III. 12

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 October 1947

My dear Mahatmaji,

I append below some notes on the Meos.[1] A large number of refugees, about four lakh, are gathered in some Muslim areas; they are starving. They want to go back to their original homes: (a) they want protection, (b) and resettlement. It is not known if their lands have already been appropriated by others. They want to go back to Alwar and Bharatpur. They state that the local Hindus did not rise against them. They have been driven out by the Rulers themselves, who set the Military on them. Such Rulers, who attack their own subjects, should be removed instead of being pandered to further. In any event, they must be forced to accept the original inhabitants who want to resettle. The Meos do not want to go to Pakistan and demand that if they are not resettled in their original homes, they should be settled in some part of Hindustan. There are about 13 lakhs of Muslims in Ambala Division who do not want to leave. Why must they be forced to go to West Punjab, to make way for the refugees from West Punjab? Here is a problem.

Yours respectfully,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 12
US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

NOTE ON THE MEOS

1. The Meo territory was 100 miles long and ninety miles wide. Due to their elimination from a great portion of their territory it is now 35 miles long and 25 miles wide.

2. Population: 10 lakh Muslims, 2 lakh Hindus (including Scheduled Castes).

3. Attacks on Meos started on 23rd March 1947 at Hodel in pursuance of a deliberate policy of annihilation (RSSS), Bharatpur Military joined

in on 29th May 1947; Alwar from 27th January 1947.

DAMAGE

Gurgaon	120 Muslim villages burnt, looted and destroyed; 2,000 Muslims killed; loss 10 crore.
Muttra	10 villages: Muslims driven away.
Bharatpur	10,000 Muslims killed; entire Muslim population of 120,000 driven away; loss 20 crore.
Alwar	50,000 Muslims killed; entire Muslim population of 3 lakh driven away; entire Muslim population of many villages massacred to a man; loss 5 crore.

REFUGEES

Delhi, Agra, Ajmer	40,000
Nuh and Ferozepore Jhirka Tehsils	4 lakh refugees, plus 2 lakh inhabitants; total 6 lakh Muslims
Pakistan	20,000

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Ever since the declaration that Indian nationals will be protected, local Police and officers are forcing people to put their thumb impressions on a document that they want to go to Pakistan, otherwise they should be severely dealt with.

2. Ever since the Sikhs have gone there, i.e. since the last month and a half, they are encouraging attacks in several places. Sikh Military attacked Muslims in Badshahpur in their homes: and those left over there have been charged under Sec. 302 for murder. It is stated that here the Muslims have few houses. They could not possibly have attacked Hindus; a onar [*sic*] woman was killed by the Military themselves (trampled), and then the Muslims were attacked in their homes, and have been charged with murder. Where are the Muslims even to defend themselves?

PRAYER

1. Change Sikh Military and put in Madrasis.
2. Ask Alwar and Bharatpur States to withdraw their Military from the borders of Nuh and Ferozepore Jhirka Tehsils; they invade the Indian Union and shoot down the graziers and labourers within the Indian Union.
3. Post impartial Military on the Alwar and Bharatpur States border.
4. Protect Muslim villages in Hindu majority areas to enable refugees to go back and settle in Palwal, Ballabhgarh, Gurgaon and Rewari Tehsil

5. Special Police and Special Magistrates to be created.
6. Six lakhs of Muslims (including 4 lakhs of refugees from other parts) are starving in the Nuh and Ferozepore Jhirka Tehsils mainly; and in the Muslim villages of the 4 remaining Tehsils of the Gurgaon District. *They are in the grip of famine.*[1]
   Wanted: Grain for 6 lakhs of Muslims. Salt, warm clothes; otherwise even *Rabi* cultivation will be impossible.
7. The Meos want to re-settle in their original homelands in Gurgaon, Bharatpur, Alwar and Muttra. They do not want to go [to] Pakistan. The Rulers of Bharatpur and Alwar should be induced to accept, otherwise they should be resettled in some part of India.
8. *Special Rehabilitation and Relief Officer*; otherwise they will die of famine, and there will be no *Rabi* cultivation.
9. They want to buy cotton, and be provided with handlooms and trainers to make *khadi*. They also want *moonj* and to pay for all these.
10. a. Mr. Sriram (Dy. Supdt. of Police) says that he has lost everything and all members of his family in West Punjab and is exciting the Hindus to attack the Muslims; he actually initiated an attack on the Muslims at Furrukhnagar.
    b. Sardar Gurdyal Singh, S.D.O. Palwal, has been active against the Muslims from the very beginning of the riots.
    c. Sub. Inspectors Police, Ballabhgarh, Nuh and Ferozepore Jhirka, Poonahana, Tauru, Treasury Officer Gurgaon, Sardar Kashmeera Singh (1st Class Magistrate), Sardar Mohan Singh from West Punjab. Matters had settled down; they are now inciting the Hindus and saying that Muslims must vacate them [*sic*].
11. Peace Committees to be formed.
12. Compensation to those who have lost and *takavi* loans [*sic*].
13. Officers to carry out propaganda for peace and unity.

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.

III. 13

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
11 October 1947

I had the advantage of passing through the Tehsils of Gurgaon, Rewari, Pulwal and Ballabhgarh yesterday and desire to make this representation to you for your consideration:

In Gurgaon, the shops were open, people were visible in the streets, but there were no Muslims.

A few miles beyond, the land is in Meo territory, and Meo cultivators and cowherds were visible. In Sohna one could see both Hindus and Muslims mixing freely with each other. On one side a number of Hindu traders were resting under a tree and talking to Muslims.

From Sohna we went over the hills to Tauru. Three miles out we passed through Alwar territory. At one place the road divided Alwar from East Punjab; there were *Ahirs* working on the left and Meos on the right. Then it passed through Alwar territory, and we could see ruins of Muslim villages on the right. From here to Rewari, there was no Muslim habitation. I was informed that Alwar has auctioned the standing crop of the Meos driven out of the territory to the local Hindus (*Ahirs, Jats* and *Jajars*) who were seen cutting and collecting the crop. The State Military was on their guard at about two furlongs distance.

Rewari is a town which normally has 16,000 Muslims and about 15,000 Hindus. There were 15 Muslim villages round about the town which had been burnt or looted, and have been wholly evacuated. In one village out of 1,900 Muslims, 22 came wounded into Rewari; the rest were massacred and the young women abducted. This was a town of Syeds and Moghuls. There were 6,000 Muslim refugees; many of them have been sent away; and now there are 1,500. The path to the Railway Station is very unsafe; and Muslims have been systematically killed at Rewari Station as well as Muslims in railway trains. The Muslims charge the Station Master of Rewari as being responsible, principally, and feel depressed that a man of his type has not yet [been] changed.

It appears that the local RSSS aroused the surrounding Hindu villagers (in which they were supported by the Sikh military), hence the destruction. The Hindu residents (I met the President and Secretary of the Congress Committee and some leading Hindu gentlemen) desire to co-operate. They themselves are apprehensive of the Hindu villagers and do not think that they can have influence over them. But they will try to reason with them. I have requested them to form Peace Committees and Peace Volunteers, and they will try.

The Muslims in Rewari are not agriculturists; they are mostly traders and merchants and employees, Syeds, etc. They are not Meos. They had transactions with the villagers. Now there is no business with the Hindu villagers and hence they feel there is little use their staying on, unless: (1) Security is guaranteed to them and (2) there is sufficient propaganda carried on amongst the villagers to start business functioning. This latter requires that Government officials should hold village to village meetings and turn the tide, otherwise they are bound to starve and had better be evacuated. In the meantime their foodgrains and resources are getting exhausted, as they have shared whatever they had with the refugees: (3) They need foodgrains badly otherwise they will starve. (4) As regards security, their humble request is to change the Sikh Military for Madrasis. I would earnestly endorse this. Today they are giving a certificate to the Sikh Military for their protection; they fear that the villagers are going to make a concerted attack on them on the 12th and hope by this means to prevent the Military siding with the attackers. But they cannot overlook some incidents.

a. At Dharuhera or Agra Gate there used to be posted a Muslim *Havildar* with 3 additional Police. All of them were killed by the Sikh Military, one after another. All kinds of stories that one of them deserted to the Hindu mob, etc., were invented.
b. A British Major, who did his best to keep away the mobs when they attacked, was shot and killed by them the day after he started enquiries on the murder of the *Havildar*.
c. The Sikhs enter and search Muslim houses. They do not take any Muslim and Hindu civilians with them and they take away whatever valuables they can lay their hands on.
d. A mob came and took away 9 buffaloes and about 250 goats from a man tending them. A Sikh shot the man dead.
e. On the 5th October the Sikhs threw an incendiary bomb on a hut. This was a signal for the mobs to gather. The Sikh soldiers mounted on Hindu houses and turned their weapons to attack Muslims if they came out to put out the fire or defend themselves and actually fired on some. Bullet marks still visible. Fortunately the D.C. Sirdar

Marinder Singh and Mr. Sriram (they were not certain of the names) came to the scene; the Sikhs got down from the houses; the D. C. encircled groups of villagers and ordered their arrest, but when he came back he found that out of 200 only five were in custody.

I leave out the attack by Hindus with grenades and bombs on the 4th on Muslims who were moving from one quarter to another.

Returning from Rewari, I met some people at Nizampur near Tauru. It appears that the Muslims from near Tauru to Sohna are bottled up on all sides.

From Sohna, I struck across to Pulwal, passing through Hindu villages. The Muslim villages have been burnt.

It may be useful to narrate here what the Meos say regarding their case. They state that a Congress M.L.A., say X, excited the Hindus to attack them, and in that process a number of villages were burnt on all sides by Jats, etc., and Meos. Then there was peace; and actually Jats helped Meos to cultivate their lands, and vice versa. Then came the wave from the Punjab. Mr. X had induced the Meos to come back, but after August 15, he withdrew his guarantee, and the Meos withdrew as well. Most of the damage, therefore, was done in what may be termed the first war. The Moes are anxious to be resettled in their homes; the Jats are prepared to receive them as soon as *peace is restored*.[1] Most of the Meos uprooted in Alwar and Bharatpur (by their Rulers and their Army) have settled in the Nuh and Ferozepur Tehsils (please see my previous note[2] and their prayers, chief of which is food and resettlement in India). They do not want to go to Pakistan; they did not fight, they were driven out by Alwar and Bharatpur. They have shown no disloyalty.

At Pulwal I visited a camp set up by one Abdur Rahman Khan. He is a tragic, but dignified figure. He is a lawyer, and by all accounts his relationship with Hindus was as cordial as with Muslims, and yet his relatives were hunted out and massacred. He was rich, now he is a pauper. Out of 80 relatives, only 5 are now alive—a daughter, and nephew in hospital and himself. In this camp were mostly Rajput Muslims. Out of 40 villages in Pulwal Tehsil only 2 are left, Seoli and Gudhrana. The Meo villages were burnt in the last riots; the Rajput villages of Badraon, Hasapur, and Bahrampur have been burnt in this and utterly destroyed. The Meo refugees had left. The men had been forcibly converted to Hinduism and grew tufts when they came to camp.

a. They are encircled. Pulwal had a population of 10,000 Hindus, and had about 5,000 Muslims; which have been swelled by 5, 000 Hindus. Their Military (Kumaon and Madrasis) have behaved

well; the officers are British and the Muslims have been protected by them. They are apprehensive as to what may happen when these British officers go.

b. The Muslims cannot leave the place. *Assaults* on Muslim buses, when they board them, or *trains are frequent occurrence*. There is a gang of murderers that operates on these trains between Delhi and Meerut and then on to Jhansi.

5. If some compartments with guards could be reserved for Muslims as in U.P. they could get away.

6. Their food is exhausted; they want foodgrains and cloth and salt, and some protection to evacuate them. The D. C. has not been to see them yet. I only wish he would contact Abdur Rahman Sahib.

a. What chance is there, they say, of assaults on Muslims ceasing. The Hindus and Sikhs boldly state that whatever they may do they will be liberated. There are four magistrates, all Sikhs. A Sikh was arrested with a sword dripping with blood; the officer who arrested him gave evidence that he had seen him actually assaulting a Muslim. He was let off with a fine of Rs. 75. A Muslim boy was charged with having 2 pice worth of Pulwal [*sic*], he was sentenced to six months R. I. and a fine.

b. There are Sikh officers there who do not conceal the fact that they must take revenge for what took place in West Punjab. Some state that they have suffered personal loss. The names of Sardar Gurdyal Singh the S.D.O. and Sardar Kashmeera Singh were frequently mentioned. If peace is really wanted, and you desire to reassure the Muslims, and to discourage the Sikhs, may I suggest that the Sikh officers here should be replaced.

From here, I proceeded to Ballabhgarh, getting the smell of dead bodies near the Railway Station. I was told that only two days back a woman and two children had been stabbed and thrown out of a train.

At Ballabhgarh I met some Meos. It appears that here 27 villages have been destroyed and 17 Meo villages are still extant. The refugee Muslims of the 27 villages are now housed in the 17 Meo villages. *They want to go back to their original homes*. The local Meo leaders were greatly agitated. According to them there has been great activity, in the last two days, of Military lorries. The temporary O.C. of the Madrasis Chaudri Ram Singh, a Jat of Rohtak, has been going round asking them to declare that they want to go to Pakistan. Some say that all he has been asked to do is to draw up a list of refugees; others to send the refugees to Pakistan; others to induce *all* to go to Pakistan. They have told him that they do not want to go to Pakistan; but he has induced some *Sufaid-posh* people to say they want to go. I am confident that the

Meos as a whole do not want to leave India; they want to be resettled in their previous homes, and are waiting for peace to be restored.

I think the position will be greatly eased if the Sikh military are changed; if the Sikh officials are changed (see my previous letter[3] specially Lala Sriram, D.S.P. and Hari Singh, Tehsildar); if food, cloth and salt are sent to Rewari, Pulwal, Ballabhgarh, Gurgoan, Nuh and Ferozepur [Jhirka] Tehsils; if the Pulwal refugees are either evacuated or settled; if the local officers carry on propaganda in favour of peace. *There is no reason why there should be an exodus from this District*. Alwar and Bharatpur should be made to take back their Meo tenants.

Yours sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[PS.] They have a new D. C. in whom they find a good friend. He told them that he would like them to stay, and this was the policy of the Government. The Muslims welcomed it. This was the first time they had heard kind words. Hitherto, they had been told they would be exterminated, and they had better run away to Pakistan, and that their houses in Rewari and lands in the villages are wanted for refugees from West Punjab. This also I heard at Ballabhgarh. They prefer to stay, and want security, food and propaganda.

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Enclosure to Appendix III. 12.
[3]Appendix III. 12.

III. 14

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
15 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I crave forgiveness for encroaching on your valuable time and attention.

Mahatma Gandhi expressed his regret at the interpretation of his endorsement which in any event was his reaction but was not meant as a message to you. Remembering the remarks that you had made to

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman Sahib that you would like to know what were the suggestions of Mr. Gandhi on what steps should be taken to meet the present situation, I asked Mr. Gandhi to examine carefully the letter which I had written to you on the 8th of October[1] with the annexure. He examined it and has endorsed it with two suggestions which will be found in the letter which he has written to you and which I am enclosing.[2] With the addition of these suggestions he agrees with the points which I have raised as well as the draft declarations, even so far as to say that if you want anything further to indicate that he is in agreement with those suggestions, he is prepared to read them out and make them public at a suitable opportunity. I thought that that would not be necessary and might defeat its own object if they were given publicity too early; as they were being submitted to you for examination. Consequently, he has just accepted them as they stand with two amendments and he hopes that you will give them your esteemed consideration. The suggestions and the draft can be made the subject matter of discussions at a conference of the two Governments if you so wish. They can be put into proper shape—rejected or accepted—as the Governments think fit and made administratively practical.

I have already shown the draft to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and he agrees with the points raised therein.

I have had a discussion on the suggestions with Liaquat Ali Sahib. He has no objections to the joint conference and a declaration issuing therefrom, though many of the points have been covered on previous occasions. He also agrees to representatives of minorities being included in the Central and Provincial Cabinets with the rider that such representatives should command the confidence of the minorities. I understand that he would have no objection at this stage if the minorities were not all of the same party. He also agrees to the principle that the minorities should be represented in the services and that the earliest steps should be taken to appoint the minorities in the affected areas. He feels, however, that it will be difficult to get the members of the minority community to come in at this stage and that we must await the return of confidence.

As regards the suggestions of having Peace Commissioners, he does not agree that they should have diplomatic privileges. He was not quite sure of the extent of the powers and would like to leave it for discussion at the conference. He thinks that the Hindus and Muslims should be drawn both from the Indian Union as well as from Pakistan. He agrees with the other points raised in the declarations but he would like to give the matter closer attention. We had, however, a

very full discussion with him and I read out the letter as well as the declaration in full as we discussed the matter.

I hope you will forgive me for bringing this matter to your notice again and again. The Muslim minority in the Indian Union have no delusions regarding the very dangerous position in which they find themselves. As tension continues so does the feeling that the minorities are the legitimate prey of the majorities and something almost spectacular is necessary to bring about the feeling that peace has been restored and that we can look forward with confidence to an era of cooperation. I cannot express myself adequately on the subject. I only know this that you are the only one who can save the situation and all of us look up to you as our hope and guide. It is this which prompts me to vex you continuously in spite of your pre-occupations.

Yours respectfully,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Appendix III. 8.
[2]Appendix III. 11.

III. 15

M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

[KARACHI]
16 October 1947

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 1934-GG/47

Dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 8th[1] and 15th[2] October 1947 together with Mr. Gandhi's letter[3] addressed to me. In our interview on the 8th October you put forward certain draft suggestions with Mr. Gandhi's endorsements in pencil on them. May I request you to be good enough to let me have a copy of those suggestions with Mr. Gandhi's comments, so that I may examine the matter fully.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix III. 8.
[2]Appendix III. 14.
[3]Appendix III. 11.

III. 16

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

PALACE HOTEL,
KARACHI,
17 October 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your D. O. No. 1934-GG/47[1] of the 16th October. As I am leaving today for Delhi I hasten to reply to it.

I greatly regret that I am unable to send the first draft with the comments of Mahatma Gandhi as the previous draft with all its copies has been destroyed after revision. That draft was prolix and needed condensation; and I have condensed it, and forwarded the final copy to you with my letter dated the 8th October 1947.[2] The letter of Mahatma Gandhi to your goodself refers to my letter to you of the 8th October and the draft annexed with it, and not to the previous draft of which he himself has no copy. Mahatma Gandhi has endorsed the final draft and agreed with the points in the letter and the terms of the draft, with two amendments as set out in his letter; those, therefore, are now his proposals for your consideration, and no other suggestions.

Yours respectfully,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Appendix III. 15.
[2]Appendix III. 8.

III. 17

M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

[KARACHI,]
18 October 1947

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1990-GG/47

Dear Mr. Suhrawardy,

Your letter of the 17th October 1947.[1]

It is far from clear that Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 11th October[2] refers only to your letter of the 8th October[3] addressed to me. On the

contrary the first paragraph of his letter which runs as follows, "Shaheed Sahib has reported to me your reaction to my endorsement on the suggestions drafted by him. I am sorry to learn about it. In any case I endorse them subject to as fallows:", conveys that he adheres to his pencil endorsement.

I regret that such an important document with Mr. Gandhi's endorsement on it should have been destroyed in such a hurry.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix III. 16.
[2]Appendix III. 11.
[3]Appendix III. 8.

III. 18

H.S. Suhrawardy to Jawaharalal Nehru

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

GANDHI CAMP,
BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
18 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am writing this letter to you and want to be clear in my own mind as to what is the policy regarding Muslims in East Punjab. Is it their policy to expel them from here and send them to West Punjab whether they want to go or not, and is it the policy to force them to go from here on the plea that protection cannot be given?

Now, Meos in Gurgoan District do not want to leave. But they are being compelled by certain local officers to sign documents to the effect that they want to go to Pakistan and also they are being continuously put in fear of their lives by the military firing shots at random. It is said that there is an agreement between the East Punjab and West Punjab Governments or rather between the Pakistan and the Indian Union Governments that all the Muslims shall evacuate from the East Punjab. Apart from the fact that Pakistan Govt. cannot force Muslims from East Punjab to go to West Punjab, that is to say, it has no constitutional right to surrender rights of Muslims in East Punjab to stay in East Punjab if they want to do so, I don't think that such an agreement could have been effected in this bald manner.

I understand from the paper that Liaquat Ali Sahib consented to

this because Sardarji[1] has refused to guarantee protection to the people in East Punjab, particularly in the Ambala Division.

Now, if Muslims here wish to stay within the Indian Union and don't wish to leave, I cannot see how the Indian Union can, in fairness, drive them away from within its territory. The Meos have stated that they are satisfied with your assurance that they will be protected. I think it is the right of every citizen to claim protection from lawlessness. Relying on this assurance, they wish to stay—agreement or no agreement contracted on their behalf by a Government to which they owe no loyalty. May I, therefore, understand whether or not it is the policy of your Government, firstly, to protect the Muslim minorities in East Punjab, secondly, not to drive them away if they wish to stay and if they pledge their loyalty? If this is so, then I am making bold to say on their behalf that they should be protected and they should not be frightened away from the Indian Union. On the other hand, they should be asked to stay behind and should be rehabilitated.

Although things appear quiet in Delhi, I fear that the Sikhs, particularly the refugees here, will not stand Muslims returning to their evacuated *mohallas*. In order, however, that a beginning may be made and they may get used to it, do you not think it a practical proposition to take up only one *mohalla* for the time being and send the Muslims back to their homes? A *mohalla* may be taken up which may be adjacent to existing Muslim *mohalla* if there is any such *mohalla*. If the houses have been burnt out, the families may be asked to double up until the houses have been repaired. The refugees should be removed from this *mohalla* and protection given to the returning Muslims. I wonder if you consider this feasible.

Your sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

PS. Sardarji said that Alwar and Bharatpur have assured him that they are prepared to receive the Meos back and give them protection. The Meos do not rely upon such assurances. They say that Bharatpur called upon the Meos to return and gave a dateline. Some returned on or about 13th July; they worked in the fields and 20 of them were shot dead at night by the military. The Meos are, however, prepared to take the risk if you are satisfied that they will be given protection by Alwar and Bharatpur.

[1]Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, India.

III. 19

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 October 1947

I crave leave to refer to your letter No. 1990-GG/47 of the 18th October 1947.[1] I received it on my return from a tour in East Punjab.

In view of your desire to see the first draft which contained Mahatmaji's endorsement, I must regret that the first draft which contained his endorsement was destroyed, with all their copies and subsequent drafts with all their copies, as they had been revised and final suggestions approved, and all the previous drafts had lost their importance. Mahatmaji's endorsements embodied his own immediate reactions and were not meant as a message to you; and the succeeding draft incorporated such suggestions as he had made. His comments ceased to be of any importance thereafter. The final suggestions are now before you, and await your approval, or reactions.

I have seen some of the Muslim refugee camps in East Punjab. Their misery is appalling; most of them have been uprooted from their houses with hardly any resources; in many cases their carts and cattle were looted before they could get to the camps. Many are so weak and exhausted that if they are called upon to trek to Pakistan thousands will die on the way. The lorries that follow pick up those who cannot proceed further, but they cannot save people dying from exhaustion. Their condition would draw tears of blood from those who can see. And this will be the condition of Muslims all over India, if nothing is done to change the mentality of the people. It is not possible for Government to enforce law and order completely and *permanently*[2] as long as Hindus and Muslims are made to look upon each other as enemies. Government can bring the situation under control for some time only, but unforeseen incidents, and even rumours, can easily produce an explosion, with unending repercussions. Government force is no solution; the psychology of the people must change; and it can change only if there is real and true co-operation between Pakistan and the Indian Union. The suggestions as approved by Mahatma Gandhi are drafted with that view; they are not comprehensive, and can certainly be adjusted by the representatives of the two Dominions,

but I beg of you, for the sake of the helpless and hapless Muslims of the Indian Union to take steps in this direction. We know that we are subjects of the Indian Union, that our loyalty is pledged here, but the Dominion of Pakistan can help us greatly by coming to an agreement on the treatment of minorities, and outlining a scheme of co-operation, which will benefit the minorities of both the Dominions and make for peace and toleration and mutual goodwill. I beg this of you with folded hands. Please do not leave us in the lurch at the present juncture. We do not ask of you to intervene, or go to war for our sake; we only want you to co-operate with the Indian Union, so that Hindus and Muslims in both the Dominions may live together in peace and security in full exercise of their rights and liberties.

It is up to you now to make or unmake, to save us or send us to destruction.

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Appendix III. 17.
[2]Underlined in the original.

III. 20

H. S. Suhrawardy to K. S. Thimayya

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 October 1947

My dear General,

First let me thank you for your very great kindness, courtesy and consideration and for the very nice time you gave us.

I want to tell you about Phillaur Camp. I found it in wretched condition and the people were starving. Also most of them were foot-refugees and their condition is such that they will not be able to last out the journey if they have to go on foot. Could you please ascertain personally from them what rations they get, what medical arrangements exist, and judge for yourself if they can walk with their pitiful belonging for ten or fourteen days. The rest I leave to you.

Thanking you once again,

Yours sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

III. 21

H. S. Suhrawardy to Roshanlal[1]

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 October 1947

My dear Mr. Roshanlal,

I thank you for your kindness and courtesy and all the trouble you took to show us round, and for the very interesting discussion with you.

I would appreciate it greatly if you could examine the camp at Karnal. Of the 20,000 refugees few have carts of their own, and fewer still any resources. They have no stocks, hardly any clothes, not even *goodhries*, and many have not been able to improvise any. There are some who have not eaten for two to three days on end. If they have to go on foot, they will die by the thousands. I doubt if there is anyone there who can stand even a furlong's journey. They have to depend on local charity for their meals, the Government supply being, comparatively speaking, nil. Most of them would like to be resettled in the Karnal District, where the Hindus apparently want them back. They also complained of dying by the hundred[s] of cholera. I do not know whether the disease is now under control, nor could I find out if they receive any medical attention. I was very glad to meet the S.P., of whom everyone spoke highly, but I regret to inform you that that was not the view they held of his subordinates. They tell a story of how 62 men, who were being brought under protection of the Police, were allowed by the Police to be cut up by a mob, how 12 women were abducted, and how thereafter, to show their vigilance, the Police shot down 4 of the miscreants *after the massacre*.[2] There are definite complaints against the S.I. of Police, City. Do you not think that such police as have not been able to keep order should now be removed, and an attempt made to cleanse the force? This will be all the more easy in your district where order has been maintained in a large part of the district.

By the way, is it a fact that the house of Sadaqat Ali Khan, brother of Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib, has been looted after he vacated it? Have any steps been taken against the miscreants? I wonder if steps can be taken to safeguard the properties of evacuees left behind by them.

Have you seen Mahatma Gandhi's definite statements that the policy of Government is not to force Muslims to leave who do not wish to go;

from this it follows to resettle those who do not wish to leave.

I was informed how a band of hooligans attacked the Muslims progressively. It is said they are well known to the authorities. Would it not be possible to intern them for sometime?

With kindest regards,

Your sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Deputy Commissioner, Karnal.
[2]Underlined in the original.

III. 22

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
29 October 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am grieved to find that you are still unwell. May *Allah* give you speedy recovery.

In the meantime, the clouds are lowering. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have written to the Quaid-i-Azam.[1] I do hope and pray that you will take some steps. The Muslims here are in despair, and I have received deputations from Saharanpur, Bihar, Ahmedabad, Meerut, Gwalior, Jodhpur and elsewhere. The antagonism of the Hindus and Sikhs has to be minimised, and how can that be done unless it is on some such lines as Gandhiji has suggested.

I wish particularly to press, as an immediate measure, the following points. Believe me, if nothing is done within the next few days, the position will become worse.

a. Please give liberty to East Bengal to take in, say, three Hindu Ministers, irrespective of the Indian situation. If you do so, then we can see to it that West Bengal takes an equal number simultaneously. We need this much more than the Hindus. This will keep the Hindus in East Bengal, and will frustrate the machinations of the Hindu Mahasabha. If the East Bengal Hindus begin to move, it will jeopardise the position of the Muslims of West Bengal, and thereafter the Muslims of other parts of India.

b. Please take in Hindu Ministers in Sind. We need this more than

the Hindus, because we must have Hindu residents in Pakistan. If we do not have Hindu residents in Western Pakistan, the next step will be to drive out Muslims from India (barring, I hope, Bengal), if only on the plea of finding room for the Hindus expelled from Pakistan. And once Muslims go out of India, more Hindus will leave Pakistan. Now, India can absorb the Hindus from Pakistan with or without expulsion of Muslims, but Pakistan cannot absorb Muslims expelled from India. Hence it is essential for us to keep Hindus in our various provinces, particularly in Sind, where Hindus still exist, and where we can keep them if we act properly. And one of the acts which will give Hindus the confidence is to appoint some Hindu or non-Muslim ministers. If Choithram Gidwani is not acceptable, there is Prof. Ghanshyamdas or Mukhi, or Sidhwa or Jamshedji, or Wadhwani. Surely, the Muslims will not suffer for it.

The result of both the above *is bound to be*[2] that Muslims, and for that matter, representative Muslims will be taken in as Ministers in the other provinces, for I cannot but feel that with the reputation of the Indian Union at the low ebb it is at present in the international world, they will allow Pakistan to outbid them in the generosity of treatment to minorities.

After this is done, the interchange of officers and employees will follow in the services, in the police and in the army, in the interest of peace and co-operation which are so necessary to build up both Pakistan and the Indian Union, if not in the interests of the minorities in the two Unions.

I must request you once more to reconsider your views regarding the appointment of a group of Peace Commissioners in selected areas. We need this more than the Hindus do, as Muslims are interspersed throughout India, and they have only a few spots to deal with. The trouble may spread any time. Government force can only keep down things for a time, but as long as bitterness persists, the situation remains explosive. Indeed, the view of many is that if steps are not taken to ease the tension within the next week or fortnight by making some peace moves, the situation will deteriorate beyond recall, and the Muslims in the Indian Union will be massacred right and left. This will start an exodus to Pakistan which will create new problems for you for such as can reach Pakistan, but most will not be able to do as the roads will lie entirely through their territory.

You may have seen in the papers that after long last I have called a preliminary conference of representative Muslim Leaguers in Calcutta to decide our future course of action. *Khaliq-uz-Zaman* should have called it; but he has disappeared, and I failed to catch him at Karachi,

or at Lahore. I hope he will be able to attend and give us the right lead. I shall be grateful if you will let me know what line we should adopt.

I wonder what will be the reaction of the attack on camp at Jassar. I have been through East Punjab, and find that law and order is being maintained. I shall give details below. Refugee columns are fraternising [*sic*]. There are very *large* Muslim camps which cannot possibly be protected if *Jathas* choose to attack them, and it is such a pity that the Muslims of West Punjab do not realise it. Each time such incidents occur, there is a general setback *everywhere*, the reaction is not felt at one place only. The matter is so serious, and the report of the East Punjab Government, which you must have received, is so radically different from the communique of the Pakistan Government, that I would request you to have an enquiry made by the I.G. of Police himself. If the Muslim troops have not acted as they should have, steps should be taken against them, or they should be exonerated. And the villages from which the attacks came should be penalised by the arrest of their headmen, and by imposition of a collective fine. I repeat that unless something is done to pursue that matter, this incident will have repercussions, and at the very least, will fan the smouldering fires of hate which will burst into flames to our detriment. Why should our fate be linked up with the whims of the miscreants of West Punjab? The incident is all the more tragic, as things were proceeding smoothly, and lakhs of Muslims are lying in camps yearning to be removed.

Now that things are easing up, may I urge that steps may be taken to purge the Police force. The insubordination is appalling. I give you two instances below.

1. Mr. Saigal, D.C., Ludhiana, was proceeding out of Lahore on 21.9.47 to join his post with his personal effects. He had armed himself with a certificate or order from D.I.G. Police that he was not to be searched. The Havildar at Shalimar Barrier insisted on searching, and ordered him to open up all his trunks, in spite of the order of the D.I.G. being shown to him. The Havildar had the cheek to retort: How do I know you have not bribed the D.I.G with Rs. 10. He was very offensive which was quelled only when General Thimayya, with whom Saigal was going, intervened. Then he was allowed to go. I hope action will be taken against the Havildar.

2. Another officer Major Saigal, whose duty it is to take Muslim refugees on lorries to Pakistan and bring back non-Muslim refugees, was held up for one whole night at Ravi Barrier by Dy. S.P. Moh[amma]d Hussain, who refused to recognise the Pakistan Military seal. H.E. Mamdot and the Brigadier all know about this. I hope some

action has been taken against this officer. For it is such officers that defy the law and authority of Government. When he was compelled to allow this convoy to move on, he actually phoned up the Reserve Police at Gujranawala, who put up another barrier. On the 28th September D.C. Arshad and S.P. Ghulam Haider made individual searches at Jhelum when returning in spite of the agreement between the two Governments. Major Saigal got information that about 1000 men were gathering at Pubbi to waylay his convoy. He accordingly stayed back at Jhelum for the night. These men at Pubbi mistook two Pakistan Military lorries for the convoy and fired on them; the fire was returned.

I enclose a copy of a report regarding Rawalpindi,[3] which I would beg of you to have investigated. It is absolutely essential for the safety of the Muslims here that matters should be straightened out there. Fortunately, owing to my contacts with the Editor of an influential daily here, this has been kept out of the Press.

I have been through many camps in East Punjab. The condition of the men is deplorable. They have mostly no shelter. In camps where they have been lying, for a month or more, they have put up some shelter with leaves. They are all underfed and starving, the sanitary conditions are bad, medical attention is practically non-existent except in some cases. On the whole, I felt that the people there are *not* in a condition to do the fourteen days trek necessary to take them to Pakistan, and steps must be taken as early as possible to lay on trains and trucks. Military trucks follow a caravan to pick up those who cannot proceed further. They are in the last stages of exhaustion and most of them die; but these trucks cannot prevent people dying of exhaustion.

So for as I could make out, there are no Muslims in villages in the Jullundur Division. But in Ambala, there still are. I saw Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus moving about in Ambala City. The D.C. has done his best to keep order there and the Muslims were in high praise of him. There was some confusion regarding the camp and he said that he was supplying at the rate of 4 *chhitaks* of *atta* per day but the people insisted that they were getting only 2.5 *chhitaks* for two days. He has ordered a proper census and has said he himself with his own hands will supply 4 *chhitaks* per day.

In Karnal out of 320 Muslim villages about 240 have been evacuated and the Muslims are concentrated in the town and in 80 villages and in two camps—one near Karnal and the other at Shahabad. I saw Muslims from the town of Shahabad looking after the Muslims in the camp. At Karnal the local Muslims are trying to do their best, but the

condition of the people there is deplorable. There are 20,000 of them and they should be removed. Within Karnal town Muslims are moving about without incidents. Refugees have occupied the house of your brother Sadat Ali Khan. The Muslims, apart from the Karnal Camp, said that they were prepared to stay back. The D.C. also says that he can re-settle them provided there is settlement at the top. Otherwise all the Muslims will be evacuated from that area.

The view taken here is as follows:

Pandit Nehru says that anyone desiring to stay back will be given protection and kept back. The view of Sardar Patel is that room must be found for the evacuees from West Punjab and, therefore, the Muslims must go. Even if all Muslims went, the land that would be available for the evacuees from West Punjab will be less than the land held by them in East Punjab. So I find that the local D.Cs and officers are trying to qust the Muslims from the villages from which they have not yet been removed, particularly in Rohtak and in Gurgoan area. They will have to remove them also from Karnal. The Hindus are a little bit perturbed in Karnal and are calling the Muslims back because they are afraid of the Sikhs. This is also the position in the Meerut District and generally in the U.P. where the Hindus are anxious to get the Muslims back to prevent Sikh infiltration.

Now, I suppose that Muslims will be driven out from the villages unless Hindus and Sikhs stay back in West Punjab. If the Sikhs do not wish to stay, they could be accommodated, I am certain, in Jullundur Division and in the Sikh States. But if both pull out, then, of course, it will be difficult for Muslims to stay in the Indian Union. Indeed, there is a view amongst Muslims that if there is a total interchange of population between West and East Punjab, it will not stop here and Muslims will be ousted from other places as well. Kindly take steps to clear the camp at Karnal where there is no shelter and people have been attacked with cholera.

From the officers and the non-officials whom I met, I gathered that Muslims have been massacred wholesale in Patiala. On the 24th September fires were raging on both sides of the roads between Rajapur and Khanna and men, women and children were being slaughtered as they ran out of the villages. Their bodies were seen by a large number of people who passed up and down that road on that day.

The D.Cs of Ambala and Ludhiana said with regret that owing to some policy of the West Punjab Government, trains that brought non-Muslim refugees went back empty instead of taking Muslim refugees with them.

I have been to Qadian and I will send you a report later.

I was able to visit East Punjab with an armed guard through the courtesy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. H. E. Trivedi said over and over again that he could get no reply from West Punjab Government regarding the policy of search. Orders were passed on the 13th September, but no orders were issued even up to the 25th September. He is very anxious to know if searches of the evacuees have been stopped or not. Not one week back, evacuees coming by plane from Lyallpur were searched. A man had only 100 [rupees] with him; 90 were taken and he was left with 10 only. What can we do about this? This reflects on the Pakistan Govt.

Hope that you will recover soon and will be able to start peace negotiations early.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Appendix III. 19.
[2]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[3]Enclosure to Despatch No. 1877, 28 November 1947, US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847. Not printed.

III. 23

H. S. Suhrawardy to Charles O. Thompson

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

CALCUTTA,
4 November 1947

My dear Thompson,

I am sending you copies of certain letters[1] which perhaps will give you some indication of the present state of affairs. What the newspapers do not bring out are the following points (some of them).

1. The Muslims have been eliminated from the 5 Sikh States of Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, Faridkot and Jhind. Of these States Kapurthala was a Muslim majority State. The Muslims were set upon by the armed forces of the State, along with Sikh *jathas* and were massacred, mutilated, robbed, their homes were attacked, looted and burnt. The survivors went to refugee camps; and then the refugee camps and convoys were attacked. They have been driven out to the last man. I need not relate the atrocities which were perpetrated on them as they are well known to you and to your embassy. The Hindus, in order to justify their terrible misdeeds, charge Muslims with having committed atrocities of a similar nature in the beginning of March in Rawalpindi, Multan, etc.,

and subsequently the West Punjab after the East Punjab incidents. But any impartial observer will place the atrocities committed by the Sikhs and Hindus as much more dastardly and their immanence as much more widespread and thorough. Actually the ghastliness of the atrocities and the fact that they should be perpetrated by people pretending to be civilized was brought home to us for the first time in the Bihar riots,[2] where Muslim women were mutilated, children massacred and people burnt alive without the least compunction by the Hindus on a mass scale. They say that the Muslim League preached hatred against the Hindus, but events show who actually entertained hatred and what was the extent thereof as expressed in the form of atrocities.

It is to be noted that the Government of the Indian Union did not take the slightest steps against the States. It pretended that it had no authority; when it was pointed out to them that they could interfere under the plea of communications not being safe, or that the atrocities would involve them in a conflict with Pakistan or even in the interests of humanity, their reply was they would endeavour to bear moral pressure upon the States. A further plausible but evasive reply is that they cannot interfere unless Pakistan and they agreed to a joint policy regarding the States and formulated some principles on the basis of which they can interfere. I consider this merely specious and wholly unsatisfactory, as it would appear to me that they would justify the murder of all the Muslims merely because Pakistan has not come to a common policy with them. They state that Mr. Jinnah has stated that he would not interfere with the States,[3] consequently how can the Indian Union do so, as the States might find it convenient to accede to Pakistan which will not interfere with them. This argument again is plausible but unsatisfactory. Firstly Mr. Jinnah only confined his statement to the choice of the States in the matter of accession, and secondly the plea of bargaining is absurd. The only thing dangerous about it is that Patel has been able to convince Gandhi of the reasonableness of this argument. In any event, the Muslims stand eliminated.

2. All Muslims have similarly been eliminated from the States of Alwar and Bharatpur, and when I say "eliminated" I mean eliminated, and when I say "all" I mean all. There is not one single Muslim in those territories; they were driven out by the State troops and were hunted by the brother of the Maharaja of Bharatpur. All mosques in Alwar have been destroyed.

3. The above is the justification for some Muslims taking up the cause of the Muslims who were similarly being eliminated by the State troops in Kashmir. The Indian Union was not interfering even in the case of those States which had acceded to it, like the Sikh States and

Alwar and Bharatpur and would certainly not do so in Kashmir; Pakistan was not interfering to defend the Muslims either in the Indian Union or in the States that had acceded to the Indian Union, and it was clear it would not take up the case of the Muslims in Kashmir, hence the justification for the action taken by those classed as "freebooters" with all the sympathy of the Muslims on their side.

4. I have the following from Jaipur State which may be of interest. In the city the Muslim population is about 1/3; they are being boycotted by the Hindus, about 12,000 workers known as *hammals* are now without work or food. Rations to the Muslims have been stopped since the 15th August and their issues have been put off from day to day. The State is governed under the new scheme of responsibility. There are 3 Proja Mandal Ministers, all Congressmen and anti-Muslim. The city is quiet but murders have started in the villages and people are killed in trains. Cash, ornaments, etc., cannot be moved out and persons are searched and money taken away from them. The Maharaja himself is very sympathetic. He has been trying to intervene but has ultimately given up in despair. As an example, the Muslims came out of Kotputli and Khetli, the Maharaja sent them back to their villages saying he would guarantee their protection, but the Hindus refused to take them back and they have now returned to Jaipur city. I give this to you as an illustration of the manner in which the Muslims have begun to be treated in various places in India without a declaration of war.

5. Muslims generally are being oppressed in various ways. They have been humiliated and taunted, ordinary local administration in many places has been tainted with the Hindu mentality, and the Muslims can get no help from the Police, or the local authorities, or even the Ministry. Of course, there are honourable exceptions, but woe to the Muslim, if he is suspected or caught out. As a general rule, Muslims are being disarmed; so that when the Hindus, who are armed, both with licensed and unlicensed weapons—and there are plenty of unlicensed weapons as relics of the war—begin to attack the Muslims they will not be able to defend themselves, and then it will be futile to expect the Hindu Police or the Hindu Army to fire on a Hindu mob, for the sake of saving miserable Muslim lives. But it is no use whining. We have made our bed and must lie on it.

6. There is one further matter which has created confusion. Nehru has stated that he will not drive out Muslims who wish to remain within the Indian Union and he will give them protection. Patel on the other hand insists that all Muslims in East Punjab should be transferred to West Punjab whether they want to go or not. His basis is that he has to

find room for non-Muslims coming from West Punjab; and he says that Liaquat and he have agreed to the total exchange of population in the Punjabs. Now, there will be about 53 lakhs of Muslims going from East Punjab, including the Sikh States (less deaths) to West Punjab. If we are to add the 4 lakhs of Meos who have been thrown out of Bharatpur and Alwar, that will mean a total of 57 lakhs as against 40 lakhs of non-Muslims coming from NWFP and Quetta. In spite of the disparity in numbers his argument is that the non-Muslims occupied more lands and more prolific lands in West Punjab than can be given to them in East Punjab. The Muslims in East Punjab, particularly in the Gurgaon District, do not want to go to West Punjab. And their reason is as follows:

They rely upon the assurance of Nehru for protection. They say that they should be allowed to go back to Alwar and Bharatpur. They further say that all their relatives are in the Indian Union and if the 6 lakhs of Meos in the East Punjab are sent to Pakistan all their brotherhood will have to go, namely 40 lakh. Patel says he has no objection if they go to Alwar and Bharatpur. They reply that when they go there they are butchered, and Patel takes no steps, and that the assurances of the Maharaja are as thin as piecrust. Now Patel feels that these Meos in Gurgaon are presuming on the duty of the Government to protect them, that they should be removed and that if Government withdraws protection from them and lets loose on them the Hindus and the Sikh *Jats* they will get it in the neck. So his officers are adopting underhand methods to force them to go. The Meos are resisting and are offering passive resistance. Mahatma Gandhi is in agreement with the policy that no one should be thrown out of the Indian Union if he does not want to go and he has suggested in his own cute way that this is the policy of Government because this has been declared by Jawaharlal Nehru, and that officers of the Government must carry out this policy, and if they do not do so they should be dismissed, and the Minister in Charge should resign. This has had no effect. The officers are throwing out the Muslims and Mister Patel is more than ever safely entrenched in office.

There are some Muslims in Rohtak, Karnal and Panipat who are being driven out in this manner. These are all East Punjab districts. But what, however, is more sinister is that in spite of Sardar Patel stating that no Muslim should be driven out of Delhi, or the Delhi province and the U.P., all the Muslim refugees in Delhi camps have been given facilities to go to Pakistan and the Muslims in the villages of the Delhi province are being thrown out of their homes. Poor Jawaharlal, I am sure he feels bitter about it.

7. I wonder if you know how this new riot started. On the 15th of August the Muslims celebrated Independence Day alongside their Hindu citizens. But the Sikhs had already prepared themselves for massacring the Muslims that evening. I do not blame the rank and file, but the RSSS, the secret society of Hindus with about 500 top-ranking killers were ready and I believe that it is these who have created all the disturbance. I have it on evidence that at Hoshiarpur, a city in East Punjab, after the celebrations on the 15th, the curfew was put on from 8 p.m., the Hindus and the Sikhs were allowed by the police and the authorities to set fire to Muslim houses and when the Muslims came out they were shot down. This was done after disarming the Muslim police. Please note the date, the 15th, which shows the premeditated preparation. This procedure was adopted in city after city, one after the other, in a planned manner. From East Punjab they went to the Sikh States which started their killings about the beginning of September, and struck down to Delhi. After Delhi they went into U.P. and massacred the Muslims in Dehra Dun, Mussourie, and Saharanpur and Kanpur. The firm action of Pandit Pant however prevented the movement from spreading beyond Kanpur. But they attacked Muslims in trains, and threw them out. Even now the train service between Meerut and Delhi, and Meerut and Jhansi is dangerous for Muslims, so also are the trains passing through Bharatpur.

8. The Hindus are however by no means happy with the Sikhs. The Congress Secretary of Karnal actually saw Mahatma Gandhi and begged him to intervene and prevent the Sikhs from settling in Karnal District. Karnal is in the Ambala Division where the percentage of Sikhs is only 5. Indeed the Hindus are recalling their Muslim co-villagers whom they had attacked, and begging of them to come back lest their lands be handed over to the Sikh refugees from West Punjab. I do not think that they will succeed in getting back the Muslims as Patel is determined on driving out all the Muslims from East Punjab. Already 800 Hindus have run away from Amritsar owing to what they call Sikh oppression. This however is no business of ours and we leave it to the gods to do justice.

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Not traceable. However, see Appendices III. 2, 6, 21 & 22.
[2]See Report on Bihar Riots, Appendix IV, Vol. I, Part II, 45-64.
[3]Annex to No. 144, Vol. II, 316-7.

III. 24

H. S. Suhrawardy to Jawaharlal Nehru

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
6 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

You will forgive me, I hope, if the letter which I am sending to you contains certain unpalatable details. I believe you must know most of them, but still I feel it my duty to give you my point of view and impressions and place before you such facts as are in my possession.

1. I have not yet received any reply to the letter[1] which I sent to you regarding the Meos and believe you really intend to pursue your policy of not ejecting Muslims from the Indian Union but give them protection if they want to stay within the Indian Union. Now I know the controversy[2] regarding the East Punjab Muslims. I met Sardarji [Patel] and he was insistent that it was agreed between him and Liaquat Ali Khan that there should be a complete and total transfer of population of Muslims and non-Muslims from East Punjab and West Punjab. I have read the communique[3] carefully and I must confess that the communique does not bear out his views. It rather supports the contention of Liaquat Ali who says that what was agreed was that the West Punjab would receive such Muslims from the East Punjab as wanted to leave East Punjab and seek the protection of West Punjab. In any event, I do not think that Liaquat Ali can give away the rights of the Muslims in the Indian Union who remain within the Indian Union.

Now, the next argument is that all Muslims must vacate East Punjab in order to make way for non-Muslims in West Punjab, NWFP, etc. Now the number of Muslims that would thus be required to vacate from East Punjab and the Sikh States would be in the region of about 53 lakh, and, if you add to that the 4 lakhs of Muslims that have been thrown out from Alwar and Bharatpur and are now in Gurgaon, it would be 57 lakh. As against this, 40 lakhs of non-Muslims would come from West Punjab, of whom, I am told, 11.5 lakh are urban. Possibly there would be more, as those coming from NWFP and Quetta are wholly urban. Hence, it would appear from the figures that it should not be necessary to oust the Muslims from the Gurgaon District at least. After all, the lands tilled by the Meos are very infertile compared to lands in other parts of East and West Punjab and I doubt very much whether

the cultivators of West Punjab will be able to cultivate these lands. The Meos also have another claim, mainly that their *beradari* (brotherhood or clan) are wholly situated in the Indian Union and they say that if they go, then all their brotherhood or clan will move out, so they are most anxious to stick on to the Indian Union. Up till now there is plenty of room still for refugees in the Sikh States who must be forced to take in as many Sikhs as possible. I believe they have had as many as 9 lakh Muslims within their States and the total number of Sikhs in West Punjab and elsewhere in Pakistan would not be more than 17 lakh. It would be fair if the Sikhs were confined to the Sikh States and the Jullundur Division. In the Ambala Division I found that the Hindus were definitely scared of the Sikhs and did not want the Sikhs to settle down there. As you know, the original population of Sikhs is only 5 percent and that is confined to the tehsils near the Sikh States and the Jullundur Division. In Ambala and Karnal Districts, Muslims will be found in the towns and in the larger villages, and the D.Cs. tell me that they can easily settle the Muslims back if that is the policy of Government. In any event, the Ḥindus there are inviting the Muslims back to their lands as a better alternative to the Sikhs.

What has taken place in the villages of the Delhi province must undoubtedly have been brought to your notice. The D.C. here, Mr. M. S. Randhawa, has practically abdicated control and has asked the Muslims to make terms with the Hindus. When the Muslims sit down with the Hindus, the Hindus insist that they must be converted. The Muslims are leaving the villages, and many have also been forced to conversion.

I consider the consideration of this policy rather important because I have seen the exodus in action. Many died in the process of uprootment, many along the route and many before they are resettled. I see in the papers today that the policy of removing all the Muslims from the East Punjab, including the Gurgaon District where there are as many as 4 lakhs of refugees from Alwar and Bharatpur, is being proceeded vigorously and appears to be inexorable.

2. I have seen a number of Muslim refugee camps in East Punjab. I do not wish to blame the Indian Union because I know the difficulties under which the Government is working, but facts must be faced. In places I found the army is trying to do its best and scrounging for food, but it cannot be denied that the men are absolutely and hopelessly under-fed. The number in the camps is far greater than the official estimates on the basis of which the rations are given out. For instance, in one camp, the D.C. was absolutely certain that the men were receiving at the rate of 4 *chhitaks* per day per head, but actually

got 1.25 *chhitak,* and this was tested in his very presence. The sanitary conditions in the camp are deplorable, in fact they do not exist. The medical attention is inadequate, in many places non-existent. The food rations are insufficient; there is no shelter of any kind, the people somehow managing by putting up their bedding; they have no warm covering, and their condition is so low that I am sure they will not be able to stand the trek to Western Punjab. We shall have the same conditions as in the first trek where thousands of people died on the way. Apart from a number of graves in Wagah in Pakistan near the border where 10 to 12 bodies have been put in together, there is one grave where as many as 1300 bodies have been interred, and all along the route from Wagah to Lahore you will find the graves of the refugees. Most of the refugees have no carts or conveyances and will be required to carry their luggage on their heads, which, in their present physical condition, they will find it impossible to do. This is the magnitude of the problem. I cannot see what you can do to alleviate it other than encamp refugees near stations and send them by trains rather than make them walk. There should not be any foot people going along with the carts. I am certain that tens of thousands of people would die along the route. Such is the condition to which the refugees have been reduced.

3. I was along to see that the Muslims are fleeing from Delhi. Possibly they feel that the Indian Union Government will not be able to withstand the demands of Tara Singh and, no amount of present assurances to the contrary, will be able to withstand the pressure. I have had a talk with the five Delhi Muslim gentlemen who call on Gandhi every day, and they were very pessimistic. The Muslims feel that little has been done to bring the culprits to book or to effect a change in the administration. Maulana Allah [Ahmad] Saeed gave some particulars and I would request you to ask him to see you and have a frank discussion with you. I do not think it would be down to the credit of our Government if Muslims flee from Delhi, the very heart and centre of the Indian Union Government. After all, it is now more or less well known that a group of 500 killers of the RSSS and an equal number of Sikh killers have managed the show in East Punjab from place to place. The whole of East Punjab did not go up in flames on the same day. These people hopped from town to town and village to village and area to area, and then they came to Delhi and from Delhi they went to the U.P., taking town after town, and they also worked on the trains. None of the people seem to have been brought to book. Then, even when things appear to be quiet on the surface, the Muslim shops are being progressively looted, that is to say, even those that

were not looted during the height of the riots, and many areas of Delhi have now been denuded of Muslims' shops. Mr. Hifzur Rahman and Maulana Allah [Ahmad] Saeed can give details.

4. Is there no remedy for the genocide committed by the Sikh States and by Alwar and Bharatpur? Perhaps you and your Government were not aware of the extent of the massacres in Patiala, otherwise it is difficult to understand the non-interference of the Government of the Indian Union. Will no attempt ever be made to find out the extent of the massacres? Every Muslim in the city, except a handful, was murdered. There is a place called Narnol in one of the Patiala pockets not far from the Irrawady where the massacres have almost been wholesale. Those who were saved, were saved by the courage of a European railway officer. I met another British officer in Ambala and he told me that what he saw on the 24th of September between Rajpura and Khanna on the Grand Trunk Road in Patiala territory was ghastly to behold. Muslim villages were on fire, men were being killed in the villages, those who ran away and sought the shelter off the road—men, women and children—were massacred and their bodies were littered on both sides of the road as anyone passing along the Grand Trunk Road could behold. Those Muslims that were not annihilated, attempted to flee. Their refugee columns were attacked as everyone knows. And now, there is no Muslim in any of the seven States. I am told that the Government of India could not intervene as there is no joint policy as regards the States. Pardon me if I say that this can carry no conviction. It is said that Mr. Jinnah has categorically stated[4] that Pakistan will not interfere with the States. This is a mis-statement of what Mr. Jinnah said, because he only confined the non-interference to the choice of the State on the question of accession. But apart from this, does it mean that States which have acceded to the Government of India may kill all the Muslims, may misgovern, may do whatever they like and the Government of India will not interfere in the interests of good government? And yet, nominally, in the interests of good government and to prevent clashes, the States Department has taken over the government from the States of Manavadar and two others who, as tributaries of Junagadh, retracted from their accession to the Indian Union. What is the use now of the Maharaja of Patiala, after all the Muslims have been eliminated from his State, standing up as the champion of peace and order. If only he had done that earlier, many Muslim lives would have been saved. There can be little doubt that the Sikhs were out to annihilate the Muslims rather than to drive them away, and yet the Indian Government finds itself impotent to take any steps against them.

5. Are you aware that six Sikh Councils have been formed throughout Eastern Punjab and it is they who are dominating the policy in the towns, the villages, the tehsils and in the districts? This is particularly so in the Jullundur Division. Surely this will lead to a breakdown of the last vestige of government. It is actually the treatment accorded to the Muslims in the Indian States that is responsible for what has taken place in Kashmir. Much as Pakistan may have desired that Kashmir should accede to it, it was never prepared to go to an armed conflict on that issue. I have no doubt that it expected that Muslims would be permitted to influence public opinion in favour of Pakistan, as Sheikh Abdullah might do in favour of the Indian Union. The attack by the State Dogra troops on the Muslims of Jammu seems to have been ignored. Even Gandhiji appeared to have been ignorant of it in spite of the statements made by Sheikh Abdullah himself after he was freed from jail and before he became Prime Minister. The Muslims, in spite of their being 78 percent or so in Kashmir, had to flee the State and found refuge in NWFP and in the Punjab. Nobody appeared ready and willing to take any steps against the State. The Indian Union had not taken steps even against those States that had acceded to it all the time that the Muslims were being massacred or being driven out. The Pakistan Government was not in a position to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Muslims. Somebody had to save the Muslims of Kashmir and this is the answer to the struggle of the people of Kashmir themselves, assisted by people from outside who in their turn must have received sympathy and assistance from Muslims in general.

Can you tell me what else could have been done to save the Muslims in Kashmir from being treated in the same manner in which, say, the Muslims were treated in Kapurthala where the Muslim population was 68 percent and from where also the last Muslim has been eliminated? Why has the action of the Dogra troops against the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir so conveniently been overlooked? At the very most it can only be said that they were proceeding against Muslims who wanted the Kashmir Government to accede to Pakistan; but surely a movement for accession to Pakistan was not a crime or a sin, and there are certain limits to which troops may go in order to crush policy [*sic*] movements which are illegal. It is bad enough that the leaders of the Muslim Convention [*sic* for Conference] are still in jail because they wanted the Kashmir State to accede to Pakistan and that Sheikh Abdullah has been freed from jail and has been made a Prime Minister because he is in favour of the Kashmir Government acceding to the Indian Union. Don't you think that there is something to be said in favour of those Muslims who came to the rescue of the hapless and helpless Muslims of

Kashmir when neither the Indian Union Government nor the Pakistan Government feels called upon to intervene, however serious the oppression?

6. Let me give you another case of a State, which has also a bearing on the future of Muslims in India. I refer to Jaipur State. Here, the Maharaja himself is very sympathetic and is anxious to see that the Muslims are given a fair deal, but he has had to give up his struggle against oppression and bigotry. The three Praja Mandal Ministers were all Congressmen and appear to be anti-Muslim in their outlook. Let me give you the complaints as made to me. The city of Jaipur itself has one-third Muslim population. The Muslims are being boycotted in trade, in business and labour. There are about 12,000 *hammals* who are now without work and food. Rations to Muslims have been stopped since the 15th of August and the matter is being put off from day to day. The city is quiet but murders have started in the villages and people are being killed in trains. Cash, ornaments, etc., cannot be moved out; persons are searched and their money and valuable articles taken away from them. There is a place called Kotputli in Jaipur State near Alwar and Patiala. The Muslims were attacked here; they left the place and went into Jaipur State. The Maharaja himself sent them back to Kotputli but the local Hindus refused to receive them and they had to come back to Jaipur. The same is the state of affairs in Khetli.

7. The Hindu movement for eliminating Muslims from India certainly appears to be very widespread. I do not know whether it is gaining ground but it probably is doing so amongst the people in spite of the strong action of some governments. Take the U.P. for example. Pandit Pant has certainly played up but there is no doubt that some of his colleagues are not so anxious to give the Muslims a fair deal, and it is only a question of time when the Hindu movement will assert itself, unless, and this is a very large unless, steps are taken to change their mentality, and the question is how can this be done? No steps appear to have been taken against the RSSS or against the Sikhs. Train traffic for Muslims is still dangerous and it is almost impossible for Muslims to move out of the Rajputana States or Bhopal in that area, to other parts of India.

8. And now I conclude. I do hope you will not be offended as my remarks have been placed before you as a loyal subject to his Prime Minister for whom he has the greatest admiration. It would be futile to bring these matters out in the press as we know that your hands are very full indeed with combating day to day problems, but I should be failing in my duty if I did not place them before you. The future appears to me to be very dark, particularly for Muslims. What are we

to do? Shall we struggle for existence even if the means of struggle have been denied to us, for although Muslims are in a minority they are being disarmed. Such arms as they possess, licensed or unlicensed, they can only keep for purposes of defence. It is sanctimonious to say that it is illegal to keep unlicensed arms. So it is, but the effect of the war has been that India is flooded with unlicensed arms and it is not the Muslims who have got the majority of them. They are being deprived of the weapons of defence and Government is not in a position to oppose Hindu and Sikh mobs. Must the Muslims then just sit back and wait to be annihilated? I fear this is the only alternative. Migrating to Pakistan is an impossibility. Pakistan should have been given far more territories if it was intended to absorb the Muslim population of the Indian Union. And even if the Muslims wanted to migrate, there is no way for them to do so. They will be killed along the route, so it is better for them to die in their homes. I feel very pessimistic. Can you give a ray of hope?

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Appendix III. 18.
[2]See Annex to No. 75 for Liaquat's statement and the *Statesman*, 12 October 1947 for Patel's rejoinder. For Liaquat's subsequent rejoinder, see the *Pakistan Times*, 16 October 1947.
[3]The *Pakistan Times*, 10 October 1947.
[4]Annex to No. 144, Vol. II, 316-7.

III. 25

H. S. Suhrawardy to Ravi Shankar Shukla[1]

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
6 November 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

You may remember that you told me that you had received a letter[2] from the Government of Sind asking you whether you were prepared to take back some Hindu officers of Sind. I spoke to the Premier of Sind about this. On the other hand it is not intended to give any option to any Hindu officer to leave Sind and seek service in any other province. I am very glad of this because I would like all provinces to keep their Hindu and Muslim officers as much as possible.

I should be grateful if you could let me know if you have now taken any steps to return the arms to the Muslims of the C.P. I believe that the arms were taken away and were not returned long before the theft of guns from the ordnance factory was detected, so that could hardly be a reason for depriving the Muslims of their guns. Don't you think it fair that the minority should be given protection inasmuch as no government can possibly protect people in the case of a general upheaval and if a large section of the majority community is bent upon annihilating the minorities. In C.P. the Muslims are particularly vulnerable as they are so few in number.

What would you say to this and do you think you would like to take any action? I think you know Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan. He occupied an honoured place in your province. He was exempt from licenses as long ago as 1934. He was migrating into Karachi but he thought it proper before leaving for Karachi to inform the Superintendent of Police that he had two guns [and] a revolver which he intended to take with him to Karachi. He asked the Superintendent of Police how to set about it. The S. P. said he would consult the Government and later he sent two Sub-Inspectors to his house to take charge of the guns and the revolver. Now, what justification can there possibly be for taking these guns away from him, particularly when he was leaving the place altogether. Then his house was searched and, although several people were present in the house who had come to see him off, two Sikhs were brought in from outside to function as search witnesses. Then, after that, his luggage was searched at the aerodrome. The trunks were opened, the clothes of the ladies were brought out and jerked individually and opened, obviously with a view to insult and annoy.

So you can see for yourself that it is not all one-sided. There are various methods resorted to by the lower staff to humiliate Muslims in spite of the best endeavours of Government.

Kindest regards,

Your sincerely,

[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1] Premier, CP & Berar.
[2] Not traceable.

III. 26

Charles O. Thompson to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/11-1047
[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,
CALCUTTA,
10 November 1947

No. 1853

MEETING OF MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERS IN BENGAL

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, former (last) Premier of Bengal, yesterday convened a meeting at Calcutta of about 200 representatives of Muslim League organizations in the various provinces of India and in several of the native States. Delegations in most instances were headed by Provincial or State Muslim League Presidents. In his opening address to the meeting, Mr. Suhrawardy emphasized the need for continuing peace between the two Dominions. It is Suhrawardy's hope later on to convene a large, more fully representative meeting of prominent Muslims from all parts of India with a view to promoting harmony between Muslims in India and their Hindu neighbors and enunciating policies, for adoption by the Governments of both India and Pakistan, which will allay the present fears of the minority communities in both Dominions.

Mr. Suhrawardy plans to leave for Delhi in a few days to present to Pandit Nehru his version of the Muslim position in India. He has summarized his ideas in this regard in letter form; a copy of this letter, given to me in confidence, is transmitted herewith.[1] I have of course no assurance that Mr. Suhrawardy will not amend it substantially before he presents it to Mr. Nehru.

A second meeting of Muslims, confined to residents of West Bengal, was convened in Calcutta yesterday by Dr. R. Ahmed, [a] Muslim Nationalist. Maintaining that the Two-nation Theory was responsible for the calamities which have befallen India, the meeting asked Muslims to follow the lead of Maulana Azad and support the Congress party, condemned the invasion of Kashmir and denounced Suhrawardy's convocation of Muslim League leaders.

[1]Appendix III. 24.

III. 27

H. S. Suhrawardy to Jawaharlal Nehru

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
14 November 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

I know it is imposing upon you to request you to read my speech.[1] But I am not doing so out of the traditional conceit of an author but because it does contain certain claims on your attention.

You may remember that some time ago I sent you what I called the draft declarations which I hope would form the basis of discussion between the two Governments. I hoped that the Pakistan Govt. would take the initiative. Although their principals appear to agree with the declarations, they seem hesitant to take the initiative or perhaps they don't consider them to be of sufficient importance. We, Muslims of India, however, consider the principles underlying the declarations to be very vital. For instance, co-operation between the two Dominions, eschewing of war for all time, melange of Muslims and non-Muslims in the administration, in the Army, and in the Police, representations in the Ministry of Muslims etc., etc. Would it be possible for your Government to take the initiative in promoting such a conference? I think if you did so and the Pakistan Govt. did not respond, the world will then see who is creating the difficulties.

May I request once more that you do me the honour of reading my speech. If at any time you would care to comment upon it, I shall feel doubly honoured.

Yours sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARDY]

[1]Not traceable. See Appendix III. 26.

III. 28

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. K. Gandhi

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA, [DAVIS ROAD,]
LAHORE,
19 November 1947

Respected Mahatmaji,

I have been in Lahore a few days.

1. I find a very healthy feeling gaining ground in favour of cooperation with non-Muslims and particularly Hindus, which will make resettlement easier. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, who has resigned, intends to carry on propaganda in favour of welcoming back the Hindus. I have made certain suggestions to the Government here to give facilities on this score. Hindus are applying to open their shops, and already several have been opened but some are experiencing difficulties. They want someone specially deputed to take up the cudgels on their behalf, and interpret their difficulties. You may remember that sometime ago I pointed out to you that there was no machinery which would enable minorities to present their grievances to Government. I suggest that all Governments appoint, for the time being at least and with the avowed object of facilitating resettlement, watching the interests of the minorities and smoothing their difficulties, Minority Welfare Officers who may be two at each place, Hindu and Muslim, or even one. This is worth a trial, and I am sure that persons of honour and goodwill can be found who will work honestly. This officer must be prepared to *fight*[1] for the cause of the minority against his own Government.

2. Muslims still feel bitter over the atrocities committed by the Sikhs and the RSSS, particularly the Sikhs; and they blame the Hindu and Sikh Police and Military, other than Gurkhas and Madrasis. When I challenge them to say that there is little to choose between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, they deny it vehemently. They point out that the Military in West Punjab as well had a number of Hindus, Dogras and Sikhs; and while their brothers were attacking Muslims in East Punjab, they were doing their similar bit in West Punjab. Both qualitatively and quantitatively they declare that the Sikhs have committed with the help of the armed forces of the Sikh States, and the Police, Military and Magistracy of East Punjab, far, far greater atrocities. However, this will always remain shrouded in mystery and no attempts will ever be made to arrive at the truth. The reason why I point this out to you is to

voice my fear that Sikh resettlement will be difficult, and the Sikhs themselves are not likely to return soon. One way out, which will soothe the natural resentment of those on either side who have become paupers, is to facilitate exchanges of lands, houses, zamindari interests and factories. A joint policy for the treatment of evacuee properties must be settled soon.

3. I am glad to say that *most* of the Hindu and Sikh houses in the city of Lahore (other than the walled portion) are intact, and many have not been looted. This, however, makes the Muslims all the more resentful of my remarks regarding resettlement. They point out that there are no Muslim houses or shops intact in Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Ludhiana so to what can the Muslims return? Personally I think that with the *almost* certainty that the Sikhs will not return for some time the Muslims can give up the idea of going back to the Jullundur Division, the Amritsar District and the Ambala District of the Ambala Division and the Sikh States. Sikhs should be settled there instead of dispersing them. The West Punjab Govt. claim that the Muslims had far more lands under cultivation in East Punjab than the Hindus and Sikhs had in West Punjab. The claim of the East Punjab Govt. to the contrary is untenable. The figures have been worked out (I am studying them).

4. I went to Okara, and there I met a number of refugees from Hissar, and Karnal. In Hissar the Muslims did not want to go, and put up a stiff fight against the Jat attackers. They were driven out by the Military. Along the route to the border, between Abor and Sulaimanki Head, the convoys were repeatedly attacked—*this whole area was death trap* for weeks on end. The Indian Union and East Punjab Governments, however, always reported that everything was satisfactory in this area. Officers have gone and come back with reports that the bodies of Muslims were piled high along the railway track as railways sleepers are piled high. It appears that the convoys were *not* Pakistani troops, as they should have been according to the agreement. *For the first time* the convoy which came out on 7th November has been allowed to get through unscathed. Will Panditji be good enough to enquire although it is too late? This is why Meos fear they are being sent out so that they may be attacked *en route*. The forcible displacement is still going on in spite of assertions to the contrary, which I may be pardoned for saying, embody fine sentiments, but are not carried out.

a. Chang village in Hissar was attacked by the authorities on 29th October. Tehsildar Ashraf Ali Khan was killed. The public were helped by the Military. The refugees caravan from village

Mundhal, in Tehsil Hansi was attacked between Muhaim and Hissar and women forcibly removed.

b. In village Kharbala, Tehsil Hansi , District Hissar, Muslims have been forcibly converted wholesale. They want an escort to get out.

c. On the 27th and 28th Oct. from Tohana village in Hissar Muslims were forced to evacuate, by the Revenue Officer and local police. The local population could not succeed in removing them.

There has been such a persistent effort by the local authorities in Hissar to displace the Muslims that any effort to keep back Muslims still in this village—if there be any—would appear to be fruitless. This move is so foolish, as Hissar is known as a famine district and the softer and well to do Sikhs and Hindus from the canal areas will not find it easy to cultivate the lands here.

5. The factories of Hindus and Sikhs (the latter had few) in West Punjab are mostly still intact. The D.C. Montgomery [now Sahiwal] states categorically that he has not allowed even one of them to be damaged in the slightest. This compares very unfavourably with what has happened in East Punjab where the factories of Muslims—from all account here—have been looted or damaged or despoiled. The Sikhs formed Gurdwara Committees, why Gurdwara it is not known, perhaps they think that any injustice done in the name of Gurdwara is permissible—and allotted individual machines from factories to anyone who asked for them. They appear to think that these evacuee properties are a godsend for the nation. Looting is bad enough, but what about deliberate, cool and calculated despoilation under cover of government authority. The D.Cs. East Punjab appear to be powerless *vis-a-vis* the Sikh Council of Action. Hindus can come and inspect their factories here; facilities will be given to them; no Muslim however may go the other side to inspect his own factory. I am not drawing a partial picture, although it sounds like it. As a matter of fact, no Muslim can show his nose in the Jullundur Division. Batala was a big factory town in the East Punjab almost wholly Muslim. I wish I could get some report of the present state. I would like to see it myself and will be too happy if the statements circulated here are found to be incorrect. I shall visit with D. Mehta.

Nearly all the carpet makers in Amritsar were Muslims. One Mr. Constantides, a Greek, ran a large handloom carpet concern. He sent a special plane to remove his yarn, but was not allowed to do so.

The mills of Birlas at Okara are all intact. So are the Steel and General Mills of Goculchand Narang at Moghulpura. I made special enquiries about this.

6. a. I met a young Muslim at the aerodrome in Delhi or Lahore. He said that he was one of the proprietors of Mana Brothers, Serai Hafiz Banna, Sadar Bazar. He was working there, when the Custodian of Evacuees' Properties asked him to get out and sealed the shop. Such things are taking place on the flimsiest pretext; generally on the excuse that the man is disposing off his shop or his goods, and will ultimately run away with this own money. This provides a ready excuse for such high-handedness.

b. One test whether Government is on top of the lawless elements will be to see that the mosques which have been made into *mandirs* are put back to their former state. I brought to the notice of Jawaharlal such instances but no action appears to have been taken yet.

i. Near the Odeon Cinema in New Delhi the mosque has been converted into a temple, with flag, bell and idol.

ii. Similarly, the. mosque near the Novelty Cinema known as Pilikothi.

7. I wonder if anyone will have the courage to tell the Sikhs how their leadership has blundered, and they should pull themselves up and be decent citizens. They demanded the partition of the Punjab although they were warned it would not be to their interest; they made preparations to take revenge for what they considered to be their defeat in March 1947 in Rawalpindi, Multan and Amritsar and chose Independence Day for launching their attack against their co-nations [*sic*]; they did not realise that this would lead to reprisals in West Punjab; they pulled out of Lyallpur at the instance of Kartar Singh when things were settling down and started a fresh series of disturbances beginning with the attack of the Sikh States on their Muslim subjects; they did not realise that they would lose in wealth in the long run and would not enhance their reputation for bravery by killing defenceless women and children, although they could increase their reputation for fierceness and savagery; that they are not increasing their popularity among well-meaning Hindus by spreading the poison to other parts of India; that by defying Government and the authorities they are not strengthening themselves; that it will not pay them to prepare for an attack on Pakistan, which will bring them into conflict with the Indian Union and Pakistan. You must have noticed the call of *Jathedar* Uddham Singh for two lakh volunteers for the Shahidi Dal to enable the Sikhs to celebrate the next *Deewali* in Nankana Sahib. How is it that such wild and inciting statements are allowed to be printed and the speakers are allowed to roam about unscathed. I am certain that if the Government will not curb them, they will overwhelm the Government in

due course. The Government must get over its Sikh fright and begin to assert itself. The conduct of the Sikh States is being even condoned in spite of the wholesale genocide, on the unsubstantial plea that there is no agreement with Pakistan on the States; as if the lack of such agreement exonerates the Indian Union Government from taking steps in the case of a government which has acceded to it, when it is guilty of such wholesale murder. And on the plea of a possibility of a communal riot in Manavadar, the Indian Union Government troops occupied the State and took over the administration. I want here to record an incident regarding the Maharaja of Faridkot. A Sikh lady has been married to a Muslim gentleman under the Civil Marriage Act (I can trace the parties if Panditji would like to be satisfied regarding the authenticity of the story); she was travelling down from Simla with the Maharaja of Faridkot. This person stopped his car when he met Sikh *Jathas,* and asked them if they had killed any Muslims. Some replied in the affirmative; others that they had searched far and wide and had got only one or two victims. Then he asked them if they had killed any women and children. In one case a Sikh replied that this was against his *dharam;* whereupon the Maharaja upbraided him soundly and abused him; some said they had killed a number of women and children; he praised them and asked whether the women shouted and screamed or not. The lady said she turned sick and the Maharani at the back of the car wept as she heard all this.

I hear that Shri Raghunandan Saran holds the view definitely that there will be no peace here until the Sikhs are eliminated from Delhi, and the Sikh D. C. here changed.

8. I learnt there that owing to the conduct of the Sikhs, Hindus are running away from Batala, Gurdaspur, Dhariwal, Amritsar. This should be checked up before it is believed.

9. I tried to assess the likelihood of Hindus staying back. Raja Ghazanfar Ali[2] is in despair. He says he tried his best, and the Hindus did stay back and some of your disciples went to Chakrod and elsewhere to see things for themselves and were satisfied. But what with special trains and special planes (when trains were returned from Chakwal empty) and agents of somebody presuming to speak on behalf of the Indian Union Government and the Congress, the Hindus started moving out again. They are being definitely told that there will be a war between Hindustan and Pakistan, and then the Muslims will kill them. I learnt that a Punjabi tried to get the Hindus out of N.W.F.P.; all the Hindus in the camps have left; one Kapur has gone there in the place of [K. L.] Punjabi and he is approaching the Hindus *who are not in*

the camps, and who do not want to go, and is frightening them into leaving. Can nothing be done to stop this? If he cannot loyally carry out the policy of Nehru, should he not be removed? All liaison officers of the Indian Union are frightening the Hindus into moving out. The liaison officer of Montgomery deliberately went from place to place inciting the Hindus to leave; and ultimately went among the *Chamars* and made them leave. Why should such officers continue in service?

Liaquat Ali Sahib said that his Hindu sweeper whom he brought to Karachi with his family, and was earning as much as Rs. 80 per month, and whose family members were also earning, and was quite happy suddenly wants to leave. He says nothing but that he wants to go. On being told that he won't get his fare out, he says that this does not matter, as this has been taken care of by others, who have also made arrangements for his passage out. Who is doing all this, tampering with the Hindus one after [*sic*], paying their fare, arranging for their passage, etc. There appears to be some organisation working against your policy; they are active, and are being supported by some so-called Congressmen. Would or would not the Pakistan Govt. be justified in concluding that there is an organised attempt to disorganise its economy, and to malign it. The speech of Kripalani leaves the unsavoury impression that he deliberately wants the Hindus to leave, because he believes, or pretends to believe, or wants the Hindus to believe that Pakistan will not look after the interests of the minorities, or he does not want the Hindus to be held as hostages in case of war, which he considers inevitable.

10. As regards Kashmir I must confess that I still adhere to the view that the quarrel is not of the seeking of Pakistan. The thing started with the attack of the Dogra troops on the Muslims of Jammu, as admitted by Sheikh Abdullah himself, and the Muslims stood in danger of being annihilated or eliminated, as they have been eliminated from Kapurthala with its majority of Muslim population. The Dogra attack may have been launched to suppress any pro-Pakistani movement, or was the result of the Punjab incidents where there were quite a number of Dogra troops in action against the Muslims. Now there appears to be nobody prepared to save the Muslims from annihilation in the Princely States, and the Muslims had before them as examples the elimination of the Muslims from the five Sikh States and Alwar and Bharatpur. The Indian Union would not intervene even in the case of those States that have acceded to it, and Pakistan is not prepared to fight. So somebody had to intervene. The refugees fled to their relatives and tribesmen just across the border in West Punjab and N.W.F.P.

and there must have been repercussions. I think it is too much to ask, as Nehru had argued, that it was the duty of the Pakistan Government to prevent infiltration by an armed force through Pakistan territory into Kashmir, which was sitting on the fence. You yourself thought that if a Govt. oppresses a Muslim, the Pakistan Govt. would be within its rights, and should threaten war in defence. Further when the Indian Union did not or could not stop the armed forces of Patiala, Faridkot, etc. invading Indian territory and killing Muslims there, there is not much that he can say. The Pakistan Govt. would be inhuman if it did not sympathise with the Muslims who were being ill-treated by the Dogras. It appears that the tribesmen entered from the N.W.F.P. near Muzaffarabad and went along the high road to Baramula. The infiltration is along this high road only and is negligible. What I understand is likely to be more serious is *the rising of the people themselves* in Gilgit (they have taken over the Govt.) and in Poonch. To what extent is the Indian Govt. bound to support the aspirations of the people? Does the principle applicable to Rajkot and Junagadh also apply here? The attacks on Muslims in Jammu is still going on. Over one lakh have left.

You may remember a report issued by the Government of India that there was an attack on a Muslim caravan issuing out of Kashmir, and the troops in attendance attacked the raiders and inflicted 600 casualties. This carries no conviction in view of the following factors: (1) The convoys were attacked on two successive days, 5th and 6th November. The incidents were not accidental. (2) High Muslim officials of the Kashmir Govt. were told by the K[ashmir] Govt. that they would be safely evacuated. They were told they would be taken to Sialkot; instead of proceeding by that route, it was diverted to another route to Kathua. It was made to halt. The men were asked to get down. The convoy was then attacked. The women have been taken away, and no one knows what has happened to the men. *Their whereabouts must be explained* .... The incident shows deliberate fiendishness on the part of Govt. I would beg of you to see that an enquiry is instituted, and some efforts made to trace these Govt. officials. I only wish and pray that all these allegations are without foundation, but they have been made by some of the wounded. Liaquat Ali was bitter about all this. He says that Nehru complains because some wild tribesmen snatched away earrings, but to him the Dogra excesses and the rape of the women by the soldiers of the Maharaja himself are of no consequence. What the Afridis have done cannot efface from the minds of the people the excesses committed by the Dogras. Attacks on convoys guaranteed a safe passage by the Kashmir Govt. are still continuing,

and only the day before he has a similar report of an attack from the Military Intelligence Officers. If Pakistan, he says, had really supplied guns and armoured cars, even two to their ten, the story would have been different. He says most definitely that however much the Indian Union Government may cloud the issue, what is taking place in Kashmir is a rising by the people. According to him he speaks sincerely the Muslims have been given tremendous provocation and he congratulates them for having restrained themselves.

11. There is a regular exodus of Muslims from Saharanpur. Cannot Pandit Pant send some trusted Congressmen there to contact Muslim leaders and stop the exodus and find out why they are fleeing.

12. I met the Qadianis. Only a few have been left behind in Qadian, but they are all ready to go back when things settled down. Would it not be too premature to take possession of their public and religious institutions for the benefit of the *Khalsa*?

13. You may remember Mr. Roshanlal, D. C. of Karnal, who said he was prepared to resettle the Muslims (camped in Shahabad, Karnal and Panipat) if that was the policy of the Government. I hope he means what he says. But the following report may give rise to suspicions. I met Mr. Sirajul Huq Quraishi at Okara. He was President of the Muslim League at Shahabad and sent for him and Municipal Commissioner. On 26 October the D.C. Roshanlal came to Shahabad and said that the Muslims (who numbered about 15,000 to 5,000 [*sic*] of non-Muslims, if that many) must vacate three out of the five wards of the city in half an hour. The D.C. congratulated him for having preserved the peace in Shahabad, etc., etc. He had the temerity to ask for the day or two. His younger brother was assaulted, the D.C. entered his *purdah* house and had it vacated. All could not vacate in half an hour; to expedite the exit of those who had not vacated, the police fired on the Muslims and killed 9. Then Mr. Quraishi was arrested under Section 3 by the Police. He had to give bail of Rs. 10,000 in cash and was then released and he escaped to Lahore. And this after the statement that such Muslims as wanted to stay were not to be driven out. The D.C. presumably wanted the houses for the non-Muslim refugees and hence made refugees of the Muslims.

14. I have written a long letter[3] to Liaquat Ali Sahib in which I have requested him to contact Nehru with a view to cooperation, issue a statement welcoming the Hindus (referring to the A.I.C.C. statements if he wishes) and showing his bona fides (but you know what happens here in spite of all resolutions and declarations) give certain facilities to Hindus to enable them to retire, appoint minority welfare officers

which should be reciprocal, frame joint policy regarding properties....

[*Incomplete*]

[1]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health.
[3]Appendix III. 22.

III. 29

H. S. Suhrawardy to Jawaharlal Nehru

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
20 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

The D.C. of Montgomery told me that at your mere wish he had released all the non-Muslims he had arrested for offences during the riots, but Muslims have not been so released in Eastern Punjab and Delhi. In view of the manner in which the minorities have suffered in the two Punjabs do you not think it proper that there should be a general amnesty for minorities? As for the culprits of the majority community, they can never be brought to book as the victims are no more, and the witnesses must have all crossed the boundary. You may have seen the results of the trials recently held of non-Muslims in Delhi. They have all been acquitted, either because the witnesses are wanting, or because it is made out in the absence of the Muslims that the Muslims were the aggressors, and these unfortunate accused merely butchered in self-defence. The majority community can get away with it in a trial held in their own territory; what hope is there of an accused of the minority community getting a fair deal in this atmosphere, with a magistracy such as it has proved itself to be, with assessors drawn from the members of the majority community, with witnesses of one class, etc. Also, the minority has surely suffered enough to merit a general amnesty. Could you kindly look into this, as thousands of Muslims are rotting in jail, without hope of bail or release. Heaven knows what is their condition in custody.

Here is a specific case: On 13.9.47 a bomb burst. About 70 Muslims were arrested by the Faizbazar Police Station from Ibrahimpura, next to Koocha Tarachand, Haveli Shaikh Sabit Ali, Faizbazar, Daryaganj. They were sent to Police *Hajat* where they *remained without food and*

drink for 4 days.[1] On the 4th or 5th day they were sent to the Central Jail where they are at present. There has only been one hearing under Sections 107/161. Names of the accused who belong to Lahore are: Abdul Aziz, son of Faqir Mohamed, Naseeb Ali, son of Ali Mohamed, and M[ohamme]d. Ekram.

But there is a case for a general amnesty of all such accused.

Yours Sincerely,
[H. S. SUHRAWARY]

[1]Underlined in the original.

III. 30

Charles O. Thompson to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/11-2847

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 1877

CALCUTTA,
28 November 1947

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a file of correspondence[1] given to me in confidence on November 27, 1947 by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, ex-Premier of Bengal, together with a covering letter addressed to me. Although the covering letter is dated November 4, 1947 Mr. Suhrawardy told me that he was unable to complete it until after his return on November 25, 1947 from a trip to Lahore. It will be noted that the latest letter,[2] addressed to Nehru, is dated November 20, 1947.

An effort to brief the information and points of view set forth in the enclosed file was given up in the belief that the letters themselves, while repetitious in many instances, will be of interest and value as a rather unusual documentation of current Indian history. Possibly more than any other Indian leader, Suhrawardy has since the advent of independence had the opportunity to move around throughout the communally-affected areas of India and Pakistan and to evaluate and appraise conditions in the light of his long experience in Indian politics. His close association with Gandhi has of course opened up sources of information which, since he is a Muslim, would not otherwise be available to him. As I have previously stated, Suhrawardy is well-informed, highly intelligent, tough-minded. While it should not be assumed that either his facts or point of view, as presented in his letters, are unassailable, his letters will, it is hoped, provide the Department and

the Foreign Service establishments to which copies of this despatch and its enclosures are being sent with data which will make for a clearer understanding of recent unhappy events in India and Pakistan.

Suhrawardy is not optimistic about the immediate future. He is convinced that Pakistan will be able to overcome its financial difficulties and survive as a political entity but he also feels that conditions on this sub-continent generally will become much worse before they become better. Jinnah and Patel share the discredit, in his opinion. The breach between him and Jinnah (whom he regards as a megalomaniac) is probably too deep to heal. As for Patel, Suhrawardy is convinced that Patel intends to "eliminate" Muslims in all areas where they could be a source for communal friction and represents a menace to Muslims, however peacefully inclined, in other parts of India. Suhrawardy also censures Nehru, whom he considers a failure as an administrator, for his inability to control the RSSS and the Sikhs.

It may be of interest to note that, while Suhrawardy is very much on the outside at the moment, many people in Calcutta, British, Hindu and Muslim, expect him to make a strong comeback in due course. He has been offered various jobs with the Central Pakistan Government but has told me that he would only accept the Prime Ministership in succession to Liaquat Ali Khan, whom he regards as incompetent and unstable.[3]

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES O. THOMPSON
Amercian Consul

[1]See Appendix III. 1 to 9 & III. 12 to 22.
[2]Appendix III. 29.
[3]See Appendix III. 10.

APPENDIX IV

REPORT ON THE FINANCES AND ECONOMICS OF PAKISTAN[1]

BY

ARCHIBALD ROWLANDS

TOP SECRET

KARACHI,
12 November 1947

CONTENTS

I. The Budgetary Position
II. Ways and Means Position
III. Balance of Payments
IV. Economic Prospects
V. Organisation and Administration
VI. Economic Relations with Hindustan

INTRODUCTION

1. I have, at one time or another, discussed with the Hon'ble Finance Minister[2] most of the points dealt with below, but I think it would be useful if I set down in a single document the conclusions which I have reached and the recommendations which I wish to make.

2. These conclusions and these recommendations are based on the study of a large number of documents, on discussions with a good many people and, of course, on my previous knowledge of the country and its economy. During the period of my brief stay in Pakistan I paid visits to Dacca (and Calcutta), to Lahore, where I attended the Finance Ministers' Conference, and to Bombay where I explored with the Reserve and the Imperial Banks the problem of financing the current jute and cotton crops.

3. This report is primarily concerned with finance and economics. I have, however, ventured to offer some suggestions relating to administration and organisation. I have tried not to obtrude upon the political field, but since political factors are interlocked at a number of points with financial and economic matters, I have not been able to avoid all reference to political considerations.

THE BUDGETARY POSITION

4. Pakistan's budgetary position in the next few years is bound to be

a difficult one. The areas now comprising the Dominion did not contribute more than 10% to the Central revenues of the undivided India, whereas it has assumed a much larger percentage of the expenditure: the main burden arises, of course, under the heading of Defence and the cost of the Tribal Areas. The Finance Department have roughly estimated that over the next five years there will be a cumulative deficit of the order of 110 crore on revenue account against a total expenditure of 253 crore, and this assumes no grants (either by way of income tax allocations or Development Grants) to provinces other than one crore a year to the N.W.F.P. The deficit is relatively a very high one, but in absolute terms is not unmanageable, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. The conditions are unpleasant. They involve *inter alia* the most ruthless economy, the postponement for at least five years both by the Centre and the Provinces of most of the schemes of social betterment about which there has been so much talk in the last two or three years; and the imposition of additional taxation.

5. Under the heading of economy, it will be for serious consideration whether the benefits ensuing from the proposals of the Pay Commission should not be withheld from the Government servants of Pakistan until the financial position of the Dominion materially improves.

6. By far the largest item of expenditure is, of course, on Defence. It is, I think, true that, to quote from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, "Defence is of much more importance than opulence". It is, however, also true, as stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in his budget speech of last February that "not the least of these questions (i.e., questions relating to size of the post-war Forces) is the amount of money that India can and should spare for her Defence Budget having regard to the pressing demands on her resources for social and economic development". I have no doubt that for the next year or two, at any rate, Adam Smith's dictum will prevail. It may well be that in course of time other countries may agree to share, with Pakistan, the financial burden of the defence of the North-West Frontier, but the prospects of such an agreement seem to lie some way in the future.

7. On the side of additional taxation, it is an inescapable fact that in an agricultural economy, the bulk of the taxation must fall on the common man. A good example of this is, of course, the salt tax which was levied in India for centuries for revenue purposes but which Mr. Gandhi, for political reasons, chose to represent as a symbol of what he called 'British Imperialism". Now that British rule has disappeared, the political grounds for abolishing the tax have disappeared also. It is true

that it is a "regressive" tax falling equally on rich and poor, but the amount per head is negligible. I have no doubt that it should be reimposed in Pakistan in the first budget, and that, in view of the higher per capita income as compared with before the war, the pre-war rate should be increased from Rs. 1-9-0 to Rs. 2-8-0 or at least to Rs. 2 a *maund*.

8. The reductions made in my 1946/47 Central Budget of the Government of India in the duties on petrol and betel-nuts should be restored. Indeed, the duty on petrol might well be increased above the 1945/46 level, particularly, if, as has in fact been agreed, the Provinces will cease to levy duty on petrol.

9. In recent years fiscal authorities in many countries have resorted to a new fiscal device, namely, the sales tax. It is lucrative, elastic and relatively easy to collect. The Punjab have a sales tax, but the rates are derisory and yield very little net revenue: much more reasonable rates are levied in Bengal which has had a sales tax for about 4 years: Sind have introduced it as from the first of this month. The obvious course is to have a uniform sales tax for the whole of Pakistan, administered by the Central Board of Revenue, a percentage of the yield being allocated to the Provinces, the percentage being fixed in agreement with them. Legislation will be required.

10. Serious consideration should be given to the possibility of exacting revenue in one form or another from cotton textiles. The textile industry has for years enjoyed the benefit of a high protective tariff and the time is long overdue for levying something in the nature of a countervailing excise. I appreciate that the question has been complicated by partition, in that, on the one hand, India will presumably remain for some years to be the chief source of textiles supply for Pakistan, and, on the other, by the fact that we shall be expanding our own textile industry. But the whole matter is one that merits the closest examination by the Finance and Commerce Departments.

11. Ever since I first came to India in 1937 it has always seemed to me to be wrong in principle and contrary to the interests of the State that net agricultural income (i.e., after payment of land revenue and other expenses of cultivation) should be exempt from income tax. In the past few years one or two Provinces have introduced the tax—Bengal is a case in point, but there is no such tax in either West Punjab or Sind. Income is income from whatever source it is derived and there does not appear to be any justification for exempting a particular kind of income from tax. As in the case of the sales tax, so in the case of agricultural income tax it should be centrally administered and levied at uniform rates throughout Pakistan. As to the rates themselves, there

is no *prima facie* reason why the existing rates of tax on other incomes should not apply. Legislation will be required for the transfer of agricultural income tax from the Provincial to the Central List.

12. What immediately follows may be held to be outside the scope of a discussion on the budgetary position, but since the revenues of the State (and indeed the national wealth) are involved, I make no apologies for raising the issue however briefly. I refer to the land tenure system. There is much talk nowadays of, and many proposals for, the abolition of *Zamindari*. Few will defend the absentee landlord who takes no interest in his lands or his tenants, and there is doubtless much to criticise generally in the prevailing land tenure system. But it is open to doubt whether the replacement of a relatively small number of large land-owners by a large number of small peasant proprietors will be to the advantage of the State. The substitution would undoubtedly be detrimental to State revenues (there would be no large incomes to tax) and would, owing to the lack of resources in the hands of the small peasant proprietor, militate against the achievement of the maximum productivity of the soil. There seems to me to be a great deal to be said for the scheme introduced into [*sic*] the Sudan some years ago, when large new tracts of land were brought under cultivation as a result of large-scale irrigation works. The essence of the scheme is a co-sharing partnership consisting of the State, the cultivator and a company (The Sudan Plantation Syndicate) charged with, and skilled in, farm management. It is beyond doubt that the scheme has greatly increased Sudan revenues and wealth and has immeasurably improved the lot and the standard of life of the peasant cultivator. It is for serious consideration whether a scheme on the lines of the Sudan Scheme should not be applied to the large areas of land which will become cultivable following upon the completion of the lower Sind Barrage.

13. The land tenure system in Bengal (the "permanent settlement") is *sui generis*. It is more than 150 years out of date, has led to almost universal absentee landlordism, has deprived the State of considerable revenue and is largely the cause of "under-administration" of the Districts in the Province. In accordance with the recommendations of more than one Authoritative Body, which have examined the question, the system should be brought to an end as rapidly as possible. But it can't be done overnight.

14. There is one other fiscal possibility affecting the wealthier classes to which I should like to refer, namely, Estate Duties. When I sought to introduce an Estate Duties Bill in the Central Assembly in March, 1946, I was told that it would meet with strenuous opposition from the Muslim members on the ground that it would offend against the

teachings of the holy *Qur'an*. I am obviously in no position to express any view on such a question, but I know of at least one Islamic country where Estate Duty is levied. In view of the compelling necessity for Pakistan to exploit every possible source of revenue, I strongly recommend that the whole question should be re-examined.

15. Two further matters affecting revenue should be mentioned. The first relates to railways. The railways taken over by Pakistan were, by and large, the least remunerative of the Indian railway system. They are, I understand, running at a heavy loss at the moment, and that even after normal conditions are restored, they would still incur losses unless the existing level of fares and rates are increased. The fares and rates should be raised as soon as possible to a level which will ensure that the railways will at least cease to be a burden on Central Revenues.

16. The second matter relates to the agitation which has begun to appear in certain quarters, particularly in Bengal, for the introduction of prohibition and the abolition of betting on horse racing. Pakistan just cannot afford, in present circumstances, to indulge in such ideological aims. It might make it easier to hold the present position if the Provincial Excises were transferred to the Centre. The Bengal Government would, I know, favour this course and so, I think, would the Punjab, but the Sind Government are, I believe, reluctant to agree.

17. The practice of the most stringent economy and the fullest exploitation of new sources of revenue will still leave Pakistan with a budget deficit during the first year or two of its existence. Modern economic and fiscal doctrine, unlike the classical Gladstonian Doctrine, does not require the balancing of a nation's budget in each and every year. Indeed, modern doctrine positively encourages a budget deficit in a year of economic depression; but it does insist that *over a period*[3] (and the period must be relatively short, except in war time) the budget must be balanced. The fact, therefore, that Pakistan will start off with a budget deficit will not attract criticism except from those whose business it is to cry down Pakistan's credit. But it is of *crucial importance* that Pakistan should demonstrate from the very beginning its determination to achieve budgetary equilibrium at the earliest possible date. In the absence of such a demonstration, there will be a lack of confidence in the currency, a hesitation to invest in Government loans, and a failure to attract overseas capital which will be essential if Pakistan is to develop industrially: and industrial development offers the best hope of national strength both domestically and internationally and of raising the standard of life of the people.

18. What it all comes to is that the citizens of Pakistan will have to

face, for a period, increased taxation and the postponement of desirable schemes of social betterment. During the short time that I have been in Pakistan I have been greatly impressed by the realisation on the part of the "man in the street" that August 15, 1947, did not mean that the millennium had arrived, that while the heights had been won, the victory remained to be consolidated and that many a struggle and much hard work lie ahead before he can hope to reach the rich valleys below. I firmly believe that the mass of the people are prepared and eager to accept present austerity in order to achieve future prosperity for their children, and to endure present sacrifices in order to secure the greatness of their country. But this wonderful spirit has to be mobilised and fostered: and that is the function of political leaders and not of financial or economic advisers.

Section II

WAYS AND MEANS POSITION

19. The Government's Ways and Means position at the present moment and in the immediate future gives cause for disquiet but, not, as I shall seek to show, for alarm. As was inevitable, Pakistan began its career with no disposable cash other than what it could obtain as its share of the cash balances of the undivided Government. At the date of partition these balances amounted to approximately [Rs] 400 crore, but the Hindustan Government could be persuaded to agree to an allocation to Pakistan of only 20 crore. Heavy drafts amounting to some 6.25 crore were made almost immediately on this meagre sum to meet maturing liabilities of the Government of East Bengal. This and the excess of outgoings over receipts in the interval have reduced Pakistan's cash balance to a mere 7 crore. Indeed, were it not for the fact that the bulk of the expenditure on Pakistan's military forces had been *temporarily* charged to a suspense account and not immediately against the Pakistan Government Account, the cash balance would have been exhausted several weeks ago. Even as it is, the Government's cash balance will soon approach the point of exhaustion unless, in the meantime, an additional sum is awarded to Pakistan by the Arbitral Tribunal (to whom the case has been referred) from the cash balance of the undivided Government.

20. It is highly unlikely that the further sum awarded to us by the Arbitral Tribunal will be large enough to enable us to dispense with borrowing altogether during the next nine to twelve months, particularly since, before long, we shall have to face the charging of our defence expenditure as from 15th August, to Pakistan Account. Now I

am strongly of the view that it would be a mistake for Pakistan to float a public loan until there has been a material relaxation of the tension in the sub-continent and until the Hon'ble Finance Minister has presented a realistic budget. We cannot risk our first loan operation being a failure. In any event, it would be an egregious error to float a loan before the case on the cash balance is disposed of by the Arbitral Tribunal, since if we did so and if, by any chance, it *were* a success, we should have conceded the main Hindustan argument against a further allocation to Pakistan from the cash balances of the undivided Government.

21. If, therefore, we run out of cash before the time is ripe to float a public loan, we shall have to borrow from the Reserve Bank of India. It has already been agreed between the two Governments that Pakistan can take loans from the Reserve Bank of India either as ways and means advances or against Pakistan Government *ad hocs*. The amounts which Pakistan may borrow in this way are subject to a limit, but the limit is likely to be high enough to cover our requirements up to 1st October, 1948, when Pakistan will take over the management of its own currency.

22. But it is of the utmost importance that any such borrowings from the Reserve Bank should be repaid by that date (1.10.48). The reason is this: on taking over the management of its own currency Pakistan will become entitled to a share of, *inter alia,* the assets in the Issue Department of the R.B.I. [Reserve Bank of India]. These assets consist, as to about 95% of their total, of gold and sterling securities. Any amounts for which Pakistan may be indebted to the Reserve Bank of India on 1.10.48 will first be deducted from the share of the assets of the Issue Department to which Pakistan will become entitled. In other words, Pakistan would be repaying about 95% of its rupee borrowings from the Reserve Bank in gold and sterling securities.

23. Now it is obvious that Pakistan is concerned to conserve to the maximum extent its gold and sterling assets which will form its main cover for its own currency for which, as already indicated, it will become responsible as from 1st October of next year. Any borrowings from the Reserve Bank should therefore be repaid in rupees.

24. Where are the rupees to come from? The answer is from the proceeds of a public loan which should be floated not before the award of the Arbitral Tribunal or before the Budget. I am assuming that the award will be made in the course of the next month or two and that the Budget will be passed in February or early March. Since one of the objects of the loan is to obtain Indian rupees to repay any borrowings from the R.B.I., it is desirable to float the loan before the

end of March which is the date as from which Pakistan currency will begin to circulate. The loan issue should contain an offer to accept Indian securities in return for Pakistan securities. These Indian securities could be offered to the Reserve Bank in repayment of any borrowings we may have taken from them. In a private conversation which I had in Bombay with Mr. Trevor, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, he indicated that he could see no objection to this course. The terms on which the loan should be floated should be a little more favourable (though not much more favourable) than the terms on which the Government of India are raising money.

25. What are the prospects of such a loan? I venture to think that they are promising. We are assured of substantial subscriptions from Sind and the West Punjab, who, at the date of partition, held Government of India securities to the value of 11 crore and 24 crore, respectively. Unfortunately the West Punjab, under an agreement made in the Punjab Partition Council, have at the moment unfettered control over only 6 crore. East Punjab have similar control over 4 crore, the remaining 14 crore being held by the R.B.I. "in the trust on behalf of the two Governments". I have suggested to the West Punjab Government that this decision of the Punjab Partition Council is invalid as being anterior to, and superseded by, the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947. However, that may be, it is reasonable to assume that, as the result of an Arbitral Award or otherwise, West Punjab will receive 15 crore out of the 24 held by the undivided Punjab Government. Another probable source of a large subscription to the Pakistan Loan is the Government of Hyderabad, who are believed to hold 70 crore of Government of India securities. The investment of 50% of these in Pakistan securities could not be represented as a political act inimical to the interests of the Government of India. Indeed, I have reason to believe that the possibility of Hyderabad's investment in Pakistan loans was raised at one of the discussions between the Hyderabad Delegation and the Government of India, and that it was accepted by Sardar Patel that such investment could not be objected to. (No public use should be made of the information, unless and until it is available from other sources.)

26. Other sources of subscription to the loan are:

a. *Banks*. The total of Government of India securities held by the banks operating in Pakistan amounts to Rs.450 crore, but it is proper to point out that in most cases the bulk of the business of the banks in question is with Hindustan, and that only a relatively small percentage of this amount will come to Pakistan; but even 5% represents over 20 crore.

b. *Insurance Companies.* These, with banks, are the main institutional investors, and it is reasonable to assume that those of them who do business with Pakistan will subscribe to the loan. Indeed, in respect of life policies issued to Pakistan residents, they will be compelled by law to do so. When the time comes, some acts of persuasion or "pressure" might well be taken to induce institutional investors to subscribe to the loan.

c. *The Public.* I have no doubt that, with adequate publicity and propaganda, the people of Pakistan will subscribe generously to Pakistan's first loan. In this connection, the Small Savings Movement should not be overlooked. Apart from the social value of the Movement, it could be made a fruitful source of investment in Government paper.

27. I am optimistically confident that we shall be able to handle our Ways and Means position during the next twelve months and that we shall enter upon the management of our currency free of debt to the Reserve Bank of India and with a currency cover consisting almost entirely of gold and sterling securities.

28. The Ways and Means position in the subsequent four or five years (and thereafter) ought to be perfectly manageable. Given peace and order and realistic budgets, it ought to be possible to create a money market adequate for Government's minimum needs. Moreover, by re-valuing at its proper price, the gold which will come to us from our share of the assets of the R.B.I., and by using our stocks of silver, we could undertake a legitimate, if modest, expansion of our currency, should this prove to be necessary.

29. Before concluding this Section, I should like to refer to two subjects which, while they are perhaps strictly outside its scope, are so closely allied to it that it would be convenient to deal with them here. The first relates to the nature of Pakistan's Currency Authority, and the second to the par value of the Pakistan rupee. To take these in turn.

a. *Currency Authority.* The alternatives are either to adopt the system in force in India before the Reserve Bank of India came into existence. Under this system there was a Controller of Currency located in the Finance Department, with the Imperial Bank conducting Central Bank operations including the "management" of the public debt; or to institute a full fledged Reserve Bank.
If it proves to be practicable, I strongly advocate the second alternative. Considerations of national and international prestige favour it, while the need for an adequate control over the banking system of the country demands it. The main doubt is whether there is a sufficient number of trained Muslim staff to assist in its

creation and in its operation. It would be fatal to set up an institution which showed signs of inefficiency from the start. There is, I think, very serious doubt whether sufficient numbers of senior Muslim officers are available, and I strongly recommend that an early attempt be made to obtain two or three European officers, experienced in Central Banking to help Mr. St. John Turner to work out the organisation of the Reserve Bank of Pakistan and to assist in its opening operations. I feel sure that if an approach were made to the Bank of England for such additional officers to help Mr. St. John Turner and the Muslim R.B. officers on whom he has at present to rely, the request would meet with a sympathetic response. The additional officers in question need not be retained for more than 9 months to a year.

b. *Par Value of the Pakistan Rupee.* With an adequately covered currency, with an approach to budgetary equilibrium, and with a favourable balance of payments on international account (a point which I have dealt with elsewhere in this Report) there ought to be no difficulty in establishing the Pakistan rupee on a parity with the Indian rupee, and in defeating any attempt which may be made to depreciate the former in terms of the latter. This aspect of the question has been dealt with in a note by Mr. St. John Turner, which he has submitted to the Hon'ble Finance Minister and with which I agree. An important step in safeguarding the value of the Pakistan rupee vis-a-vis the Indian rupee is the accession of Pakistan to the International Monetary Fund and (but for different reasons) the International Bank. I know that steps are being taken in the Finance Department to prepare the necessary applications for admission to these two Institutions, and these should be completed as soon as possible. I am not seeking to criticise in any way, since I have noted with admiration and sympathy the way in which the understaffed Finance Department are tackling the very many difficult problems which keep on crowding upon them.

Section III

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

30. All that can be said with certainty about Pakistan's balance of payments position is that, taking trade with Hindustan and overseas countries together, it will be comfortable for the next year or two, i.e. until Pakistan's requirements of capital goods grow appreciably in volume.

31. But (a) owing to the lack of satisfactory statistical data, (b) in the absence of knowledge of the future pattern of trade with Hindustan (a pattern which will be determined, at least in part, by the other Dominion) and (c) owing to the difficulty of forecasting the future trend of prices both here and abroad, it is not possible to predict with confidence the size of the favourable balance either in total or with Hindustan and the rest of the world separately. I have seen estimates which vary by large margins. One estimate gives a favourable balance with Hindustan of about 60 crore and with the rest of the world 4 crore; and another estimate which gives a deficit with Hindustan of about 2 crore and a favourable balance with overseas of about 20 crore. If the first set of figures represents the real position more accurately than the second, as on the basis of the existing pattern of trade and of present prices, I believe they do; and if, as well we might, we shall find difficulty in converting the whole of our favourable balance with Hindustan into other currencies, then we ought to foster our trade with overseas countries at the expense of our trade with Hindustan.

Section IV

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

32. I take it as axiomatic that Pakistan will not be content to remain an almost entirely agricultural State, supplying Hindustan and the rest of the world with the products and by-products of its agriculture. In the modern world, Power is largely synonymous with industrial Power, and if Pakistan is to take her proper place in the world, and if she is to raise substantially the standard of life of her people, she must achieve an appreciable measure of industrialisation.

33. This is not to say that agriculture will not remain, at least for many years to come, her largest single industry. It is not open to argument that output of Pakistan's agriculture is capable of being greatly increased. The subject has been much studied and it is unnecessary to burden this Report with the remedies for the present relatively low output from the soil of Pakistan. Everybody knows what ought to be done, much has indeed been done in recent years, but a great deal more remains to be done. Two points have struck me as a layman, which may be worth mentioning; in Sind, or at least in the barrage area which I visited, the amount of land allotted to the *hari* is far from being too small, as it generally is elsewhere, notably in Bengal, is too large for him to secure the maximum output from the land he cultivates. There seems to me to be room for many thousands of peasant refugees in Sind.

Another point that struck me is the scope which exists for a scheme, on the lines of that worked out by Colonel H.D. Gandhy, for teaching the peasant improved methods of cultivation through the medium of the travelling cinema. I attach a rough outline of the scheme.[4] Col. Gandhy's scheme is doubtless too ambitious and too costly for universal application for many years to come, but it is worth serious examination whether it would not be possible to apply it in one or more selected districts in each Province.

34. Allied to agriculture is the fishing industry. From such enquiries as I have been able to make, the seas around the coasts of Sind and Bengal are very rich in fish, as are to my knowledge, the rivers of Bengal. By and large, the methods employed both in the catching and the marketing of fish seem to be very primitive. The remedies are known but little appears to have been done. Properly organised, the fishing industry of Pakistan would not only add to the food supplies of the people but might also well provide the basis for a flourishing canning industry capable of producing valuable exports and, therefore, foreign exchange.

35. So far, I have discussed only the agricultural "industries". But by "industry" is usually meant the process of manufacture by machines in factories, and it is in that sense that I shall use the word "industry" in the rest of this Section of the Report. I have refrained from discussing "cottage industries" since they have been the subject of much study in recent years. I shall content myself with saying that, in my belief, there is still great scope for their organisation and expansion as a cure for "underemployment" which is endemic in an agricultural economy, and particularly so in Bengal.

36. The obvious line of advance towards the objective of industrialisation is along the path of converting into manufactures the natural resources and the raw materials of the country. Pakistan has so far proceeded only a very little way along this path. Thus, although Pakistan produces 73% of the jute of the sub-continent, it does nof possess a single jute mill and about 75% of its exportable raw jute is pressed in Hindustan. Pakistan has no tobacco factory although it produces one third of the tobacco grown in the Peninsula. East Bengal which has a large output of hides and skins does not have a single tannery. There is only one small woollen factory in the whole of Pakistan; over a third of the cotton produced in the whole of India is grown in Pakistan, which, however, has only 1/30th of the number of textile mills in Hindustan: and so on. The recital of these facts which does not pretend to be exhaustive (e.g. much of Pakistan's fruit goes to waste because of the lack of a proper canning industry), suggests the remedy. Pakistan

should embark, as rapidly as possible, on a properly planned programme designed to manufacture, in its own territories, the products of its own raw materials for which there is an assured home market or which can readily be sold abroad. Doubtless, a percentage of its agricultural produce will continue to be exported as such, e.g. jute, but everything that can economically be carried to the stage of manufacture or semi-manufacture, should be so carried.

37. At the same time, there is much scope for "secondary" consumer-goods industries to meet the requirements of the home market which at present draws its supplies from outside. Examples are matches, inks, paper, hollowware, soap, light engineering, re-rolling mills.

38. Heavy industries will have to come at the end of the programme, partly because they are very costly to establish, and partly because there cannot, for many years to come, be a home market for their products. One of the most important heavy industries of all, the manufacture of iron and steel is faced with the handicap that, so far as is known at present, Pakistan is deficient in accessible supplies of iron-ore and metallurgical coal.

39. Which brings me to the question of the mineral resources of Pakistan. Compared with Hindustan, Pakistan appears to be badly off as regards mineral resources, but it seems to me that, in spite of the very valuable work done, over many years, by the Geological Survey of India, much intensive survey remains to be done before the nature and volume of Pakistan's mineral deposits are fully known. The prospecting for oil can safely be left to Burma Oil (India Concessions) Ltd. They have spent several crores on it already, and are about to embark on a programme of intensive prospecting, which will cost them many crores more and which ought to establish one way or the other where there are large untapped sources of oil in Pakistan. As I pointed out in my tour notes on my visit to East Bengal, the Burma Oil Co. have been gravely handicapped in their search for oil in East Pakistan by doubts about the rightful ownership of any minerals which may be found below the surface of the land which they wish to explore. The East Bengal Government have undertaken to do everything possible to remove the impediments in the way of the Co., but I venture to suggest that the only satisfactory solution is for the Central Legislature to pass an Act similar to the U.K. Petroleum Act, 1934, which vests all petroleum deposits in the State. A copy of the Act is attached.[5] Indeed, I would go further and vest *all* hitherto undiscovered or unworked mineral deposits in the State.

40. The development of Pakistan's natural resources and their utilization for the purpose of manufacture, will demand much greater

resources in managerial technique, technical skill, capital and foreign exchange than can be found by Pakistan's nationals for many years to come. The science of management is almost unknown in Pakistan (as indeed it is in Hindustan), the number of its technicians is extremely meagre, its capital resources are slender and its favourable balance of payments with overseas countries small. The total bank deposits in Pakistan, which reasonably represent the measure of the free capital available for investment, only amount to about 100 crore at the present time. It will cost thousands of crores to achieve a measure of industrialisation with which Pakistan could be satisfied, and a high percentage of this will require foreign exchange, Pakistan's supply of which is, as shown in Section III, very limited, even when reinforced by a share of the sterling balances. It ought to be possible for Pakistan to obtain a loan from the International Bank when she becomes a member of that Institution, but the resources of the Bank itself are insufficient to permit it to do a great deal to bridge the gap.

41. Pakistan's main hope of achieving industrialisation within a reasonable period lies in persuading British and foreign firms to set up undertakings in this country. I am confident that, given certain conditions with which I deal below, it will not be difficult to do this and to secure the agreement of overseas firms to offer to Pakistan nationals participation in the share capital of the new undertakings. Every British firm (and they are numerous) with whom I have discussed the question, have expressed their willingness to welcome Pakistan capital in this way. Nearly every country which, starting from an agricultural base, has attained a reasonable standard of industrialisation, has done so with the help of foreign capital. It may be objected that Soviet Russia is an outstanding exception to this general rule. There are two answers to this. First, the scale of industrialisation in Russia, although very impressive, is nothing like so great as is commonly supposed. Russia's great part in the Allied victory was due to a significant extent to the equipment and supplies furnished to her by Britain and America. Secondly, Russia's industrialisation has been achieved by methods which would not be tolerated in a democratic State.

42. I have expressed the view above that the attraction of foreign capital depends on the fulfilment of certain conditions. The first and most obvious of these is the maintenance of peace and order within the Dominion and the removal of the threat of war with Hindustan. Viewed from the outside, the position in this regard looks much more tense and precarious than it really is. I fully recognise that the relaxation of the present tension does not depend on Pakistan alone, but, in so far as it lies within Pakistan's power to bring it about, it would be in

Pakistan's best interests to make the attempt. The second condition is the establishment, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, of strong and stable Governments. I shall elaborate this point in the next Section of this Report. The third condition for the creation of confidence in the minds of overseas entrepreneurs is an approach to budgetary equilibrium at the earliest possible date. I have discussed this question at some length in Section I of my Report and I need do no more than refer to it here. The fourth condition is that foreign enterprises establishing themselves in Pakistan, with or without the help of Pakistan capital, will require guarantees that they will be given a fair "run for their money" and that they will not be nationalised as soon as they begin to prosper. There is much loose talk both in the Pakistan Press and by the odd Provincial Minister about the determination to make Pakistan a "Socialist State" and to secure that, the means of production shall be in public ownership. Talk of this sort which is indulged in by writers or speakers who, as often as not, either do not fully comprehend the meaning of the terms they use, or do not appreciate its implications, cannot fail to frighten away foreign capital, and particularly capital from America where the belief that the most massive production apparatus that the world has even seen could only have been built up by individual and private enterprise, amounts to an article of faith.

43. I do not, of course, contend that there are not spheres in which public rather than private ownership is not the right answer, e.g. irrigation schemes, public utilities and possibly transport. But even here caution is necessary in the circumstances in which Pakistan finds itself at present. To illustrate, I understand that the Sind Government are contemplating buying out the Karachi Tramway Company, which is foreign-owned. It seems to me to be highly imprudent for a Province, whose capital resources are limited, to spend a part of those resources on assets which already exist rather on creating new assets which are required for the good of the Province. Again, there is a belief in certain quarters, particularly in East Bengal, in respect of the jute crop, that large accretions to State revenues can be obtained through the direct purchase and sale of commodities and that by cutting out the middleman's profits the State Exchequer will derive a large benefit. I believe this to be a complete illusion. Somebody will still have to perform the services now performed by the *beoparis* and I have no confidence at all that civil servants or Government agencies can carry out these services more efficiently and more economically than the present merchants. It is significant that the hardheaded mill owners of Calcutta are content to rely on the present system and to pay for the services rendered by these merchants. In any case, I should have thought

that the very unfortunate financial results of the procurement operations of the Bengal Government during the past four years would have weaned Ministers and Secretaries to Government alike from the belief that large profits can be made for the Exchequer by indulgence in State trading.

44. I believe it to be essential that an early announcement should be made clearly defining the areas in which the Centre and the Provinces propose that public ownership should operate, and guaranteeing that the rest of the field will be left to private enterprise.

45. The measures discussed above will not be enough to induce a sufficient number of Pakistan-owned or jointly-owned enterprises to establish themselves in the Dominion. Fiscal measures are also necessary. These fall under two headings, namely, protective tariffs and tax concessions. It has been the almost universal practice of Governments to safeguard new and nascent industries against outside competition by a system of protective tariffs. It is axiomatic that the tariffs should be high enough to secure effective protection but not so high or maintained for so long as to encourage complacency, slackness or inefficiency . Government will doubtless appoint a Tariff Board to advise it on the initial rates and to review the rates at intervals. But with Pakistan starting almost from scratch in the industrial field, I would go further than protective tariff and give tax concessions. I think that it would not be unreasonable that during the first five years of the operations of a new company establishing itself in Pakistan, no income-tax or related tax should be charged until it has earned—5% profit on the capital employed, that on the next 5 or 10%, only half the tax should be levied and that full tax should only be imposed on profits in excess of 10 or 15%.

46. Given the conditions and measures suggested above, I am optimistic about the prospects of a satisfactory scale of industrialisation in Pakistan. This optimism is partly based on discussions which I have had with representatives of numerous companies who have come to see me during the short time that I have been in Karachi.

47. It is sometimes held that a country accepting the investment of foreign capital runs the dual risk of political domination or pressure by the countries supplying the capital and of having its economy shaped in the interests of the investing countries rather than in the interests of the country in which the investments are made. The first risk I believe to be a complete illusion. The second risk certainly exists in theory but it is not so serious that it cannot be held in check by the weapons which a modern sovereign State knows how to forge for itself.

48. Before concluding this Section of my Report, there are three other

matters to which I should like briefly to refer, namely, electricity supply, port facilities and technical education. To take these in turn.

Modern manufacturing processes depend on an adequate supply of power, and power, in this context, means for the most part, electric power. The production of electric power should therefore keep step with the additional power load which increasing industrialization will entail. Whether the additional power should be provided thermally or hydro-electrically will depend on circumstances. It is a widely held illusion that electricity can be generated more cheaply hydro-electrically than thermally. This is by no means universally the case. The 'servicing' of the additional capital cost of a hydro-electric station as compared with a thermal station generally offsets the greater operating costs of the latter. It is only when a hydro-electric scheme is part of a multi-purpose scheme, e.g. electricity-cum-irrigation or/and flood control, thus spreading the overheads, that a hydro-electric system is generally cheaper than a thermal system. A multi-purpose scheme will almost inevitably have to be financed by the State, but a purely electric scheme could, if necessary, be financed by a public company.

So far as ports are concerned, West Pakistan possesses in Karachi a port which should, with little extra cost, provide for its needs for many years to come. Some improvement in its wharfage and cranage facilities would doubtless be an advantage, but Karachi's main deficiency appears to me to be the absence of a dry dock, the provision of which would not cost a great deal of money and which could well be financed and operated, as often happens elsewhere, by private enterprise.

The case with East Pakistan is quite otherwise. The present capacity of Chittagong is quite inadequate for even present need and still less for future growing requirements. Fortunately, the capacity of Chittagong can be greatly increased without enormous expense, particularly if the wharfage capacity is supplemented by a really adequate lighterage service.

While Chittagong will remain the chief port of East Pakistan, the possibility of creating other subsidiary ports in the Province should be examined. I have dealt in some detail with the whole question of the port facilities of East Pakistan in my note on my visit to Dacca.

Finally, technical education. In Section I of my Report, I have suggested that Pakistan must reconcile itself to the postponement of any scheme of free compulsory literary education until, as a result of the wealth generated by industrialisation, the money can be found for it. But if Pakistan is to industrialise itself, it must provide itself with a sufficient number of technically trained personnel, the supply of which

is, at present, gravely deficient. This will involve, *inter alia*, the setting up of trade schools, polytechnics and technological faculties in the universities. A scheme of overseas training in the advanced industrial countries should also be instituted. I am satisfied from discussions I have had with them, that British firms who are contemplating coming to Pakistan, will be very willing to train Pakistanis in their works in the United Kingdom.

49. One final word of caution. The output of trained technical personnel should be phased with the growing requirements of industry and commerce. We should avoid the mistake made by India in the past of producing educated young men in numbers largely in excess of the jobs available to them.

Section V

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

50. I should like to begin this Section of my Report by making a few general remarks. They are admittedly based on inadequate observation, and, to some extent, on hearsay, but the hearsay is that of highly credible witnesses. I, therefore, offer these remarks with some hesitation, but I should be failing in my duty if I did not put them forward.

51. My main general impression of the administration is that, with outstanding exceptions, it is weak in relation to the enormous tasks which confront it. The weakness applies both to Ministers and to the Civil Service. To a large extent, this is inevitable. To take the Punjab as an example. Owing to the political pattern of the recent past, most of the present Ministers have had little experience in government, while, so far as the Civil Service is concerned, the withdrawal of the bulk of British officers could not fail to produce a serious weakening of the day-to-day administration.

52. There is no short-term cure for these weaknesses, but as regards Ministers, I can think of three or four Muslims whose appointment to posts in the Government, either central or provincial, would represent a considerable accession of strength to the Administration. If it were politically possible as I personally believe it to be politically desirable, to appoint non-Muslims as Ministers, the field of selection would be greatly widened. As regards the Civil Service, I think that renewed attempts should be made to bring back, for a limited period, British I.C.S. officers who hastily retired on partition. I have noted, with some surprise and disappointment, a reluctance in certain quarters, to take advantage of the offer of services by British Officers, whose motives are, I am satisfied, actuated less by self-interest than by a genuine

desire to lend a helping hand to Pakistan in its ineluctable initial difficulties.

53. The inexperience of Ministers is leading to some unfortunate results. There is a tendency for Ministers, either *suo motu* or under pressure from local M.L.A.'s, to interfere with or cancel, the executive orders of Government officers in the districts. Nothing is more destructive of the morale of the public service than action of this sort.

54. I have also heard rumours, conveyed to me from responsible quarters, of bribery and corruption in high places. The success and, indeed, the survival of Pakistan depends, in the last analysis, on the support and confidence of the people. Nothing undermines and saps the confidence of the people more than the belief that those who rule their destiny indulge in bribery and corruption. I am pleased to see that the Government of East Bengal appear to be making a determined effort to eradicate bribery and corruption from their Province. The Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45, over which I had the honour to preside, has much to say about bribery and corruption, and with all modesty I commend the study of that Report, which covers the whole field of administration, to the study of Ministers and senior officers of the Centre and the Provinces.

55. In considering questions of Governmental Organisation, I propose to confine myself to two aspects of the problem, namely, the relation of the Centre to the Provinces, and the administrative set-up at the Centre for the purposes of Planning and Development.

As regards the former, I have been credited in certain sections of the Press with holding the view that the West Punjab, Sind, the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan should be amalgamated into a single political and adminstarsative unit, to be christened "West Pakistan". Now, I personally think that on grounds of economy, both in terms of money and of administrative manpower, there is in fact a great deal to be said for such an amalgamation, but I recognise that such a solution is politically impossible, at least in the immediate future. Moreover, I believe that a man can be a better patriot of his country for being a good patriot of his village, district or province. But there are obvious dangers in a narrow provincialism. If Pakistan is to be strong, it must be strong at the Centre. We must hear less of Baluchistan for the Baluchis, Punjab for the Punjabis, Sind for the Sindhis, Bengal for the Bengalis, and more of Pakistan for the Pakistanis. It was partly for this reason that in an earlier Section of this report, I advocated the transfer to the Centre of sources of revenue at present drawn upon by the Provinces.

Another subject which it is of the highest importance to include in the Central List is industrial development. The grounds for this are so

strong and so obvious that it is surprising that the subject was omitted from the Central List in the 1935 Act. Industrial development is, for example, so bound up with fiscal policy that the two should be dealt with by a single authority. Then again, the location of industry is, in these days, determined to a large extent by strategic considerations on which the Centre is in a better position to pronounce than the Provinces.

56. Associated with, and indeed an essential part of industrial policy, is labour policy which should also be a Central subject. It is vital that in Pakistan labour should be organised on saner and more healthy lines than in India, where labour in recent years seems to have got completely out of hand, to the detriment of the national wealth, and, indeed, of the best interests of the workers themselves. I have noted with disquiet some signs of the appearance in Pakistan of undesirable and subversive activities on the part of so-called "labour leaders". Whether these leaders are activated by genuine doctrinal beliefs or are being paid by people whose concern it is to add to Pakistan's difficulties, I have been unable to discover; but, in either event, these activities should be firmly handled. This is not to say that I advocate a policy of suppressing or even of discouraging the organization of work-people on orderly lines. On the contrary, I believe that it is in the best interests of Pakistan, its employers and its work-people that there should be strong and well organised associations of workers concerned with the protection of their legitimate interests, able to discipline their members and capable of ensuring that agreements freely negotiated between themselves and the employers are faithfully carried out. I recommend that, in due course, one or more labour Ministry officers should be sent on special duty to the U.K. to study, in consultation with Whitehall and "Transport House", the English system of organised labour which I believe to be the best in the world.

57. By the transfer to the Central List of functions now exercised by the Provinces, I do not intend to suggest that the latter should be entirely excluded from such matters. This would indeed be a great mistake. In the field of Industry for example, while the general policy would be largely determined by the Centre, the execution of that policy, in so far as its execution depends on Governmental action, would rest with the Provinces. In other words, Industry would appear on the "Concurrent List".

58. The creation of a strong Centre may, I fear, be opposed by some political interests. I myself believe such opposition to be founded on an inadequate appreciation of the issues involved, and I hope that every effort will be made to overcome it.

59. As regards the organisation of the Centre for the purposes of planning and development, I have not a great deal to say since, with minor modifications, I agree with the set-up recommended to the Cabinet by Dr. Nazir Ahmad. I agree with him in thinking that there should be a small Central planning staff and agencies of consultation and deliberation. The first should consist of committee of officials and should be presided over not, as suggested by Dr. Nazir Ahmad, by the Prime Minister, but by the Secretary-General. The members should consist of the Secretaries to Government in the "economic" Ministries, and the Finance Ministry, with power to co-opt other members, e.g., a representative of the Defence Ministry when questions of the location of industry are under consideration. The second agency with which the Government should provide itself for planning purposes is a Consultative and Advisory Body consisting of the Prime Minister as Chairman, Ministers in charge of the Economic Ministries, representatives of the Provinces and representatives of industry as members.

60. Finally, there should be a Cabinet Committee on economic policy which will take decisions on the policy issues thrown up by the two bodies referred to above. The Committee should be presided over by the Prime Minister and should otherwise consist of the Ministers in charge of the Economic Departments of Government. The decisions of the Committee should be reported to the full Cabinet for information and, if necessary, for confirmation.

61. Technical panels which it may, in certain cases, be an advantage to set up, are more conveniently located, not in the central planning machine, but attached to the Departments primarily responsible for the industry concerned.

The success or failure of the whole machinery of Planning will depend, to a very considerable extent, on the quality of the permanent staff which serves it. The staff need not be large, but should be first class in quality. It should have an economic section and a statistical section. The latter is of the greatest importance. India has greatly suffered in the past for the lack of an adequate statistical service, without which work of planning will have to take place in the dark. For useful discussion on the importance of statistics to planning, reference may be made to the report on "The manufacture of industrial machinery and equipment for India" by Messrs Ford, Bacon and Davis, a leading firm of American consulting engineers who were employed in 1945/46 by the Planning & Development Department of the Government of India. If it is not regarded as improper for me to do so I should like to say that in my view the Government have been fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Nazir Ahmad as the first head of its Central Planning staff.

62. I have left to the end of this Section a discussion whether there should be a separate "Ministry for Development" or to use another title "Ministry for Economic Affairs". My experience in *Delhi* and *London* leads me to the conclusion that the establishment of such a Ministry would be a mistake. It could not fail to create conflicts of "jurisdiction" with the economic Ministries.

Whether there should be a separate Minister for Economic Affairs (as distinct from a separate Ministry) is more *arguable*. This is the position which has been reached in the United Kingdom. But for such an arrangement to function satisfactorily, the Minister in question *must* be established in a position carrying definite authority over the Ministers in charge of the Economic Departments. There are obvious difficulties in such an arrangement in Pakistan at the present time, and I therefore, agree with the solution already reached, whereby the Central Planning Staff is a part of the office of the Prime Minister.

Section VI

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH HINDUSTAN

63. It is hardly open to argument that close and cordial co-operation between Pakistan and Hindustan in the economic field will ensure to the advantage of both Dominions. Moreover, if it can be avoided, no one would wish to set up a 2,500 miles long customs barrier, with its heavy cost and its almost unlimited possibilities for smuggling and bribery.

Every attempt should, therefore, be made to come to a "customs arrangement" with Hindustan. This need not necessarily go so far as what is commonly comprehended by the term "Customs Union". A *sine qua non* of any such arrangement would be that Pakistan would be free to develop, and to give tariff protection to its nascent industries. Judging by the discussions which the Hon'ble Finance Minister and I had in Delhi, the Government of Hindustan fully accept the position.

64. As explained elsewhere in this Report, Pakistan is likely to enjoy a favourable balance of trade with Hindustan. It will, in my judgement, be necessary, therefore, to negotiate a "Monetary Agreement" with Hindustan, providing, *inter alia*, that if Pakistan acquires Hindustan currency above an amount to be agreed between the two Dominions, the excess over this amount shall be liquidated in gold or foreign exchange. Highly technical details are involved which I do not think it necessary to go into here if for no other reason than that

Pakistan has in Mr. St. John Turner an officer who knows as much about Monetary Agreements as any other man alike.

A. ROWLANDS

[1]*Rizwan Collection,* 259-92. Also see No. 245.
[2]Ghulam Mohammed.
[3]Underlined here and subsequently in the original.
[4&5]Not traceable.

Glossary

Aameen	So be it (said at the end of a prayer)
Adibasi	Aboriginal
A'la Hazrat Jalalat-ul-Malik	Ameer of Bahawalpur's honorific
'Aliya	High
Allaho Akbar	God is great
Ameer	Leader
Ameer-ul-Muslimeen	Commander of the faithful
Ameer-i-Pakistan	Ruler of Pakistan
Anna	A coin equivalent to one-sixteenth of a rupee
Ansar	Providers of succour to refugees
'Arif	The knowing one; devout and wise person
Ashram	Hermitage
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rehmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you (Muslim salutation)
Azad Hind Fauj	Indian National Army
'Azeem-us-Shaan	Magnificent
Bayt al-Maal	State treasury
Bakhshish	Gift; tip
Bania	Shopkeeper, merchant
Bazar-i-Sarrafan	Goldsmiths' market
Bund	Embankment
Charas	Marijuana
Charpoy	Common bedstead in Pakistan
Chhataak	Sixteenth part of a seer
Chowkidar	Watchman
Daama Iqbalahu	May your grandeur increase (honorific phrase)
Darbar	Princely court
Dargah Shareef	Saint's mausoleum; shrine
Dastur-ul-Amal Sarkar	Order of the State

Deodar	Cedar tree
Dharma Shastra	Book of Hindu religion
Dhobi	Washerman
Dusehra	A Hindu festival
Faatiha	Prayer for the dead
Fakhr-i-Qaum	Pride of the nation
Feringee	Englishman / European
Gariwala	Driver / pusher of cart
Ghazi	Victor in war against infidels
Granth Sahib	The holy book of Sikhs
Gur	Lump of unrefined sugar
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Guru	Guide; teacher
Hadj / Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Hamal	Porter
Haram	Forbidden
Harijan	Untouchable; a member of the lowest Hindu caste (literally, a person dedicated to *Vishnu*)
'Id	Muslim festival
'Id al-Azha/Baqr 'Id	Muslim festival of sacrifice
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival at the end of *Ramadan*
Imam	Muslim spiritual or religious leader
Imamat	Religious leadership
Insha Allah	God willing
Istiqlal	Steadfastness; independence
Jagir	Fief; land
Jagirdar	Holder of a *jagir*
Jai Hind	Victory to India
Jamadar	A junior commissioned officer; a senior peon
Jami'a Masjid	The principal mosque
Janab	Sir

Jatha	Gang
Jirga	Council of tribal elders
Juma'	Friday
Juma' tul Wada'	The last Friday of *Ramadan*
Kamin	Labourer; menial
Khaki	Dust-coloured
Khassadari	Allowance given to tribal elders
Khassadars	Police force of tribal area
Khilafat-i-Rashida	Righteous caliphate
Khuda Hafiz	Good-bye; May God protect you
Kirpan	A small dagger carried by the Sikhs
Laila tul-Qadr	The night of power occurring in the last ten days of *Ramadan*
Lilla hil hamd	Praise be to God
Lungi	Turban; a full length cloth worn round the waist
Madrasa / Madrasah	School; academy
Madrasa-i-Tahzib/ Madrasah-i-Tahzeeb	Institution of learning; literally, institution for imparting instruction in moral and cultural values
Majlis	Assembly; association
Majlis-i-Ulama	Assembly of Muslim religious scholars
Mahant	Manager of a Hindu shrine
Mali	Gardener
Mandi	Market
Malik	Tribal elder
Mandir	Temple
Marhoom	The late, literally blessed
Mehtar (of Chitral)	Ruler (of Chitral)
Millat-i-Amn	Nation of peace
Millat-i-Islamia	The Muslim nation
Minar	Minaret
Mofussil	Countryside

Mohalla	Locality
Molvi / Maulvi	Priest; Muslim divine
M'otabars	Elders
Muballigh	Religious preacher; missionary
Muddai sust gawah chust	Witness more vocal than the plaintiff
Mufti	Muslim jurist; exponent of Islamic law
Muhajireen	Refugees
Mujahid	Muslim warrior in defence of faith
Mukhtiarkar	Revenue official
Mullah	Muslim preacher or divine
Mushaira	A gathering where poets recite their verses
Muttaqeen	The pious and God-fearing
Namaste	Hindu salutation
Na 'rah-i-Takbeer	Slogan acknowledging greatness of God
Nawab	Title denoting a Muslim ruler or noble
Paindabad	May live for ever
Panchayat	Council of village elders
Pandaan	A container for betel leaves, betel-nuts, etc.
Pardah	Veil
Pardahnasheen	A woman who wears a veil
Patwari	A village official dealing with land holdings
Puja	Worship by Hindus; a Hindu festival
Qabaristan	Graveyard
Qilaband	Fortified
Rajab	Seventh month of Islamic calender
Ramazan / Ramadan	Ninth month of Islamic calender; a month of fasting
Razais	Quilts
Roti	Bread
Sabzimandi	Vegetable market
Salaam	Muslim salutation

Salar	Commander
Sanjuq	An administrative sub-division of an Ottoman province
Sarbarah/Sardar	Chief; commander
Saree	A female (unstitched) dress
Sarkar	Government
Sarraf	Goldsmith
Shahi Darbar	Royal court
Shahi Jirga	Highest council of tribal elders
Shari 'at/Shari'ah	Islamic code of law
Shawwal al-Mukarram	Tenth month of Islamic calender
Sherwani	Knee-length buttoned-up coat
Shikar	Hunting
Sola	Sun hat
Tableegh	Preaching
Taqavi	Loan to peasantry for agricultural input
Taslimat	High regards
Ta'weez	Amulet
Taxiwala	Taxi driver
Tongawala	Driver of a horse-drawn, two-wheeled carriage
Zindabad	Long live!

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گلدستۂ عقیدت

بخدمت فیض درجت قائداعظم محمد علی جناح گورنر جنرل مملکتِ پاکستان

پیشکش از جانب

خان قلندر علی خان ولّی

(ملکِ پاکستاں ہمیں است وہمیں دارُالسّلام)

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زرفشاں شد آفتابِ سطوتِ اسلام باز — وز زبانِ ہر شعاعش آمدایں زرّیں پیام

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